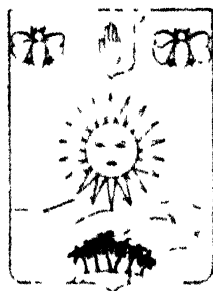


Vol. I

No. 1

BULLETIN
OF THE
DECCAN COLLEGE
RESEARCH INSTITUTE



December 1939

X
POONA

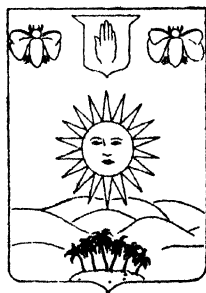
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FOREWORD

What was a Sanskrit College in Poona during the first half of the nineteenth century became the Deccan College soon after universities were founded in India. A few years ago, it was decided, to the regret of all concerned, to close the college, but happily it has been resuscitated and raised to the status of a Post-graduate and Research Institute. This first number of its BULLETIN, issued within six months of its latest transformation, gives the public an idea of the different directions in which research is carried on in the Institute and of the vast, fruitful field of activities that lies before it. It is a splendid achievement, worthy of the best literary traditions of the ancient Maratha Capital, on which the professors and pupils of the Institute deserve our warmest congratulations. We may confidently augur for the Bulletin a career of prolonged usefulness and distinction.

The Institute concerns itself, for the present, with studies in history, sociology, linguistics and Vedic Sanskrit. For such studies what could be a more suitable place than Poona? If it is true that research in the history, literature and culture of a region could be conducted most efficiently only at some centre within it, the ancient capital of the Peshwas with its historic associations, literary traditions and equipment, including the Deccan College and its spacious grounds hallowed by the revered memory of scholars and professors such as Wordsworth, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar, Pathak, Selby, Baine, Tilak and Rajwade, is unquestionably the most ideal centre for research in the history and culture not merely of the Deccan but of the entire Province of Bombay.

Was it a mere coincidence that to the reorganised Deccan College, built with the help of a liberal donation from a Parsi (Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy), and maintained by the British Government, was brought one of the greatest Sanskrit and Avesta scholars from Germany (Dr. Martin Haug) to teach the Hindu youth the ancient language of their Vedas? Was that remarkable combination of effort of people belonging to different communities and countries at cultural co-operation a mere fortuitous event? Or was it a reminder of the universality of knowledge and of the need for close cultural co-operation between nations, a reminder also of the fact that interdependence is the rule of life and that the key to the salvation of human society lies in the growth of human unity and world community? Or could it be regarded as a prelude to the synthesis of European and Asiatic culture for which many thoughtful people in the West yearn to-day as the only possible remedy for the ills of civilized society such as those now witnessed?

Be that as it may, there can be no question that the best antidote to particularism, communalism and narrow nationalism is research. In

the study of the history of a people or a language more than in any other sphere of literary pursuit, one realizes the interdependence of nations and sees the ceaseless interaction of races, of words and ideas, of culture patterns and of material arts. This can be amply exemplified in the history of the Deccan and other parts of India. Unity is achieved not by a denial of diversity, but by the discovery of the true similarity underlying outward forms. I trust that the professors and students of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute will make solid contributions in this direction, thus removing the veil of separation that keeps different communities and races apart and enabling them to realize their essential unity beneath apparent diversity.

Nine years ago, a German journalist told me in Berlin : " Western Civilization is cracking. For the reconstruction of world society we need a strong infusion of the mystic philosophy of the East. Write more books on the Sufi gospel of self-loss. They will have a very large sale in Germany." To-day, it is a different Germany and a different Europe. But the need for the re-organization of society on the Sufi doctrine of Unity and the Vedic ideal of Dharma is all the greater, and it brings vividly to mind the following stirring words of Maeterlinck, who set over against each other the " Western lobe " and the " Eastern lobe " of the human brain :

" The one here produces reason, science, consciousness ; the other yonder secretes intuition, religion, the sub-conscious ... More than once they have endeavoured to penetrate one another, to mingle, to work together ; but the Western lobe ... has heretofore paralysed and almost annihilated the efforts of the other. We owe to it extraordinary progress in all material sciences, but also catastrophes, such as those we are undergoing to-day ... It is time to awaken the paralysed Eastern lobe."

R. P. MASANI.

EPIC QUESTIONS

By

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

NO. 1: DOES INDRA ASSUME THE FORM OF A SWAN?

Mbh. (Crit. Ed.) 1. 57. 21: *hāsyarūpeṇa śamkaraḥ*.

This is the second pāda of a stanza occurring in the Ādiparvan which reads:

bhagavān pūjyate cātra hāsyarūpeṇa śamkaraḥ |
svayam eva grhītena Vasuḥ prtyā mahātmanah ||

The Vulgate (1. 63. 21cd—22ab) differs from this only in so far that it reads the second quarter of the stanza as *hamsarūpeṇa ceṣvaraḥ*.

I have discussed the text-reading briefly in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (vol. 16, p. 100 f.) and justified it, in my reply to the late Professor WINTERNITZ, who in the course of a lengthy review¹ of the Ādiparvan had drawn attention to it, observing that as the reading was a *lectio difficilior* and was “far from certain” it required a “wavy line”. While admitting that the reading adopted in the Critical Edition was a *lectio difficilior* I contended that since the documentary evidence in its favour was complete, therefore it need not be regarded as uncertain and there was no need of a “wavy line”. There would have been no reason for me now to revert to it but for two facts. On the one hand, it has been again, incidentally, criticized² by the late lamented Professor J. J. MEYER in his last publication, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte u. Feste d. Vegetation*³ (Zürich-Leipzig 1937),—a thick opus with extremely rich and varied contents, enlivened as usual by the author’s spicy wit and trenchant style. On the other hand, the reading receives some confirmation from a new and unexpected source.

MEYER argues for the reading of the Vulgate, characterizing the *hāsyarūpeṇa* of the Critical Edition as an astonishing (“verwunderliche”) reading, and dismissing *hāsyā-* as the stupid mistake of some scribe (“ein dummer Schreibfehler”).

The context in which the Mbh. stanza occurs is as follows. The righteous king Uparicara Vasu, having laid down his arms, retired to the forest and began practising penance. Indra and the

¹ ABORI, vol. 15, pp. 159 ff.; cf. p. 166.

² Apparently, in complete ignorance of the previous discussion on the point in the *Annals*.

³ In the last part of the *Trilogie*, dealing with Indra. The reading in question is discussed on p. 5 f. The references are to the pagination of this part of the *Trilogie*.

other gods, apprehending trouble, appeared before him, and, dissuading him from continuing his fierce austerities, induced him to return to his royal duties. He should rule the kingdom of Cedi as Indra's special friend. As a mark of his favour, Indra presented Vasu with various uncommon gifts, among them a crystalline aerial car (*sphāṭikam vimānam*) and a garland of unfading lotuses (known as *Indramālā*) which would protect the king against the missiles of his enemies and bring him wealth and victory (*vaijayanām*). But he gave him also a bamboo staff (*vaiṇavim yaṣṭim*), which would protect the good (*śiṣ'ānām pratipālīnim*) and of course chastise the wicked. King Vasu brought home these precious gifts, according the wonderful staff full divine worship. That was how, we are told, the custom began of bringing from the forest, at a certain specified season, the staff, pole or tree, which was then set up, decorated with flowers, wreaths, flags, and with *piṭakas*—whatever these latter are—and worshipped in due form. Here we find the stanza cited above, which says in effect that on this occasion Indra is worshipped, according to ancient rites, in a certain form assumed by the god of his own accord, out of love for Vasu Uparicara.

What was this form? Was it the form of a *swan*, as the Vulgate has it and as MEYER argues? That is the question.

Before we try to answer this question, it would be well to examine the MS. evidence a little more closely than MEYER appears to have done. The important MS. readings (ignoring that of D₃), as given in the Critical Edition, may be put in the following synoptical form:

N (except K ₁)	<i>hamsarūpeṇa</i>	} <i>śamkaraḥ</i> (B, Dn <i>ceśvaraḥ</i>)
K ₁ M (= Text)	<i>hāsyarūpeṇa</i> ¹	
T G	<i>yaṣṭirūpeṇa</i>	<i>Vāsavaḥ</i>

To this we may now add the important, newly discovered eight hundred years old Nepālī MS. of the Ādi (of which I have given full collations in *ABORI*, vol. 19, pp. 201 ff.), which agrees exactly with K₁ M and therefore supports the critical text in an unambiguous manner.

Now let us see what MEYER has to say about these readings. According to him (p. 5), the original *ceśvaraḥ* (found in the Vulgate) was misunderstood as referring to god Śiva; and, with a view to clarifying its meaning, it was deliberately changed by some scribe into *śamkaraḥ*, which latter is a well-known epithet of Śiva. And further *hāsyarūpeṇa* of the Critical Edition is, according to MEYER, as already

¹ The actual reading of K₁ is *hāmyahāmyarūpeṇa*, which is clearly corrupt. The original *s* has been wrongly transcribed as *m*: a common mistake in Devanāgarī transcripts of Śāradā MSS.; there is moreover dittography. The portion of the text under discussion is missing in the Śāradā codex.

remarked, nothing more than the stupid blunder of some copyist for the original *hamsarūpeṇa*.

It may be made perfectly clear once for all that at least as far as the Mahābhārata text is concerned, the time when one could juggle with readings of MSS. and lay down the law *ex cathedra* as to what is the original, what is an emendation and what is a scribe's mistake, is long past. It has now become a very much more serious and complicated matter, since the publication of the Critical Edition. To entitle anyone to a hearing, he must first of all show that he understands the critical apparatus and that he has studied the *stemma codicum* published by me on p. XXX of the Prolegomena of my edition of the Adiparvan.

Let us now go back to the MSS. There we find that *śamkaraḥ* (of the Critical Edition) is documented by the whole of the Northern Recension (including the new Nepālī MS.) and the Malayālam version, while *ceśvaraḥ* (championed by MEYER) is merely the reading of B₅ Dn! Now one would like to know why what MEYER considers the original reading (*ceśvaraḥ*) is found only in the *most recent* version represented by Nilakaṇṭha (end of the 17th century) with the sporadic support of one aberrant Bengali MS. (B₅), while what he considers a recent emendation (*śamkaraḥ*) is found in still older versions represented by MSS. scattered all over India from Kashmir to Malabar and from Gujarat to Bengal, including the distant Nepal and excepting (in addition to the Vulgate) only the Tamil-Telugu zone, which latter has moreover a third and divergent reading (*Vāsavaḥ*). How is it that only the Nilakaṇṭha version has preserved the correct reading, while all other—much older—versions of North India together with the entire Malayālam version from the South contain what MEYER regards as a corruption? If *śamkaraḥ* of all N and M MSS. be a corrupt reading, as MEYER maintains, then Nilakaṇṭha could have got his *ceśvaraḥ* only by *emendation*, because I do not think that Nilakaṇṭha had access to any really old Mahābhārata MSS., containing very original readings. In thousands of cases his text shows what can be proved, with absolute certainty, to be secondary, inferior, or corrupt readings.

This inability on the part of MEYER to recognize in a patently simple case what is original and what is secondary shows that he had only very vague notions of the relationship between the different recensions, versions and manuscripts. And the ignorance of this relationship is absolutely fatal to any attempt to discriminate between original readings and emendations and scribes' mistakes. You can never find out an original reading by selecting one which suits your purpose, or satisfies your æsthetic sense, or appeals to you in some other way, and then looking about for reasons in support of your *a priori* choice; because almost always "good" reasons can be found for nearly every reading. It is not a question of dialectic, but

of documentation. And no amount of tendentious arguing will refute the objective evidence of MSS.

MSS. in this case clearly prove that the process of alteration has been the reverse of what is imagined by MEYER. Here, it is evident, *ceśvaraḥ* has not been changed into *śaṃkaraḥ* for the sake of clarity, as MEYER maintains; but, on the other hand, *śaṃkaraḥ* has been very clearly changed into *ceśvaraḥ*—already rendered suspect by the expletive *ca*—perhaps, to avoid confusion, *śaṃkara* being here not the *nomen proprium* of Śiva, but an epithet meaning “beneficent, promoting welfare”.¹

We can now turn to the other word of the pāda, the more difficult of the two: was it *hāsyarūpeṇa*, *hāmsarūpeṇa* or *yaśīrūpeṇa*? MEYER (p. 5) rightly rejects the last. It is correct as far as the sense goes; but it can hardly be the original reading. Were it so, no scribe would think of deliberately changing it into the obscure and almost unintelligible *hāsyarūpeṇa* or *hāmsarūpeṇa*, both of which are, moreover, graphically unrelated with the former. From what we know of scribes’ emendations they tend generally to simplify the text, not to complicate it. If that be so, then either *hāsyarūpeṇa* or *hāmsarūpeṇa* is the correct reading. Moreover *yaśīrūpeṇa* is confined (like *Vāsavaḥ*) to TG, and does not receive any support even from M, which in innumerable cases has preserved—in contradistinction to the TG version—the original reading, which has been emended or simplified in TG.²

There remain, therefore, only the two alternatives—*hāsyarūpeṇa* given by K₁ M with the new Nepālī MS., and *hāmsarūpeṇa* supported by N (except K₁). By the test of the agreement between independent versions,³ *hāsyarūpeṇa* is clearly indicated as the original reading, since we have here an agreement between the independent versions of the extreme North and the extreme South, it being preferable to *hāmsarūpeṇa*, supported only by the central sub-recension. It is, moreover, undoubtedly the *lectio difficilior* (as was rightly observed by WINTERNITZ in the course of the review mentioned above), which accounts for its being surreptitiously ousted by the other. Both documentary and intrinsic probability are thus unquestionably in favour of the reading *hāsyarūpeṇa* adopted in the Critical Edition.

What indeed are we to understand by the *hāmsarūpeṇa* of the Vulgate? The word *hāmsa* has a number of meanings. MONIER WILLIAMS gives the following :

¹ This point has been discussed by me in the paper mentioned above, *ABORI*, vol. 16, p. 101.

² For this point also cf. *ABORI*, vol. 16, p. 101.

³ Cf. *Prolegomena* to *Ādi*, p. xci.

a goose, gander, swan, flamingo (or other aquatic bird); the soul or spirit (sometimes 'the Universal Soul or Supreme Spirit', identified with Virāj, Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kāma, and the Sun); one of the vital airs (Lex.); a kind of ascetic; a man of supernatural qualities born under a particular constellation; an ambitious monarch (Lex.); a horse (Naigh.); an excellent draught-ox (according to some, 'a buffalo'); a mountain (Lex.); a temple of a particular form; a kind of Mantra or mystical text; silver (Lex.); envy, malice (Lex.); name of two metres; (Music) a kind of measure; a mystical name of the letter *h*; a spiritual preceptor; name of a Deva-gandharva; of a Dānava; of a son of Brahmā; of a son of Vasudeva; of a son of Ariṣṭā; of a son of Brahmadatta and general of Jarāsaṁdha; of various authors; of one of the Moon's horses; of a mountain.

MEYER (p. 6) has cited copious examples for the meanings of *hamsa* as the sun, the sun-god, as Viṣṇu and as Kṛṣṇa (son of Dharmā).

Unfortunately none of these fit in the case of Indra. MEYER (p. 6) found, however, a loophole in the meaning of *hamsa* as "sun-god", and he surmised that perhaps the idea of this *hamsarūpa* of Indra was to be dated back to the period when Indra was still recognized as a sun-god!

Nilakaṇṭha, who has commented on this stanza, had naturally some difficulty in explaining this *hamsarūpa*. According to him Indra was: *hamsarūpeṇa yukto hamsarūpī tasya buddhisthasya rūpasya viśeṣaṇam svayam eva* etc. To Nilakaṇṭha the *hamsa*-form is present only in the mind (*buddhistha*) of the worshipper. To MEYER, on the other hand, who was a realist with a vengeance, this explanation naturally did not satisfy. According to him (p. 4f.), Indra, who is ordinarily invisible to mortals, takes on the *concrete* form of a swan, so as to be visible to Vasu and his subjects. MEYER further found (p. 5) the aquatic bird admirably suited to the mirth and gaiety and the sportive games that accompany the ceremonial.

Now which is the original and which is the emendation of these two readings? The characteristic of a scribe's emendation, as has been well said, is that it has all the appearance of improvement without its reality. Ours is a case in point. *hamsarūpeṇa* is a phrase under which you can think all sorts of things, all equally vague; but on closer inspection they prove to be uniformly inadequate.

For why should Indra appear before Vasu, or the kings who followed in his footsteps, in the form of a *swan* of all things in the world, whether in a concrete shape before the eyes of his worshippers or in an abstract form in their minds? He had assumed one form already: that of the *yaṣṭi*, the staff. MEYER (p. 101) has himself established—absolutely incontrovertibly—that the tree or the pole or the staff, which figures so prominently in the Indramaha ceremony, was worshipped, if not by Vasu, at least by the people whom the writer of the Mahābhārata account had in mind, as a symbol,

an image, or an incarnation of Indra himself, and not merely as a remembrance of a present from Indra to Vasu. As MEYER has pointed out, the Purāṇic writers, when speaking of the pole, refer to it unhesitatingly as "Indra" (or its synonyms "Śakra", etc.) in such expressions as *Sakrasthāna* or *Indrasthāna*, *Indra* (or *Śakra*) *pāda*, *Indraprayāna*, *Śakrotthāpana*, *Śakrocchraya*, *Indram utthāpayanti*, *Purāṇḍaram utthāpya*, *uttiṣṭhate* (or *niśidati*) *vajrapāṇiḥ*, etc. Viṣṇu-dharmottara 2. 157. 3cd and (agreeing with it) Agnipurāṇa 268, 6cd say in so many words that *here is the god Indra himself*, come to earth (*bhūmiṣṭha*).

And what a funny form to assume for the thousand-eyed god of gods, who had performed a hundred sacrifices, the wielder of the thunder bolt, the destroyer of enemies' forts, the killer of Vala (or Bala) and Vṛtra, and the hero of a thousand other wonderful exploits: the form of a bamboo staff, with wreaths and bells, flags and buntings hanging from it and with those curiously shaped *piṭakas*, some of which at any rate, according to Meyer (p. 96), were shaped like penises! It was indeed a laughable form (*hāsyarūpa*), calculated to provoke mirth and laughter. And this form, it must be borne in mind, was not given to Indra by any man; such a thing would have been very likely resented by him. The great god, wishing to do good (*śamkara*) to Vasu, had assumed it himself (*svayam eva grhītena*) out of his great love for the high-souled Uparicara Vasu (*Vasoḥ prityā mahātmanah*). The jocular form—*kriḍāvatārarūpa*, as Devabodha¹ puts it—assumed by the mighty god on this occasion caused great merriment; and the feast was accordingly celebrated with much laughter and gaiety, as described in the Brhatsaṃhitā, the Viṣṇudharmottara and other texts (MEYER, p. 103 f.).

Thus both documentary probability and intrinsic considerations support the reading *hāsyarūpeṇa Śamkaraḥ*. This reading is therefore not so astonishing as MEYER seems to have thought; but it is astonishing that MEYER, who had with praiseworthy diligence extracted and translated very lengthy passages from about a dozen original sources describing the ceremony in great detail, and not found anywhere (except in the Vulgate) the remotest reference to Indra's assuming the form of a swan or to his being represented as a swan, should have been so enamoured of the Vulgate reading, a reading which I am fully persuaded is nothing more than a scribe's emendation in the archetype of the Central group. But perhaps even MEYER'S mistake is not so very astonishing: it is only an example of wishful thinking. Does it not connect Indra with the sun (*hamsa*)

¹ Devabodha has the gloss: *hāsa* (sic) *rūpeṇa kriḍāvatārarūpeṇa*. Here *hamsa rūpeṇa* would certainly not fit, as it is not clear how *hamsarūpa* would be *kriḍāvatārarūpa*.—Devabodha is the oldest known commentator of the Mahābhārata, and, in my opinion, the best.

or at least with the sun-god? And MEYER'S whole thesis (pp. 134-144) is that Indra was originally just not a rain-god or a thunder-god, but a sun-god, the vernal sun, the "genius" of fertility and vegetation, in fact, a phallic deity!

The redactors of the TG version were, perhaps, after all wise, in discarding a reading which has caused so much confusion and misunderstanding, and adopted the plain and simple *yaṣṭirūpeṇa Vāsavaḥ*, which is a correct paraphrase of the original and has the additional advantage of being absolutely fool-proof.

I am convinced that this *hamsa*-incarnation of Indra is nothing more than a *canard*.

Bhandarkar Oriental }
Research Institute, }
Poona. }

APRÓPOS EPIC IYĀT

By

S. M. KATRE

I had already occasion to record several instances of the Epic use of the Optative forms *iyāt* and *iyām* for the past narrative in my two notes 'Epic *iyāt* and Blends of Aorist and Optative Forms' (JAOS 57, 316-17) and 'Epic *iyāt*' (NIA I, 536). Thanks again to the General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and Editor of the forthcoming Vana- or Āraṇyaka-Parvan, the following occurrence of a similar phenomenon was brought to my notice.

The passage in question is (Crit. Edn.) 3. 58. 7 :

niścakrāṇa tadā rājā tyaktvā suvipulām śriyam (6^{cd})
damayantiekavastrā tam gacchantam pr̥sthato 'nviyāt (7^{ab})
sa tayā bāhyataḥ sārddham trirātram naiśadho 'vasat (7^{cd})

The variants for 7^b ('*nv-*') *iyāt*, as recorded in the critical apparatus are : Ś₁ '*bhyagāt*' ; KB_{1,3-4} D_cD_nD_{1,2,4-6} M '*nvagāt*' ; B₂D₃T₁ '*nvayāt*'. The Chitrashala edition has the form '*nvagāt*'.

It is clear that here we have the same set of forms as variants as in the other cases pointed out by me in my two previous notes, and the Epic use of the Optative for the Habitual or Narrative Past seems to be now beyond doubt. In this connection I must refer to Professor VITTORE PISANI's short paper on 'Zum Optativ der wiederholten Handlung in der Vergangenheit' in IF. 50, 21 ff. My notice to this interesting note was drawn by Professor PISANI himself in personal communication dated 28th February 1938 : 'I find your interesting miscellaneous note on epic *iyāt* (NIA) I, p. 536. You express therein the opinion that other forms of this type may yet be discovered. Indeed I did point out such a form in Mbh. V 181,37 in a short paper published in Indogerm. Forschungen L p. 22.'

The passage which PISANI cites is the following : Mbh. V 181, 37 (quoted from Benfey Chrestom.) :

tato 'han tām api raṇe śarair āśiṣopamair
sañchidya bhūmau nr̥pate pā t a y e y a n nagān iva

PISANI states ; 'Heir steht *pātayeyam* offenbar für *apātayam* :'

The reading in the Critical Edition 5.181. 34^d is :

'*pātayam pannagān iva*

and the variants recorded are : BD_nD_{2-4, 6} *pātyeyam nagān iva*. Now it is surprising that the optative *pātayeyam* is shown only by the B and Nilkaṇṭha (i.e. Vulgate)¹ versions and four D Mss, while the majority of other Mss have the regular past in '*pātayam pannagār iva*'.

There is thus a possibility that the Devanāgarī graphy has led to the confusion of the two forms.

The problem here is not so simple. Although the examination of Mss evidence points out *apātayam* as the more original of the two readings the interpretation of the stanza itself is not so easy. With *pātayeyam* we get *nagān* which poses some difficulty, for the simile is not perfect if we do not interpret *naga* as a serpent. The variant for this, besides *pannaga* quoted above, is K₃D₁ *patagān*. Thus the vulgate reading is really the *lectio difficilior* and needs explanation.

If we accept this *lectio difficilior*, leaving aside the difficulty connected with *nagān iva*, then here is another instance of the Optative used in the Epic with a root other than √i- in the recounting of a past action. Full Bibliography on this question has been indicated by PISANI in his note with reference to similar usage in other Indo-European languages. See also his paper on 'An unnoticed Prakrit Idiom' in *NIA* 1, 190-92, giving further illustration of this aspect of the Optative.

Professor Louis RENOU, *Grammaire Sanskrite*, §292, note¹, also refers to the confusion existing between the Optative and Preterite. I collect below some of the examples given by different scholars from the Indic field in illustration of this phenomenon.

Prof. Jules BLOCH, in his paper on 'Désinences d' optatif en moyen indien' (*MSL*, 23, 108) remarks : 'Plus tard, dans, les textes où le sanskrit se défend mal contre des influences prākrites, on trouvera la trace du même mélange dans quelques emplois exceptionnels de 3 personne d'optatif en fonction de prétérit.'² :

In his very interesting paper 'Vedica' (*ZII* 5, 281-92) Walter

¹ 'En raison de l'aspect de ses désinences et à la faveur des confusions de finales, l'opt, prend, çà et là, dans des texts peu corrects, valeur prétérit, au moins à la 3. sg ; référ. chez. J. BLOCH *MSL* XXIII 108 et a jouter LUDWIG *Rigv.* (Mhbh.) VI 262 HOLTZMANN *Mahābh.* IV 195 BÖHTLINGK (Rām.) *ZDMG* XLIII 68 HERTEL *Mund U. IA* (insc.) XVII 135 *insc. Campā et Camb.* (fréquent) index 625 ; en bouddh. *Mhv* I 419 II 532 III 215 *Div.* 392 8 *Saund.* IV. 15 ; et même chez *Bhaff.* XIX 7, par une interprétation lâche de P. D'après BERGAIGNE *Camb.* 577 et BARTH IV 108, cet emploi apparait d'abord dans l'opt. en -yā.—Autres ex. NEISSER *ZII* V 281 :

² Bibliography given by M. BLOCH as footnote :—"Type *iyāt upayāyāt* (HOLTZMANN, *Gramm. aus dem Mahābh.*, 1021; Rām., 1, 2, 29 *hanyāt*, cf. ROUSSEL, *J.As.*, 1910, I, 183; type *vardheta, pratyudikṣethāh* (Rā., 26, 22 ; II, 9, 23, voir BÖHTLINGK, *Z. D. M. G.*, XLI, 186 ; cf. WEBER, *Rāmatapup.*, Abh. Berlin, 1864, p. 299, v. 42 ; cf. p. 273 ; Mahābh., *upatiṣṭhetām*, cité M. S. L. XIII, 38, peut être un imparfait sans augment, cf. les exemples du Rām. dans l'article de ROUSSEL, p. 13). Pour le *Mahāvastu*, voir les notes de M. SENART, I, p. 401, 520 ; pour le sanskrit épigraphique d'Indochines, notes de SENART et BERGAIGNE, *Inscriptions due Campa et du Cambodge*, p. 109, 397. Pour le Prākrit jaina (*care, dejjā*, etc.), PISCHEL § 466."

NEISSER refers to the 'Präteritale Potentiale,' and discusses the Vedic form *īṅkhayāvahai* as a very living example of 'Vergangenes potentiell' and gives some other illustrations of this occurrence. On p. 283 he remarks : "präteritale Optative sind im ai, Epos nicht selten. aus späterer Zeit sei genannt, nur als Beispiel, Śukas. Text. simpl. 52 (R : SCHMIDT, ZDMG, 55, 43₁₀) *tatra dvau suhṛdau...syātām*. AV. XII, 4, 24, *vidyāt* gibt BLOOMFIELD mit *recognized* wider Hierzu RV. I, 104,3 *syātām*", etc.

BÖHTLINGK (ZDMG, 43, 68) refers to the form *vyatīyāt* 'im sinne eines Praet.' from Rāmāyaṇa 7, 99, 10. comparing the form *prāśnīyāt* in Rām. (GORR. edn. 3, 63, 27), see below.

ALSDORF, 'The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī' (BSOS. 8, 324) gives the following forms from this text, which though optative in construction, appear as regular past forms : *gacchiya* 'I went,' *dine gamesiya* 'I spent the days,' *vocchiya* 'he spoke,' *kāsiya* 'he made,' etc. My attention to these forms was drawn by Dr. ALSDORF.¹ *Examples of Epic Optative used for the narrative Past :*

(a) In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki :—

(1) 1. 2. 28-29 :

pāpātmanā kṛtam kaṣṭam vairagrahaṇabuddhinā
yas tādrśam cāruravaṁ krauñcam *hanyād* akāraṇāt

BÖHTLINGK's note : 'Hier bedeutet *hanyāt* nicht 'wer tödten sollte', "sonderen" 'wer tödten konnte,' d. i. 'getodtet hat.' Der comm. erklärt es durch *hatavān*.' He then gives the corresponding passage from the Bengali Recension : *yaṭ surūravaṁ krauñcam avadhīt tam akāraṇāt*.

(2) 7. 99. 10 :

evam sa kālaḥ sumahān rājyasthasya mahātmanah
dharma prayatamānasya *vyatīyād* Rāghavasya tu

(3) 3. 63. 27 :

ciraṁ jīvatu me bhartā bhrātrā saha mahābalaḥ
ity evam uktvā Vaidehī *prāśnīyāt* pāyasaṁ śubhaṁ

This is GORRESIO 3. 63. 27 (p. 262) and NSP ed. (1905) 3. *57. 24 where the reading is however : *idam astu taylor bhaktyā tadā śnāt pāyasaṁ svayaṁ*.

(b) In the language of the Inscriptions :

In the Rajim Stone Inscription of Jagapāla of the Kalachuri year 896 edited by Prof. KIELHORN, we have :

¹ I quote the full passage (BSOS 8, 325) ; "§ 466, end, PISCHEL deals with some mysterious forms in -ia which are 'mentioned by the grammarians as being used in the sense of the imperfect, aorist and perfect tenses,' and he thinks that, 'inexplicable as it seems,' *acchia*, *genhia* *daliddāia*, *maria*, *hasia* *huvia*, *dehia* are really optatives of the present and *kāhia*, *ihāhia*, *hohia*, are really optatives of the present aorist. Whatever the correct explanation of these forms may be, the *Vh.* furnishes the first instances of their actual use."

(1) Line 2 :

ādhipatyam *bhavej* yasya (for *bhaved yasya*)

(2) Line 3 :

tasyānujo *bhaved* bhrātā Vāsudevo tathāpi vā.

(3) Line 7 :

Bhayliam ca *bhavel* putram Dēśalam cārimarddanam
tathāyam sarasamghātaiḥ *nihan̐yed* ripuvāhinī(m).

All these optative forms express the Imperfect tense.¹

(c) In Pāli :

Jātaka IV 408 (J. no 499 Sivijātaka, verse 68) :—

Tam attham pakāsento Sathā diyaddham gātham āha-

Codito Sivirājena Sīvako vacanam-karo

rañño cakkhūni uddhatvā brāhmaṇass' *upanāmaye*

saccakkhu brāhmaṇo āsī andho rājā upāvisi ti 68

Here the optative *upanāmaye* is clearly Imperfect in sense.²

Professor PISANI brings out in this connection a similar use of the future while 'recollecting' past events with reference to Pāṇini 3, 2, 112 quoting Varadarāja's *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*.³

In his suggestive paper which started my own enquiries in this direction Prof. F. EDGERTON gives the following examples from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.⁴

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 190. 7 : *spṛṣe sa bodhim* 'he attained enlightenment.'

Mahāvastu iii. 53. 16 ; *Prajñāpayed aham . . . niṣide bhagavām*, 'I offered: . . the Lord sat down.'

From the *Mahāvastu* :—

(i) I. 56¹²⁻¹³ : Ekāntasthitā sambahulā te śuddhāvāsakāyikā devaputrā mama gāthāye *adhyabhāṣeran*.⁵

(ii) I. 36⁷⁻⁸ : Atha khalu Maudgalyāyana Nando ca bhikṣuḥ

¹ Cf. *Indian Antiquary* 17, 135 : "To set the grammar right in every particular, it would be necessary to rewrite nearly the whole inscription, or to append more remarks on it than the inscription deserves. But to give an idea of the author's want of proficiency, I may point out some of his errors. The Potential mood he employs for the Imperfect tense in *ādhipatyam bhavejyasya* (for *ādhipatyam abhavad-yasya*) line 2 ; *tasy ānujo-bhaved* (for '*bhavad*) *bhrātā*, line 3 ; *Bhāyiliam ca bhavel putram* (for *Bhāyilaś cābhavad putrah*), line 3 ; and *nihan̐yed* (for *nyahan*), line 7."

² On this form cf. *Rivista indo-greco-italica*, 16 (1932) parts i-ii, 23 note : 'Jules BLOCH mi scrive rimandandomi a RENOY, Grammaire sanskrite, §292 note e aggiunge : On pourrait aussi mentionner sauf erreur (je n'ai ici qu'une note, et pas le teste) le Jātaka pali IV, 408^s, *upanāmaye* où le sens optatif est impossible.

³ *Riv. indo-greco-italica*, 16 i-ii, 23.

⁴ The Aorist in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, 33 ff. (*JAOS* 57, 32—33) under section V. Blends of aorist and optative forms (also with future meaning.)

⁵ SENART, *ibid.*, pp. 419-20 : *adhyabhāṣeran* est un exemple significatif des confusions, déjà signalées, qui se manifestent ici entre le potentiel et l'aoriste.

Abhiyo ca bhikṣuḥ Uttiyassa śreṣṭhisya gṛham upasamkrameyuh.¹

(iii) I. 340⁸ : Bhūmi-parpaṭakam prādurbhaveya sayyathāpi nāma chātrakaṃ evaṃ vānapraṭibhāso.

(iv) I. 345⁸⁻⁹ : Te vayam bhavanto bhūmiparpaṭakam āhāram āharantā tamvarṇā tambhakṣā tadādhārā ciraṃ dīrgham adhvānam tiṣṭhema.

(v) I. 345¹³⁻¹⁴ : Te vayam bhavanto tām vanalatām āhāram āharantā tamvarṇā tambhakṣā tadādhārā dīrgham adhvānam tiṣṭhema.

(vi) I. :

so taṃ darśanam prāpya janatām sannipātayet²
svakāṃ dṛṣṭim samākhyāti paścāc ca na nivartati

(vii) II. 194¹⁻² :

tām saha girāṃ śruṇitvā harṣajātena cetasā
vegajāto namasyanto vahed³ ahaṃ puruṣottamaṃ

(viii) II. 194⁵⁻⁶ :

taśya tāmranakhī caraṇām jihvāyā parilehiya
rodamāno udvīkṣeyam⁴ gacchantam puruṣottamaṃ

(ix) III. 2¹⁴⁻¹⁵ :

so haṃ ca taṃ ghoṣaṃ śrutvā hr̥ṣṭapramuditendriyaḥ
stryārthiko iha gaccheyam³ tena me pratimānaya.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 401 : Dans *upasamkrameyuh*, le potentiel est employé avec le sens de l'aoriste ou, plus exactement, de l'imparfait. Ce n'est pas la seule trace de confusion entre ces deux temps, grâce aux altérations dialectales et aux fausses analogies, ils arrivent ici à se toucher de très près. Devant revenir sur ce sujet, je ne cite que quelques exemples ; ils sont de nature à montrer l'origine de cette méprise. La troisième personne singulier de l'aoriste en *e* se rapprochait fort de la troisième du potentiel en *et*, se confondait même avec elle sous sa forme dialectale en *e*. Cette confusion se marque dans notre texte par l'orthographe *et*, au lieu de *e*, la finale de beaucoup d'aoristes : *prakāṣayet*, p. 250¹⁵, 251¹ ; *preṣayet*, 329¹² ; *praviṣet*, 307¹⁶ ; *samudgacchet*, 339⁷ ; *prādurbhave* (AB), °*bhavet* (C) 221⁶ ; *parinirvāye* (C), °*vāyet* (B), 267¹⁸ ; *upasamkrame*, *niṣkramet*, 303¹⁰⁻¹¹, etc. De là à mêler les troisième personnes du pluriel, il n'y avait pas loin, et la troisième de l'aoriste en *ensuh* (*etsuh*) est fréquemment employée avec le sens du potentiel, comme *bhavensuh* (coordonné avec *bhaveya*), p. 199², 61³, 5 ; fol. 106^a, *upasamkramensuh*, p. 314⁶ ; *praviṣensuh*, fol. 110^a ; *nipalensuh*, p. 220¹² ; ci-dessous, dans cette page même, *man-yensuh*, etc. Nous avons simplement la manifestations du même fait dans l'emploi présent de *upasamkrameyuh*, auquel se compare p. 340¹², 341¹, *prādurbhaveya*, 'il apparut' ; p. 345⁹, 14, etc., *tiṣṭhema*, 'nous nous tîmes' ; p. 56¹³ *adhyabhāṣeran* 'ils s'adressèrent à.' Quelques cas plus isolés paraissent marquer de nouveaux progrès dans cette voie. *Lal. Vist.* 84, 3 : *gacchiṣu* a le sens de la troisième personne pluriel du potentiel ; Lotus, fol. 225^a, la phrase traduite par BURNOUF : 'c'est alors que ... Gadgadasvara ... acquit une beauté telle ...,' se lit dans le texte : *tatra ... gagda-gadasvareṇa ... iyaṃ idr̥ṣi śrīḥ prāptā syāt*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 520 : 'Le potentiel pour l'imparfait, pour *sannipātaye* ou *sannipātayet*, comme souvent.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 532 : 'Dans *vahed et*, quatre lignes plus bas, dans *udvīkṣeyam*, etc., nous avons de nouveaux exemples du potentiel employé pour l'aoriste.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 465 : '*gaccheyam*, le potentiel dans la fonction de l'aoriste.'

Note :—We have similar occurrences in Mhv. *āhareṃa* I. 344¹⁵⁻¹⁶, *tiṣṭhema* I. 345⁵, *prādurbhavet* I. 345¹¹, etc. A statistical study of the Imperative and Optative forms in Buddhist Hybrid and Epic Sanskrit will perhaps show that this interchanging of the Optative and the Aorist or Imperfect is by no means a very limited sphere.

It is interesting in this connection to note the reverse phenomenon of the aorist forms being used in the Optative sense, already noticed by EDGERTON, *op. cit.* § 34, p. 33, with examples given in the next paragraph pp. 33-34. I find a similar instance in the recently published *Suvarṇa-bhāsottama-sūtra* by Johannes Nobel. The verses occur in the fourth or Kamalākara-parivarta (p. 51, ll. 11-16, p. 52, ll. 1-2), the number of the verses being 24-25 :

buddha-guṇāni anantam atulyā
 ye 'pi ca durlabha kalpasahasraiḥ
 amu śruṇeya svapna-gato 'pi
 amu ca deśayi divasagato 'pi || 24
 duḥkhasamudra vimocayi sattvā
 pūrayi ṣaḍbhiḥ pāramitābhiḥ
 bodhim aunttara paśca labheyam
 kṣetra bhaveta mamā asaptnyam || 25

Observe here the forms *śruṇeya*, *labheyam*, *bhaveta* by the side of *deśayi*, *pūrayi*, *vimocayi* which are clearly aorist in construction but optative in meaning. The general ending of the aorist form in this Hybrid Sanskrit, descending from the Sanskrit *-iṣ-* aorist, is *-ī* (for which the short *-i* is substituted for metrical reasons)¹ and this is additional proof of the reverse phenomenon discussed above being quite a living one in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

¹ EDGERTON, *op. cit.* p. 19,

THE RG-VEDA MANTRAS IN THEIR RITUAL SETTING IN THE GRHYA SŪTRAS

By

V. M. APTE

The applicability of Mantras to the rites in which they are liturgically employed in the literature of ritual has been very seriously questioned by many scholars and the challenge has been rarely, if ever, taken up. The last word on the subject, however, has yet to be said, in my opinion. A thorough investigation undertaken in connection with a representative text-book of ritual, involving the careful examination of every single Mantra-citation therein, alone can provide the materials for an impartial judgment. The following is such an attempt.

That the framers of the ritual honestly attempted to fit the Mantra-citations well into their ritual setting is clear from the statement of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹ : “ एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाण-मृगमिव दत्ति । ” [That (part) of the sacrifice is opulent, which is opulent (i.e. perfect) in form, (that part i.e. to say) that rite which, the Rg-verse describes, just as it is being performed.]

The Brhad-devatā² again seems to take for granted the appropriateness of Mantra-citations to their ritual context when it says,

“ मन्त्रेषु ह्यनिस्तेषु देवतां कर्मतो वदेत् । ”

[If in a Mantra, there is no clue to its deity (i.e. subject-matter), then the deity may be declared by a consideration of the ritual in which it is employed.]

As against this may be quoted the views of Indologists like Dr. WINTERNITZ. “ Often enough, indeed, the Mantras have nothing to do with the sacrificial acts for which they are prescribed, and it is extremely interesting from the point of view of the history of religion to see how often prayers are used for purposes to which they are not at all suited, and how often they have been entirely misunderstood, wrongly interpreted or even arbitrarily altered,” though he admits, “ sometimes, however, their ceremonial use does give the key to the explanation of a difficult passage in the Veda ”³. It is needless to quote similar statements by other scholars. Suffice it to say that this is a view fairly widely held. In my opinion, however, the relation obtaining between the Mantras and the ceremonies in which they are employed is not as *superficial*, the appropriateness of the mantras is not as *verbal* as is often supposed and I propose to establish this

¹ II. 2.

² VII. 16.

³ P. 276, *History of Indian Literature*—English translation published by the Calcutta University.

by taking up for detailed examination the case of the R̥gveda Mantras cited in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra.

Mr. Edwin W. FAY, dealing with this very problem has arrived at a conclusion different from mine and in harmony with the commonly accepted view. He says¹ with reference to his classification of R̥gveda Mantras into those of general applicability etc., "I distinguish the following degrees of applicability—or as it may be inapplicability—of the mantra to its rite." Now such a classification is, in my opinion, too general, too superficial to do justice to the *definite principles* underlying the citation of a mantra in a particular rite. I maintain that there are well-defined types or classes of citations of Mantras from the point of view of their applicability to the rites. *In a word, the applicability of a RV. Mantra to its rite, differs not only in degree but also in kind* from that of another mantra to its rite. It is true that in the cult of the ritual, a belief in the magic power of a word (i.e. its sound without any relation to its meaning) was implicit and that, as a consequence, there are some cases, where a mantra is employed in a rite merely because it happens to contain some word inherent to the ritual act. Nevertheless the proportion of such mantras to others employed on certain definite principles is almost negligible, as I propose to show with special reference to the ĀG.

An investigation of this type with reference to a Gṛhya-Sūtra like the ĀG. must, in my opinion take account of one vital fact viz. that the liturgical employment of a RV-mantra in the ĀG. could never escape the influence of the long previous tradition of such employment of the mantra in question, in the Samhitās of the other Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta-Sūtras. When, for example, a RV. mantra appears in the Taittirīya or other Samhitās, it appears in a ritual setting, which is of great value in understanding the subsequent phases of the liturgical employment of that mantra in later literature, viz. the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras. The other Samhitās from this point of view are the *earliest ritual text-books extant*, the predecessors of the Gṛhya-Sūtras, almost in a direct line. Next in order come the Brāhmaṇas that comment on the ritual and the mantras employed in their respective Samhitās. Lastly come the Śrauta-Sūtras which employ the mantras very much in the manner of the Brāhmaṇas authoritative in their particular Śākhā. A review of the successive phases of the liturgical employment of a RV. mantra in these three classes of texts (which as classes of literature are definitely anterior to the Gṛhya-Sūtras) is, in my opinion, *necessary at least* when the original RV. setting of a mantra fails to explain its liturgical employment in a Gṛhya-Sūtra. A Gṛhya-Sūtra being of the nature of a compilation recording the traditional stock of gṛhya rules and practices,

¹ *The R̥g-veda Mantras in the Gṛhyasūtras*, Diss. Roanoke Va-1899, p. 14.

could *never strike out a new line* in selecting a mantra for employment in a particular rite. Just as, therefore, to understand the full connotation of a word, 'a review of the earlier stages or shades of meaning through which it has passed, is helpful, in the same way, to understand the ritual employment or interpretation of a mantra, a review of the earlier stages of its ritual interpretation is essential.

A survey of this kind in the case of each RV. mantra employed in the ĀG. has revealed to me certain underlying principles and a classification based on these principles is given below with an explanation of these principles and the corresponding classes.

I. By far the largest number of citations (55 out of a total number of 82, excluding repetitions) belongs to (what I call) the '*Sacramental*' class or possesses '*sacramental applicability*.' I use the term '*sacramental*' in the sense in which it has been used in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. 8, p. 109) in a description of Vedic ritual in the Gṛhya-Sūtras, "All the important events of life are sacramental, decked out in practices, often, of great charm and usually full of symbolic meaning." When a R̥gveda mantra has the same sacramental setting or context in the RV. itself, as it has in the ĀG. where it is cited, I call that citation '*sacramental*.' Mantras, extracted from the marriage-hymn and the well-known funeral hymns of the R̥g-veda for example, belong to this class. Such citations are naturally the most appropriate to the context. In other words the R̥g-verses belonging to this class are the so-called *gṛhya* verses of the R̥g-veda. A survey of all such Gṛhya-Mantras employed in the ĀG. reveals the fact that they are not confined only to the marriage and funeral hymns of the RV. e.g. RV. X. 166 (ĀG. II. 6. 12) is a hymn with 'destruction of rivals' as its subject or deity ['सपत्ननाशनरूपोऽर्थो देवता'—सायण] ; RV. VII. 54 is a hymn to the Lord of the homestead or Vāstu suggestive of the ritual of appeasing the Vāstu (ĀG. II. 9. 9.) ; RV. IV. 57 is redolent of agriculture (ĀG. II. 10. 4) ; RV. X. 169 and VI. 28 refer to the tending of cattle (ĀG. II. 10. 5-7) ; RV. X. 161 is a spell for the cure of consumption (ĀG. III. 6. 4) ; RV. X. 165 is an expiatory hymn suggestive of the ritual context in ĀG. III. 7. 7 ; RV. II. 42 and 43 are hymns to Indra in the form of a Kapiñjala suggestive of the ritual context in ĀG. III. 10. 9 ; RV. X. 173 is a hymn in praise of a king (ĀG. III. 12. 2) and RV. VI. 75. 1-8, 14, 16-17 and RV. VI. 47, 29-31 are very suggestive of the battle context in ĀG. III. 12. 3-11, 18, 19 and 17 respectively. Prof. OLDENBERG makes the following statement about such Gṛhya verses of the RV. "Another portion of these verses and songs proves to have been composed indeed for the very Gṛhya ceremonies for which they are prescribed in the texts of the ritual : but these verses are more recent than the old parts of the R̥g-veda."¹ In the light

¹ S.B.E. Vol. XXX, p. x.

of this evidence, this statement will have to be modified because some at least of the Grhya verses and songs, mentioned above, belong to the admittedly old parts of the Rg-veda.

II. There is another class of mantra-citations to which I give the name '*Invocational*'. Verses or hymns containing prayers for blessings in general such as the 'Svastyayana' hymns cited in ĀG. II. 3. 13 and IV. 6. 18 or for some special blessings connected with the particular rite under description (as for example RV. III. 36. 10—a prayer for long life cited in a birth-rite in ĀG. I. 15. 3) belong to this class.

III. Allied to this class but sufficiently distinct from it to be classified separately is Class III 'the *mythological*' class of citations which become appropriate in a rite mainly because they are addressed to a deity who is associated with that rite, e.g. RV. I. 43, 114 ; II. 33 and VII. 46 which are all hymns to Rudra, become appropriate in the Śūlagava ceremony sacred to Rudra. The distinction between the two classes is that in the 'Invocational' class it is the invocation or prayer (for long life, prosperity or hero-sons etc.) that makes the citation appropriate whatever the deity, whereas a citation of the 'Mythological' class comes in because it is the deity that is more important than the prayer. Both these classes of citation are in fact appropriate to any stage of the ritual because the whole conception of life was ritual and at the same time 'mythological' in the sense that every advance in life was but a manifestation of the favour of one deity or another and every activity must therefore be backed up by an appropriate prayer.

IV. I give the name '*Oblational*' to that class of citations that become appropriate to a ritual act through *oblations to Agni* or in other words because the act is accompanied by oblations to the domestic fire. The Grhya fire was the centre of the grhya ritual and there was hardly a stage of any Grhya ceremony that was not marked by the offering of oblations to or the placing of fuel-sticks on the domestic fire. No wonder then, that certain RV. mantras are employed which have no link with the ceremony as such but which are perfectly in place as accompaniments of oblations that were offered into the Grhya-fire, side by side. These are naturally all 'Agni verses' e.g. RV. IX. 66. 19-21 (ĀG. I. 4. 4) ; I. 12. 1-2 (ĀG. I. 11. 2).

V. There remain, however, a few citations (6 out of a total of 82), whose only link with the ritual context is some superficial resemblance in the form of a common word or phrase without any relation to its meaning. I describe these as possessing '*Superficial applicability*' or as belonging to the '*superficial*' class. Even in these few cases (as shown in the discussion under the relevant sūtras), the choice of the mantra is not purely arbitrary, but is dictated either by earlier liturgical employment or some striking metaphor as in RV. X. 63.10 quoted in ĀG. II. 6. 8.

I now give the classification in tabular form :—

. I. 'Sacramental' Class.											
RV.			ĀG.	RV.			ĀG.	RV.			ĀG.
X.85.36	...	...	I.7.3	VII.54 and VII.55.1. }	...	II.9.9		VI.47.29-31	...	III.12.17	
X.85.26	...	...	I.8.1	IV.57	...	II.10.4		X.14.9	...	IV.2.10	
X.40.10	...	...	I.8.4	X.169	...	II.10.5-6		X.16.7	...	IV.3.20	
X.85.32	...	...	I.8.6	VI.28	...	II.10.7		X.14.10	...	IV.3.21	
X.85.33	...	...	I.8.7	X.161	...	III.6.4		X.16.8	...	IV.3.25	
X.85.27	...	...	I.8.8	II.28.10	...	III.6.4		X.14.7 etc.	...	IV.4.6	
X.85.43 to 47 }	...	...	I.8.9	X.165	...	III.7.7		X.18.3	...	IV.4.9	
VIII.101.15	...	...	I.24.32	II.42nd. and 43rd hymns }	III.10.9			X.16.14	...	IV.5.4	
I.189.5	...	...	II.1.6	X.84.7	III.10.12			X.18.10-13	...	IV.5.7-10	
VII.38.7	...	...	II.1.7	VIII.61.13 }	III.11.2			X.16.9	...	IV.6.2 & 5	
I.22.15	...	...	II.3.7	seqq. }	III.12.2			X.18.6	...	IV.6.8	
X.15.1 seqq.	...	...	II.4.6	X.173	III.12.3-10			X.18.4	...	IV.6.9	
X.166 (whole)	...	...	II.6.13	VI.75.1-7, 14,16,17. }	and 18-19			X.18.1-5	...	IV.6.10	
								X.18.7	...	IV.6.12	
								X.115.5	...	IV.6.14	
								X.9.4	...	IV.7.11	

II. 'Invocational' class.		III. 'Mythological' class.		IV. 'Oblational' class.		V. 'Superficial' class.	
RV.	ĀG.	RV.	ĀG.	RV.	ĀG.	RV.	ĀG.
X.121.10	...	V.3.2	...	IX.66.19-21	I.4.4	III.8.4	...
II.21.6	...	II.32.4-5	...	I.12.1-2	I.11.2	X.63.10	...
and III.36.10 }	...	V.82.1	...	I.18.6	I.22.13	I.152.1	...
I.90.6-8	...	X.9.1-3	...	I.189.1-4	II.1.4	III.45.1	...
II.22.16	II.3.11-12	X.37.4-12	...	I.189.1-2	II.4.14	VI.75.8	...
'Saurya' and 'Svastayana' hymns }	...	II.33.11	...	I.97.	IV.6.18	I.82.2	...
VII.35	...	I.43.114; }	IV.8.23				
X.128	...	II.33 and }					
X.185	...	VII.46 }					

Before we enter upon a detailed examination of the Sūtras in relation to the Ṛgveda mantras cited by them it is necessary to examine how far the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra conforms to the three rules laid down in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra I. i. 17-19 regarding the manner of Mantra-citations in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras of the Ṛgveda.

The manner of mantra-citations in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra.

The plan of Mantra-citations followed by a Sūtra-text is well-known. Mantras from the Samhitā of the Śākhā to which the text belongs are cited by Pratīkas only but mantras taken from other Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas and those that belong to the floating tradition of gṛhya formulas are quoted in full. The reason evidently was that

as the followers of a Śākhā always had by heart the text of the Saṁhitā held authoritative in their Śākhā, it was enough for their needs to cite the pratikas only of the mantras in that Saṁhitā, in sūtra-texts belonging to that Śākhā.

The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra belongs to the Ṛg-veda and therefore it cites only the pratikas of the Ṛg-veda mantras employed in the ritual. Rules regarding the nature and extent of these pratikas and the manner of their variations to indicate the citation, sometimes of more verses than one and sometimes of a whole sūkta are given in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra I. 1. 17-19 as follows :—

ĀŚ. I. 1. 17 : ' Ṛcam pāda-graḥaṇe'—When the (entire first) pāda (of a Ṛg-verse) is extracted, (the citation of that entire) Ṛg-verse is indicated.

I. 1. 18 : ' Sūktam sūktādaḥ hīne pāde'—If less than the (first) pāda at the beginning of a hymn (i.e. a part only of the first pāda of the first verse of a hymn) is extracted, then the (citation of the entire) hymn is indicated.

I. 1. 19 : ' Adhike ṛcam sarvatra'—If more than a (complete first) pāda of a verse is extracted from anywhere (i.e. from the opening or middle part of a hymn), a group of three consecutive verses (beginning with that verse) is indicated as cited.

It is a natural expectation that these rules in the ĀŚ. should be followed in the ĀG., but the following analysis of all cases of RV. citations in our text reveals *that only the first rule is observed*. The view of the commentator Nārāyaṇa that these three rules are followed in our text (Prof. STENZLER's note on I. 20. 9, p. 49) or the view that the first two rules are observed in the Gṛhya Sūtras (Edwin FAY, *RV. Mantras in the Gṛhya Sūtras*, p. 36) is *not borne out*.

I ' Ṛcam pāda-graḥaṇe'. There are in all 66 cases, in each of which, a single RV. verse is cited. (a) In 44 cases out of these, this rule is strictly observed. (b) In five cases the rule is observed but a knowledge of it is, as it were, not presumed, because words like ' ityetayā ṛcā' (with this Ṛg-verse) as in I. 12. 3 ; 23. 25 or ' ityekā' (this one Ṛg-verse) as in III. 5. 6, 8, 9 follow. (c) In eight cases, there was no occasion to use the rule as the single verses have been indicated by a reference to their exact position in a hymn as ' following another previously cited' (' Uttarām' etc., as in I. 7. 18 ; II. 12. 4-5 or by a reference to a verse as the fourth etc. of a hymn previously drawn upon, as in III. 12. 6-10. (d) In three cases, a verse is indicated by its well-known name (sāvitrī e.g.), (e) In two cases (in I. 1.4) two verses have been cited in full, no use being made of the rule. (f) In three cases II. 6. 13 ; III. 7. 8. and III. 12. 2, an entire first pāda of a verse is given as pratika and the citation of that verse is probably meant in accordance with the rule but the commentators Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta state without giving reasons that a whole hymn is indicated. (g) In

only one case is the rule violated viz. in 1. 8. 4 where less than a whole first pāda of X. 40. 10 is given as pratika. This exception only proves the rule and *it may be said that our text scrupulously follows this rule.*

II 'Sūktam sūktadau hīne pāde'

Whole hymns have been cited in 19 cases (excluding repetitions).

(a) In seven of these, the hymns have been indicated by their names such as 'Saurya' 'svastyayana,' 'śāntātiya,' 'āgāvīya,' 'abhivarta,' etc. and thus there was no occasion to use the rule. (b) In four cases (III. 7. 7 ; III. 8. 21 ; III. 9. 2. and IV. 8. 23) the rule has been observed but a knowledge of it is not presumed as words like 'iti pratyrcam' (thus, verse by verse) or 'iti sūktena' are added which by themselves make the citation of a hymn clear. (c) In four cases (II. 10. 4 ; III. 6. 4. III 10. 9 and IV. 6. 18) the rule has been violated because an entire first pāda of the opening verse is given as pratika but the citation of the hymn is indicated by the addition of words like 'iti pratyrcam' or 'iti sūkte' etc. (d) Only in four cases, has the rule been availed of and observed e.g. in I. 14. 3 ; III. 7. 9 and 10 ; III. 10. 7. Even in these four cases, all that can be said is that the application of the rule is *probably intended* and hymns are meant but the possibility that only one verse is meant is not to be excluded as from the ritual point of view, the employment of a single verse as well as a whole hymn would equally serve the purpose. I, therefore, *think that our text does not use this rule to any appreciable extent.*

III. 'Adhike tṛcam sarvatra'.

There is *not a single case where this rule has been availed of*, because wherever the citation of a tṛca is to be indicated, our text invariably adds words like 'iti tisṛbhiḥ' or 'iti tṛcena' as in I. 4.4 ; I. 24.15 etc.

The citation of half-verses and groups of two, four, five, eight or more verses is indicated by appropriate expressions like " ityardharcena " 'iti dvābhyām', 'iti pañcabhiḥ' etc.

The plan adopted in the following discussion of the applicability of RV. citations is this :—The first paragraph gives the text and translation of the relevant sūtra with a brief explanation of the context where necessary. The pratika of the RV. verse or hymn given in the sūtra is not translated as a translation of the whole verse or its purport *generally* follows in the same or in the next paragraph. If, however, a whole hymn or a group of three or more verses is cited, I state briefly as much of their contents and purport as is necessary for understanding their relation to the ritual context. Then follows a discussion of the applicability and classification of the mantra-citation or any peculiar features or points about it. In the last paragraph, I give a resumé of the liturgical employment of the mantra or mantras in earlier texts, *in so far as it throws light on the final stage of such employment in the ĀG.*

The Vedic texts cited or referred to in the following investigation, with abbreviations of their titles.

Samhitās.

- RV.—The Rig-veda saṁhitā : Max MÜLLER's second Quarto edition, London.
 AV.—The Atharva-veda-saṁhitā : the edition of ROTH and W. D. WHITNEY (Berlin 1856).
 VS.—The Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā in the Mādhyamīna Śākhā : edited by A. WEBER, Berlin and London, 1852.
 VSK. The variants of the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā as given at the end of each section in the above edition.
 SV.—Die Hymnen des Sāma-Veda, edited by T. BENFEY, Leipzig, 1848.
 TS.—The Taittirīya-saṁhitā, edited by A. WEBER, Indische studien, Volumes XI and XII. Leipzig. 1871-1872.
 MS.—The Maitrāyaṇi-saṁhitā, edited by Dr. LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER; four volumes, Leipzig, 1881-1886.
 KS.—Die Saṁhitā der Kaṭha Śākhā, edited by Dr. Leopold VON SCHROEDER; first volume 1900, second volume 1909, Leipzig.
 Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads
 AB.—Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa : T. AUFRECHT, Bonn. 1879.
 KB.—Das Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa : B. LINDNER. Jena 1887.
 SB.—The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyamīna Śākhā : A. WEBER; Berlin and London 1855.
 TB.—The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda : Bibliotheca Indica. Three volumes, Calcutta 1859.
 GB.—The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvaveda : Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1872.
 PB.—The Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa or Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa : Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1870-1874.
 ŠB.—The Śaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, edited by Herman Frederick EELSINGH; Leiden 1908.
 JB.—Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, W. CALAND : Verhandelingen Der Koninklyke Akademie Van Wetenschappen Nieuwe Reeks Deel XIX No. 4.
 TA.—The Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka; Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1872.
 KBU.—The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1861.
 JUB.—The Jaiminiya-or Talavakāra-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa : Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVI, Pp. 79-260.

Śrauta-sūtras.

- AS.—The Śrauta-sūtra of Āśvalāyana : Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1874.
 SS.—The Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1888.
 LŚ.—The Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-sūtra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1872.
 KŚ.—The Kāṭyāyana Śrauta-sūtra : edited by A. WEBER, Berlin and London 1859.
 ApŚ.—The Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra : Bibliotheca Indica edition in three volumes.
 MŚ.—Das Mānava Śrauta-sūtra : Dr. Friedrich KNAUER; Books i-v. St. Petersburg 1900-1903.

Gṛhya-Sūtras etc.

- AG.—The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra : Prof. SLENZLER's edition, Indische Hausregeln : Āśvalāyana Erstes Heft. Pp. 1-45 : Leipzig 1864. The readings given in the 'Kritische Anmerkungen' (pp. 46-53) and the emendations proposed in the Vorrede (I to III) to the Zweites Heft (Uebersetzung : Leipzig 1865) have been discussed where necessary. When I mention

- Prof. STENZLER's views, I refer to this second part, where he gives a German translation of the work with notes.
- SG.—The Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra edited by H. OLDENBERG : Indische studien, Vol. XV, pp. 1-166.
- PG.—The Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Prof. STENZLER, Indische Hauseregeln II, Pāraskara ; Leipzig 1876.
- GG.—Das Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra, Dr. F. KNAUER, Dorpat and Leipzig 1884.
- KhG.—The Khādira Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by H. OLDENBERG, sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX.
- HG.—The Hiranyakeśin Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Dr. J. KIRSTE, Vienna 1889.
- ApG.—The Āpastambiya Gṛhya-sūtra edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Vienna 1887.
- ApMB.—The (Mantra-Brāhmaṇa or) Mantra-pāṭha of the Āpastambins, edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Oxford 1897.
- Kauś.—The Kauśika-sūtra of the Atharva-veda edited by M. BLOOMFIELD in Vol. XIV of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- SMB.—The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda edited by Satyabrata SAMASRAMIN, Calcutta 1873.
- Nārāyaṇa :—The Sanskrit commentary by Gārgya Nārāyaṇa printed in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra, Calcutta 1869.
- S.B.E.—Sacred Books of the East.

Sūtras in the ĀG. in which R̥gveda verses are liturgically employed.

ĀG. I. 1. 3 and 4 :—RV. VIII. 19.5 24.20 and VI. 16. 47 are cited in these two sūtras in order to justify the 'pākayajña' character of the last two divisions of pākayajñas mentioned in sūtra 2 viz. the 'prahutāḥ' and the 'brahmaṇi hutāḥ' as it is not apparent, they being sacrifices *not offered into the domestic fire*. The R̥g-verses have been quoted in a dogmatic discussion common enough in the Brāhmaṇa texts but foreign to the Gṛhya-sūtras. Since they have not been quoted as an accompaniment to any ritual act, they are outside the field of our investigation and have not been included in our classification tables though they are perfectly appropriate to their context, our aim being an examination of the applicability of such R̥g-verses only as are liturgically employed.

ĀG. I. 4.4. 'अग्न आयुषि पवस' इति तिसृभिः 'प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्यन्य' इति च । ४

Context and translation :—[Before the ceremonies of Caulakarma (tonsure of the child's head), Initiation, godāna (first shaving of the beard) and marriage, he should offer four Ājya oblations], with the three verses : RV. IX. 66. 19-21 and with the verses RV. X. 121.10.

RV. IX. 66. 19-21 *Contents* :—The hymn IX. 66.1-30 is addressed to *Soma pavamāna* (its deity) with the exception of these verses 19-21 which are addresses to *Agni pavamāna*. Thus and also through the common epithet 'pavamāna', the verses have the double character of being sacred to both Agni and Soma.

Applicability. The verses accompany ājya oblations that have the character of general preliminary offerings to Agni that give an auspicious start to the four ceremonies. Now Agni and Soma are the well-known deities of the two Ājya-bhāgas (or butter-portions) that always precede the principal oblations in every pāka-yajña. The citations

thus possess 'Oblational' applicability as they become appropriate only through the oblations accompanying them.

Earlier Liturgical employment (a) In TS. 1.3.14.7-8 the first and third of our verses (IX.66.19 and 21) are employed in the offering of the victim to Agni and Soma in the special sacrifices. In KS.9.2 the first verse is connected with the two Ājya-bhāgas for which it is stated to be specially fitted, being sacred to both Agni and Soma, the two deities of the Ājya-bhāgas; KB. 1.4 and SB. 2.2.3.22 employ the first verse in the Ājya-bhāgas. Thus the verses were traditionally connected with the two Ājya-bhāgas through their deities, Agni and Soma. (b) In AS. 2.3.29 we have 'Agnā āyūṁṣi pavasa iti tiṣṭbhiḥ (i.e. RV. IX. 66.19-21) saṁvatsare saṁvatsare' the context being a kāmya rite in connection with a son. Here we find the same verses cited in the *very words of our sūtra* and the context is also allied to our context (the first three rites are in connection with a son). *This passage, therefore, seems to have influenced our text.*
RV. X. 121.10.

The verse is cited in two other contexts also in our text. (2) In the Simantonnyana ceremony (I.14.3), the recitation of it accompanies the last of the eight ājya oblations offered in the domestic fire at the very beginning. (3) In the aṣṭakā ceremony (II.4.14), it accompanies the seventh of the eight oblations of the avadāna portions and Sthālīpāka that follow the offerings of the omentum of the animal sacrificed.
Contents :

Trans :—Thus : (a) O Prajāpati, none other than thou (b) dost protect all these creatures. (c) That, desiring which, we sacrifice to thee, may that be ours ; (d) may we be masters of riches.

Applicability.

By employing it in three contexts, our text indicates that the verse is an invocation suitable to any context. This is borne out by the character of the verse, especially its last two pādas which constitute a prayer for the fulfilment of *any particular wish* the sacrificer may cherish while sacrificing. The citation thus possesses (what I call) '*Invocational*' applicability.

Earlier liturgical employment. The verse, being thus of a very general import, is employed in a large number of texts (like the TS. VS. AV. SB. etc.) and in each text, more than once, in quite a variety of contexts. Only such passages are therefore referred to, as are suggestive of its employment in any one of the three contexts in our text. In TS. 3. 2. 5. 6. it is employed in the offering to the Fathers (which is a supplement to the soma sacrifice, a context allied to our third (i.e. aṣṭakā) context as the aṣṭakā rite is associated with the Fathers. In SB. 14. 9. 3. 3 it is employed in a rite aiming at the attainment of some great ambition. 14.9.3.1 reads 'Sa yaḥ kāmāyate mahat prāpnuyamīti udayama āpūrya-māṇa-pakṣe' etc. [Whoever desires that he

should attain to something great, should—during the northern course of the sun, in the increasing (i.e. bright) fortnight. etc.]

The italicized words are identical with the opening words of I. 4. 1 and I think that these ŚB. passages 14. 9. 31 and 5 are very suggestive of our I. 4. 1 and 4 respectively because as will be seen, there are many cases where our text has borrowed rules, as well as entire phrases and quotations from the ŚB.

ĀG. I. 8.4. 'त्वमयमा भवसि यत्कनीनामिति' विवाहे चतुर्थीम् । ८ ॥ ४ ॥

In the marriage ceremony (however), (let him offer) the fourth oblation with the verse RV. V. 3. 2 (instead of with X. 121. 10 as in the other three ceremonies of 'Caulakarman' etc.).

II. Trans. " (a) Thou art Aryaman as far as the maidens (are concerned). (b) O Divine One (lit. having your own being) ! thou bearest a sacred name. (c) Men adorn thee with milk-oblations like a friend well-disposed, (d) when thou makest husband and wife of one accord."

Our text by substituting this verse to accompany the fourth oblation in the case of the marriage ceremony only, indicates it as specially appropriate to that ceremony. As however the verse comes neither from the marriage-hymn nor has a marriage context in the RV. and becomes applicable through its deity Agni being identified with Aryaman who is closely associated with marriage *as will be shown below*, the citation possesses (what I call) mythological applicability—applicability through its deity.

There are many passages in the RV. associating Aryaman with marriage as an intermediary. RV. X. 85. 36 (cited in our text I. 7. 3) e.g. in its last two pādas, associates Aryaman with other gods like 'Bhaga', 'Savitṛ' etc. as having handed over the bride to the husband to be the mistress of his home. AV. XIV. I. 17 'aryamaṇam yajāmahe subandhum pativedanam' represents him as a great friend finding a husband for a maiden. Similarly in AV. XIV. 2, 13 (which is a wedding-hymn) Aryaman is invoked with Bhaga, the Aśvins and Prajāpati to bless the newly-married couple with progeny.

ĀG. I. 7. 3. तिष्ठन् प्रत्यङ्मुखः प्राङ्मुख्या आसीनाया 'गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्त' मित्यङ्गुष्ठमेव गृह्णीयाद्यदि कामयति पुमांस एव मे पुत्रा जायेरन्विति ।

With the verse RV. X. 85. 36 (the bridegroom) standing with his face to the west, should grasp the thumb only of the bride who is sitting facing the east, if he desires only male issues (from the marriage) ; [sūtra 4 :—her other fingers only, if he desire only female issues ; sūtra 5 :—the hand with the thumb if he desires both male and female issues]. The context is the marriage ceremony.

Trans. (a) I take thy hand for welfare, (b) so that with me thy husband, thou mayest attain to old age. (c) Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛ and Purandhi, (d) (and) the gods have (now) given thee to me to be the mistress of the house.

As the context of the verse in the RV. itself is marriage (RV. X. 85 is the well-known marriage-hymn), the citation possesses 'sacramental' applicability—the verse itself referring to the ritual act (grasping of the hand) which it accompanies.

AV : XIV. 1. 50 is this same verse with the later reading 'Grh-nāmi' for the earlier form 'Grbhñāmi.' The context is the same, as XIV. 1 is a wedding-hymn borrowing largely from the RV. marriage-hymn.

AG. I. 8. 1. प्रयाण उपपद्यमाने 'पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्ये' ति यानमारोहयेत् । १ ।

[When a journey has to be made (by the newly-married couple to their new home)] he (i.e. the bridegroom) helps her to ascend the conveyance with the verse RV. X. 85. 26.

Trans. (a) May Pūṣan lead thee hence taking thy hand, (b) may the two Aśvins bear thee forth on their chariot ; (c) as lady of the house, do thou go to thy house, (d) so that, controlled thyself, thou mayest give orders to thy household. As the RV. verse itself describes the very same act (the bride's journey to her husband's home in a chariot) which it is cited to accompany, in our text, the citation possesses 'sacramental' applicability.

AV : XIV. 1. 20. is the same verse, except for 'bhagastveto' instead of our 'pūṣā tveto' and is employed by Kauś. 76. 10 in exactly the same way as in our text.

AG. I. 8. 4. 'जीवं रुदन्ती' ति रुदत्याम् । ४ ।

If (the bride) weeps, (he repeats) the verse RV. X. 40. 10 :—

जीवं रुदन्ति वि मयन्ते अध्वरे
दीर्घामनु प्रसिति दीधियुर्नरः ।
वामं पितृभ्यो य इदं संमेरिरे
मयः पतिभ्यो जनयः परिष्वजे' ॥

II. The meaning of the verse is very uncertain. It has been discussed by Prof. LANMAN in his 'Sanskrit Reader' and Prof. BLOOMFIELD in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXI. pp. 441-19. I offer my suggestions for its interpretation here. Prof. BLOOMFIELD shows with good reasons that RV. X. 40 is a wedding hymn. Ghoṣā (the Ṛṣi of the hymn)—a princess somewhat superannuated appeals to the Aśvins (the deities of the hymn) for helping her to get married. Verse 9th. describes, in his opinion, a wedding morn. (This view of Prof. BLOOMFIELD receives support from the fact that this verse occurs in AV. XIV. 1. 46 in a hymn which is a collection of wedding stanzas). The Professor points out that the custom of wailing over the bridegroom is proved as ancient as the Mantras. Dr. WINTERNITZ (p. 42, *Das Altindische Hochzeits-ritual*) says that the occasional crying of the bride has assumed the form of a rigid custom. Both he and Prof. HILLEBRANDT (*Ritual-Literature* pp. 2 and 67) show that this crying

is a survival of the very ancient custom of wife-abduction. I may draw attention to an interesting proof of this survival which has not received the attention it deserves. The Rākṣasa form of marriage defined in our text I. 6. 8 as 'hatvā bhitvā ca śīrṣāṇi rudatīm rudadbhṛyo haret' (he carries her off . . . : while she cries, from her crying relatives) is enumerated as a legitimate form of marriage ! If this were not a survival of a very ancient custom, it is difficult to understand how this violent method of winning a bride should have been ranked as 'a form of marriage' !

Prof. BLOOMFIELD gives the following translation of the verse :—“(a) They bewail the living one, yet rejoice at the feast. (b) For a long time the men have lived their pious lives. (c) A delight to the Fathers are they that have congregated here. (d) A joy to the husbands, wives to embrace.” I however, propose to translate the verse in the following way :—(a) They (the relations of the bride) bewail the living one (i.e. the bridegroom). (This is the same as BLOOMFIELD's interpretation); (yet) they exchange [*mayante*—from “*mā* to exchange, a specialization of *mā* to measure, with certain prepositions”—WHITNEY : 'Sanskrit Roots' p. 119] at the sacrifice (i.e. they go on with their duties at the marriage-sacrifice) (b) The men have pondered over (*didhiyuh*. WHITNEY's Roots, p. 83) the long bond [WHITNEY (p. 185) gives —*siti* from *si*, to bind] (between the newly-married couple and have reconciled themselves to it) (c) (This is) pleasing to the Fathers who have set in motion for themselves (*samerire*—WHITNEY's Roots, p. 10) this (*idam*) i.e. this law (d) that wives for embrace (should be) a joy to the husbands, (as they expect śrāddha-offerings from the progeny of marriage).

As the verse has a marriage-context in the RV. (as shown above) and as the words 'Jīvam rudanti' suggest the weeping of the bride—which the verse accompanies, the citation possesses 'sacramental applicability.'

ĀG. I. 8. 6. कल्याणेषु देशवृक्षचतुष्पथेषु 'मा विदन्यरिपथिन' इति जपेत् । ६ ।

At auspicious places, trees and cross-ways (in the course of their journey) he (the bridegroom) should mutter the verse RV. X. 85. 32.

Trans. (a) May not the waylayers find them (the couple), (b) those who lie in wait for husband and wife. (c) By good paths may they pass beyond difficulty (d) and may the foes flee away.

As the RV. verse describes the very situation in which it is to be recited, the citation possesses 'sacramental applicability.'

AV. XIV. 2. 11 is the same verse with unimportant variations occurring in a hymn of wedding stanzas.

ĀG I. 8. 7. वासे वासे 'सुमङ्गलीरियं वधू' रितीक्षकानीक्षेत् । ७ ।

At every place of residence (on the way), let him look at the on-lookers with the verse RV. X. 85. 33.

Trans. (a) This bride is of good auspices, (b) Come unto her, behold her (c) and giving unto her good fortune, (d) then do ye go unto your home.

The citation possesses 'sacramental applicability' as the verse describes the very stage (in the marriage ceremony) which its recitation accompanies.

AV. XIV. 2. 28 is the same verse which Kauś. 77. 10 employs for addressing *women* who come to look at the bride on her journey to her new home.

ĀG. I. 8. 8. 'इह प्रियं प्रजया ते समृध्यतामि'ति गृहं प्रवेशयेत् । ८ ।

(The bridegroom) makes her enter (the new) home with the verse RV. X. 85. 27.

Trans : (a) Here may welfare flourish for thee, with offspring ; (b) do thou be wakeful in this thy house, to rule as the ruler of the house ; (c) do thou unite thyself with this thy husband (d) and may ye two wakeful, give orders to your household.

The citation possesses 'sacramental applicability,' for the same reasons as are stated under the preceding Sūtras.

AV. XIV. 1. 21 is the same verse with 'prajāyai' in (a), 'saṁs-prāśvasva' in (c), and 'atha jirvirvidathamāvadāsi' for (d). It will be noted that this version of the last pāda is better suited to our context, as the husband is addressing the wife whereas the RV. pāda (d), can only be addressed to the couple by a third person. So, the AV. is the influence on our text.

ĀG. I. 8. 9. विवाहमिमुनसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानङ्गुहं चर्मास्तीर्य प्राग्ग्रीवमुत्तरलोम तस्मिन्नुपविष्टायं समन्वारब्धया 'मा नः प्रजां जनयतु प्रजापति' रिति चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा 'समंजंतु विश्वे देवा' इति दध्नः प्राश्य प्रतिप्रयच्छेदाज्यशेषेण वानक्ति हृदये । ९ ।

(After their entry into the new home), he puts fuel on the nuptial fire (which has been brought with them, Cf. I. 8. 5), spreads to the west of it, a bull's hide with the neck to the east and with the hair upwards and while she is sitting on that hide and taking hold of him, he offers ājya oblations with the four verses RV. X: 85 43-46, verse by verse and partaking of curds, gives the rest of it to her or besmears their hearts with the remainder of the ājya (from which he has offered the oblations) with the verse RV. X. 85. 47.

Trans. X. 85 (43) :—May Prajāpati give us offspring ; may Aryaman keep us united to old age. Free from ill-omens, enter into the world of thy husband ; be a blessing to our two-footed, a blessing to our four-footed. (44) :—With eye not terrible, be thou one who harms not thy husband, be gracious to the cattle, be of good mind, of good fame. Loving the gods, gentle, mayest thou bear hero-sons and be a blessing to our two-footed, a blessing to our four-footed. (45) :—O gracious Indra, make her one who has good sons and good fortune ; assign unto her ten sons and make her husband the Eleventh. (46) :—

Be a queen to thy father-in-law, a queen to thy mother-in-law, a queen to thy husband's sister and a queen to thy husband's brothers.

Applicability : The four verses (X. 85. 43-46) though accompanying ājya oblations, invoke blessings appropriate on the occasion of the bride's entry into her new home, which is their context in our text (compare especially verse 46th), so the citation possesses 'sacramental' applicability.

RV. X. 85. 47. Trans :—May all the gods, may the waters unite our two hearts. May Mātariśvan (Agni), may the Creator, may the Instructress (Deṣṭrī) place us together.

As the verse belongs to the marriage-hymn of the RV., it possesses general 'sacramental applicability' no doubt but as it optionally accompanies either of the two acts viz. (1) the partaking of curds together by the couple or (2) the husband's besmearing their two hearts with ājya, the applicability may be specified further as follows : In the first case—as all the gods are invoked to bring about a union of hearts, of which the partaking of curds is symbolical, the citation possesses in addition 'Invocational applicability' also. In the second case, there is a play on the two meanings of the root 'añj' to anoint in 'ājya-śeṣeṇa anakli hṛdaye' of the sūtra and the 'Samañjanlu Viśve devāḥ' of the RV. verse. So in the second case, the citation also possesses 'superficial applicability.'

ĀG. I. 8. 12. चरितव्रतः 'सूर्या' विदे वधूवस्त्रं दद्यात् । १२ ।

When he has practised the vow [of chastity for three or twelve nights as prescribed in sūtra 10th.], he should give the bride's shift to *one who knows* (the) 'sūryā' (hymn) i.e. RV. X. 85.

Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 171) translates this sūtra as 'When he has fulfilled (this) observance (*and has had intercourse with his wife*) etc. Prof. STENZLER (p. 22) *apparently* reproducing Nārāyaṇa's comment, gives a similar translation :—"Das Gewand, Welches Die Frau Während des Beilagers an hatte"! This is surprising as no Brāhmaṇa in India (even to-day, much less in ancient times when he was highly respected) could be insulted by the gift of a garment used during intercourse! What Nārāyaṇa really means is that the garment used by the bride during the marriage-ceremony upto the point of the completion of the vow of chastity but before the intercourse is to be made over to the Brāhmaṇa. [*Vratānantaram sūryā-vide upayamana-kāle upahitam* (put on during the marriage-ceremony) *vastram dadyāt.*']

Sūryā is the Ṛṣi of the marriage-hymn RV. X. 85 and as an author stands for his work so the 'seer' stands for the hymn. But conclusive evidence that 'Sūryā' denotes this particular hymn and that the *ritual practice recorded in this sūtra is as old as the RV.* is found in the last two pādas of the 34th verse of this very RV. hymn. They read '(c) *Sūryām yo brahmā vidyāt* (d) *sa id vādhyūmarhati.*' The Brāhmaṇa who knows 'Sūryā' deserves the (garment) of the bride

(vādhūyam). Now whether 'Sūryā' here is taken to mean the 'deity described in the hymn' as Sāyaṇa does or 'the song of Sūryā,' the ultimate meaning is the same viz. this hymn X. 85 which glorifies Sūryā and was revealed to her.

AV. XIV. 1. 29 is another version of this same verse X. 85. 34 with 'Veda' for 'vidyāt' in (c) and other minor variations.

ĀG. I. 11. 2. उत्तरतोऽग्नेः शमित्रस्यायतनं कृत्वा पाययित्वा पशुमाग्राव्य पुरस्तात्प्रत्यङ्-
मुखमवस्थाय 'अग्निं दूतमिति द्वाभ्यां हुत्वा सपलाशयार्द्रशाखया
पश्चादुपस्पृशेत्.....। २।

Context and contents : (In an animal sacrifice), having made a place for the Śamitra fire to the north of the (domestic) fire, having made the animal drink (water), washed it and having placed it to the east (of the fire), with its face to the west, (the performer of the ceremony) should sacrifice (lit. and having sacrificed) with the two verses RV. I. 12. 1-2....

RV. I. 12. 1-2 Trans :—(1) We choose (for ourselves) Agni, the invoker, who knoweth all, as the wise one, for this our sacrifice. (2) Ever do men with their invocations call Agni, Agni the lord of the peoples, the bearer of oblations who is dear to many.

The two verses are prayers to Agni and become applicable only *because they accompany oblations offered to Agni*, being in no other way connected with the ritual. The citation therefore possesses 'Oblational applicability.'

TS. 2. 5. 8. 5 employs the first verse as a Sāmīdhenī ṛc and AB. 4. 31. 4 and KB. 1. 4 employ it on the second day of the Pṛṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha (a Soma-sacrifice). The verses are thus used in a variety of contexts and are primarily Agni-verses *but the* clue to their employment in our text is furnished by ĀŚ. 4. 13. 7 where the whole sūkta cited by the pratika 'agnim dūtam' is employed in the 'āgneya kratu' which follows as a *supplement to an animal sacrifice*. Our text has cited the same two words as pratika. [This pratika being shorter than a complete first pāda should indicate the citation of the whole sūkta according to the rule discussed in the Introductory section but by adding the words 'iti dvābhyām' the text has restricted the quotation to the first two verses only.]

ĀG. I. 14. 3. अथामिमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानङ्गं चर्मास्तीर्य प्राग्भीवमुत्तरलोमं तस्मिन्नुप-
विष्टायां समन्वारब्धायां 'धाता ददातु दाशुषे' इति द्वाभ्यां, 'राकामहमिति
द्वाभ्यां, 'नेजमेष', 'प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्यन्य' इति च । ३।

(In the Śimantonnayana ceremony), having put fuel on the fire, spread to the west of it a bull's hide with its neck to the east and hair upwards, (the performer of the ceremony offers oblations) while his wife sitting on that hide keeps in touch with him, with the following verses :—with the two verses 'Dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe, (ĀŚ. VI, 14. 16), *with the two verses RV. II, 32. 4-5, with the Nejaṃeṣa*'

(text) and with the RV. verse X. 121. 10 (already discussed under 1. 4. 4.).

Trans. RV. 'II. 32. 4-5 : (4) (a) With (my) good hymn of praise, do I invoke Rākā who is easy of invocation ; (b) may she, the bounteous one, listen to us ; may she herself take heed to us. (c) With needle unbreaking, may she sew her task ; (d) may she grant unto us a hero, the support of hundreds, famous. (5) Those benevolent cares, O Rākā, well-ordered, whereby Thou dost grant unto the sacrificer, riches, with these do thou come unto us, with good intent, bestowing nourishment on thousands, O Blessed one !

The citation is 'mythological,' since at this ceremony (performed in the fourth month of pregnancy) these verses become applicable because they are sacred to Rākā, a minor deity who is specially associated with offspring [see pāda (d) of the fourth verse above and the following paragraph].

TS. 3. 3. 11 is a section giving verses that constitute the vājyās and Puroṇuvākyās of the Kāmyeṣṭis (sacrifices offered for the fulfilment of certain desires) and among these, are found two verses sacred to Dhātṛ (corresponding to the first citation in this sūtra), then two verses to Anumati, *then these two verses to Rākā*, two to sinīvālī and two to kuhū. The Brāhmaṇa of this section, TS 3. 4. 9. explains that *he who desires offspring should offer oblations to the minor deities Dhātṛ, Anumati etc.* Our text which cites the verses in very nearly the same order and nearly the same context has evidently been influenced by the TS. MS. 4. 12. 6 and KS. 13. 16 are passages very similar in context and content to the above TS. passage. Similar also is Āś. I. 10. 7 which cites the pratika 'Rākā-maham' like our text. These two Rākā verses constitute one hymn VII. 48 of the AV. which explains why *just these two verses* should have been extracted from the RV. hymn II. 32.

The 'Nejameṣa' text :—Prof. STENZLER, (p. 36) mentions Nārāyaṇa's view that according to the rule of the Āś. I. i. 18¹ a whole hymn is indicated as cited by the pratika 'nejameṣa' which is shorter than a complete first pāda and since eight ājya oblations are offered in all, the Nejameṣa hymn must consist of three verses because five other verses have been cited in addition. But this point need not be left to a mere inference of this type. The Bibliotheca Indica and the Trivandrum editions read 'iti tisrbhiḥ' (with the three verses beginning with) after 'Nejameṣa' and ŚG. I. 22. 7 also adds 'iti tisrah' after the pratika. (2) Prof. STENZLER gives the text of the three verses of the Nejameṣa hymn as given in the Saṁskāra Kaustubha and Prayoga-ratna. As Prof. OLDENBERG points out (p. 181), that hymn is the 'Rigveda khailika sūkta, Vol. VI. p. 31, ed. MAX MÜLLER.'

The rule has been discussed in the Introductory section,

It is given as a khailika sūkta also in AUFRECHT's Khailika Sūktas p. 687. These two versions of the hymn are identical with that given by STENZLER.

As regards the change of the reading 'Viṣṇoh' (found not only in the version given by STENZLER but also in MÜLLER and AUFRECHT) into 'Viṣṇo' which STENZLER proposes (p. 37) in the light of AV. V. 25. 10, it is, in my opinion, unnecessary because in the AV. version which drops the first verse, the hymn is addressed to 'Viṣṇu' and properly reads 'Viṣṇo' in the vocative but in a Khailika hymn of three verses addressed to 'Nejameṣa' it is more natural to take the line as an invocation to that deity to place a 'garbha (endowed) with the excellent beauty of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇoh) in the womb of the lady etc.,' which is the purport of the line.

In the parallel passages of the sūtra texts, SMB 1. 4, 9. seqq. MG. 2. 18. 4 seqq. and ĀPMB. I. 12, 7, 4 and 6, the three verses constituting the khila-hymn do not appear together and in the same order and the AV. version omits the first verse altogether. It appears therefore that the 'Nejameṣa' hymn as such was arranged for the first time in the RV. Khila collection. It is known in that form to the Bṛhaddevatā VIII 83cd (dated 400 B.C. by Prof. MACDONELL) as also apparently to our text.

The citation is of the 'Mythological' class as the 'Nejameṣa' hymn becomes applicable to the context (of a pregnancy-rite) through its deity—which is a son-granting deity (compare WINTER-NITZ JRAS. 1895. pp. 149-155).

ĀG. I. 15. 3:—अंसावभिमृशति 'अस्मा भव परशुर्भव हिरण्यमस्तुतं भव । वेदो वै पुत्र-
नामासि स जीव शरदः शतमि'ति 'इन्द्र श्रेष्ठानि द्रविणानि धेहि,'
'अस्मे प्रयंधि मघवन्नृजीषिन्' इति च । ३ ।

Context and contents:—He touches (the child's) two shoulders with the mantra 'aśmā bhava' etc. (which is very nearly the same as ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 26) and with the RV. verse II. 21. 6 and the verse RV III. 36. 10. (This rite forms part of the 'Jātakarma or birth-ceremonies described in this kaṇḍikā).

RV. II. 21. 6 Trans:—'O Indra! bestow upon us (thy) best riches, the spirit of wisdom and prosperity, the strengthening power of riches, the freedom from harm of our bodies, the sweetness of speech and the fair course of days.'

The verse is an invocation to Indra for welfare, physical, mental and financial, which the newly-born child badly needs. The expression 'cittiṃ dakṣasya' (the spirit of wisdom) is very suggestive of the medhājanana rite (for production of intelligence) performed for the child just before the rite described in this sūtra. The citation therefore possesses 'invocational applicability.'

The KBU. is the Upaniṣad meant in ĀG. I. 13. 1 and this verse

is also cited in KBU. 2. 11 along with many other quotations that occur in this and the preceding kaṇḍikās. The KBU. is therefore the chief influence.

RV. III. 36. 10 Trans. :—"Upon us, O Bounteous One ! Impetuous One ! do thou bestow wealth, satisfying all desires, abundant. Grant unto us to live, a hundred autumns, grant unto us heroes continuous, O Indra, god of the fair lips !"

Like the preceding citation, this one also belongs to the '*Invocational class*' as the verse is a prayer for long life and hero-sons that has a general appropriateness in birth-rites. KBU. is the influence here also as this same RV. verse is cited in KBU. 2. 11 in a similar context.

A ban on this verse in the Śrauta ritual. An interesting point about this verse is that the ĀŚ. which prescribes the employment of the hymn RV III. 36 twice e.g. in 5. 16, 2 and 7. 5. 20 in certain types of the soma-sacrifice scrupulously directs the *omission of this verse* (III. 36. 10) only from the sūkta. Sāyaṇa in his commentary, while explaining the viniyoga of this verse remarks 'Sā nirdaheccasyamānā iti śrūyate' (it is known that this verse if recited may burn), but adds that though thus condemned in the śrauta ritual, it must be employed in the Gṛhya-ritual (he refers to our text and this very sūtra) because it has been prescribed there. The reasons for this prejudice are not difficult to discover. The hymn consists of eleven verses and Viśvāmitra is the Ṛṣi of all of them except the 10th. (i.e. our verse), which has Ghorāṅgīrasa as its Ṛṣi ; now the connection of the Aṅgīrasa family with the Atharva-veda is well-known and the prejudice against that veda as the storehouse of formulas of black magic, held force against a hymn or verse revealed to the Ṛṣi Ghorāṅgīrasa. This throws light on the gulf between the Śrauta and Gṛhya cults and the special relation in which the AV. stands to Gṛhya-texts which employ formulas of black as well as white magic.

ĀG. I. 20. 4 :—अपामञ्जली पूरयित्वा 'तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमहे' इति पूर्णेनास्य पूर्णमवक्षारयति.....। ४ ।

(In the ceremony of Upanayana) the Ācārya fills his own and the student's joined hands with water and makes the water in the full hollow of his own joined hands, flow on to the full hollow of the student's hands with the verse RV. V. 82. 1.

In Sūtra I. 22. 9. this same verse is named as the special sāvitṛi verse to be employed on the occasion of a second special initiation of one who has been already initiated once, as part of another sacrament like the Godāna, for instance.

RV. V. 82. 1. Trans. :—That sustaining power of the god Savitṛ, do we choose for ourselves. We win for ourselves, that swift, most-nourishing sustenance of Bhaga.

In the first context, the citation belongs to the 'mythological' class because the verse is sacred to Savitṛ—who is the all-important

deity of the rite of Initiation. As regards the second context, it must be said that our text is almost alone in looking upon this verse RV. V. 82. 1 (an *anuṣṭubh* verse sacred to the sun) as a *secondary sāvitṛī*. SB. 11. 5. 4-13 *condemns the use of an anuṣṭubh sāvitṛī* ! It must be according to it, the one and only *Sāvitṛī* verse in the *Gāyatrī* metre i.e. RV. III. 62 10. ŚG. II. 5. 5 and 6 PG. II. 3 8 and 9 prescribe a *sāvitṛī* verse in the *Gāyatrī* metre for a *Brāhmaṇa*, one in the *Triṣṭubh* metre for a *Rājanya* and one in the *Jagatī* metre for a *Vaiśya* but nowhere else is an *anuṣṭubh sāvitṛī* employed as in our text !

ĀG. I. 20. 9 and 10 :—‘युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्’ इत्यर्धर्चेनैनं प्रदक्षिणमावर्तयेत् । ९ । तस्याध्यंसौ पाणी कृत्वा हृदयदेशमालभेतोत्तरेण । १० ।

(9th) (The Ācārya) makes him (the student) turn round from left to right with the half-verse RV. III. 8. 4ab ; (10) and extending his two hands over (the student's) shoulders, should touch the region of his heart with the following half-verse RV III. 8. 4.cd.

RV. III. 8. 4. Trans. :—(a) That youth, clad with fair garments has now come ; (b) he when born becometh greater ; (c) him do the wise ones, the seers bring forward, (d) of good intent, with devotion in their minds.

As the survey of earlier liturgical employment in the next paragraph shows, the verse is essentially a ‘yūpa’ (sacrificial post) verse ; and is employed in the Upanayana context *only because* the epithet ‘yuvā’ etc. and the second pāda are *superficially* applicable to the youth who is being initiated and whom Initiation introduces to a nobler phase of life. The citation therefore possesses superficial applicability.

In the RV. itself, a *yūpa* (or sacrificial post) is the deity of the verse and the whole hymn. In MS. 4. 13. 1 and KS. 15. 12, the context of the verse is *Yūpa-saṃskāra* (refinement or purification of the sacrificial post) in an animal sacrifice. AB. 2. 2. 19 quotes the verse and comments on it pāda by pāda at the ritual of covering the *yūpa*. Similar is the employment in ĀŚ. III. 1. 9. So in earlier texts, the verse is essentially a ‘*Yūpa*’ verse.

ĀG. I. 21. 4 and 5 :—‘मयि मेधाम्.....तेनाहं हरस्वी भूयासम्’ इत्युपस्थाय जान्वाच्योपसंगृह्य ब्रूयादधीहि भो सावित्रीं भो३ अनुब्रूहीति । ४ । तस्य वाससा पाणिभ्यां च पाणी संगृह्य ‘सावित्रीम्’ अन्वाह पच्छोऽर्धर्चशः सर्वाम् । ५ ।

Context and contents of Sūtras : I. 21. 4. 5. [During the course of the ceremony of Initiation, the boy] worships the fire with certain formulas, bends his knee, touches (the feet) of the teacher and says to him ‘Declare, sir ! The *sāvitṛī*, Sir, declare.’ The ācārya then grasps

the pupil's hands with his own hands and (the pupil's) garment and repeats to him the *Sāvitrī* (firstly) pāda by pāda, (then) hemistich by hemistich and (finally) the whole (verse).

Our text, however, nowhere specifies which '*Sāvitrī*,' (lit. a verse sacred to the god Savitṛ) is meant although there are so many verses in the RV. sacred to Savitṛ. ŚG. 2. 5. 12 definitely quotes RV. III. 62. 10, as the *Sāvitrī* verse and ŚG. 2. 7. 8-11 and 19 describes two other characteristics of it, viz., that it as a gāyatrī (i.e. in the gāyatrī metre) and that its Ṛṣi is Viśvāmitra. HG. 1. 6. 11 ; SMB. 1. 6. 29 and ĀPMB 2. 4. 13 refer to this same verse (RV. III 62. 10) as the *Sāvitrī* par excellence.

RV. III. 62. 10 Trans. :—We choose for ourselves that excellent refulgence of god Savitṛ, who may stimulate our prayers.

Among early vedic texts, TS. VS. AB. and KB. know of this verse only as *one of the many verses* sacred to Savitṛ and do not attach any special importance to it as the *sāvitrī* par excellence—which seems to be a later development. TS. 4. 1. 11. employs the verse for the offerings on eight potsherd to Savitṛ merely as a verse sacred to Savitṛ. VS. 3. 35 enumerates it among the Yājyās and anuvākyās of *Sāvitrī* iṣṭis (sacrifices), as a verse in the gāyatrī metre, sacred to *Sāvitrī*. *It is the ŚB. (II. 5. 4. 6) that employs this verse in the rite of Initiation.*

From the period of the ŚB. however *down to the present day in India*, this verse has played and still plays an important part in the daily life of a Brahmin, being included in his daily ritual—the Sandhyā adoration.

ĀG. I. 22. 13 :—आचार्यः समन्वारन्ध्रे जुहुयात् 'सदसस्पतिमद्भुत' मिति । १३ ।

[Kaṇḍikā I. 22 describes the daily observances of the Brahmacārin. Sūtra 12th says that at sunset the student cooks boiled rice for the Anupravacanīya (lit. following the daily Vedic study) sacrifice and announces it to the teacher]. Sūtra 13th. The Ācārya should sacrifice while the student keeps in touch with him, with the verse RV. I. 18. 6.

RV. 18. 6. Trans. :—I have now gone unto the wondrous lord of the abode (or assembly), the dear, cherished friend of Indra, the winner of wisdom.

As the verse is sacred to Agni, it becomes appropriate because oblations are offered to Agni. Therefore the citation possesses oblatinal applicability. The words 'sanim medhām' (winner of wisdom) in the verse, form a link with the ritual of the 'anupravacanīya homa' (the sacrifice that follows vedic study).

VS. 32. 13 is just this same verse. The 32nd, book gives Mantras for the Sarvamedha sacrifice and Mahīdhara the commentator says that in verses 13-15 medhā or intelligence is prayed for. When the verse was thus assigned to a group of 'Medhā' verses in the VS, its employment in the 'anupravacanīya homa' (as in our text) was but an easy step.

ĀG. I. 24. 15 :—तदङ्गलिना प्रतिगृह्य सव्ये पाणौ कृत्वा 'मधु वाता ऋतायते'
इति तृचेनावेक्ष्य.....। १५।

(In the guest-reception with the madhuparka) the guest accepts the madhuparka with his joined hands, takes it next in his left hand and then looks at it with the three verses : RV. I. 90-6-8.

In IV. 7. 26 this same group of three verses is employed. (Towards the close of the Śrāddha ceremony), the performer of the ceremony when he sees that the Brāhmaṇas have dined well and are satisfied, makes them listen to (i.e. himself recites) the madhumati verses (i.e. RV I. 90. 6-8).

RV. I. 90. 6-8 Trans :—(6) For him who is holy, the winds are sweetness, the rivers run sweetness, may the herbs for us be sweet. (7) May the Night be sweet, may the Dawns, may the expanse of the Earth be full of sweetness. May Father Sky be sweetness for us. (8) May the lord of the forest be full of sweetness for us and so may the Sun ; for us, may the cows be full of sweets.

The verses are cited not merely because of the word 'madhu' as Mr. FAY (RV. mantras in the Grhya-sūtras, p. 23) supposes but because they contain invocations to the powers of Nature to bring sweetness into the life of the invoker. Such prayers are appropriate at any stage of the ritual. It is a case therefore, of 'Invocational' citation in both the contexts and as the survey of the earlier liturgical employment of the verses in the next paragraph shows, they were employed in similar contexts before.

The verses occur in TS. 4. 2. 9. 3 (and in 5. 2. 8. 6 which is its Brāhmaṇa). The general context is the preparation of the ground for the fire and the depositing of the various bricks with mantras. With our verses, a tortoise is anointed with *curds and honey* (the ingredients of our Madhuparka 1. 24. 5) and deposited in the structure.

VS. 13. 27-29 are these same verses similarly employed and referred to as 'Madhumatiḥ' (as in our text IV. 7. 26) by PG. I. 3. 21 which employs them in a 'madhuparka' context. In the ŚB. 14. 9. 3. 11, these verses are quoted and named as 'madhumatiḥ, and employed in the eating of 'Mantha' in a Kāmya rite called 'Mantha' aiming at the acquisition of wealth. Thus was gradually effected the transition of the verses from the TS. context to our 'Madhuparka' one.

ĀG. I. 24. 32 :—'माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनाम्' इति जपित्वा 'ओमुत्सृजत'
इत्युत्सृज्यन्। ३२।

(If the guest) wishes to set free (the cow that has been announced to him as part of the Madhuparka offering and does not want her killed and served up to him), he mutters the verse RV. VIII. 101. 15 and the formula 'Om utsrjata'.

RV. VIII. 101. 15. Trans. (a) The mother of Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus (b) the sister of the Ādityas, the navel of immor-

tality (is the Cow); (c) let me now speak unto the wise folk : (d) slay not the innocent divine (aditim) cow.

As in the RV. itself, the deity of the verse is a cow and as the sentiment of the verse [especially pāda (d) : slay not the cow] is in complete harmony with the ritual act (of letting loose the cow) which it accompanies, the citation possesses 'Sacramental applicability.'

In AV. IX. 1. 4.—the first two pādas are similar to the first two pādas of our verse. AV. IX. 1 is a hymn sacred to the 'Madhumatī' Kaśā (Honeyed Whip) and called the 'Madhumatī' sūktā. *This may be a link with our madhuparka context.* In TA. 6. 12. 1 the verse is employed, if it is subsequently decided to set free the cow which has accompanied the funeral procession to be killed and laid limb by limb on the dead body. This use is closely parallel to that in our text, though the context is different.

ĀG. II. 1. 4 :—अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा, एककपालं च पुरोळाशम्, 'अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्' इति चतसृभिः प्रत्युचं हुत्वा.....। ४।

„ II. 1. 6 :—'मा नो अग्नेऽवसृजो अघाय' इत्येनमाशयेनाभिजुहोति । ६ ।

„ II. 4. 14 :—अथावदानानां स्थालीपाकस्य च 'अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्' इति द्वे ।

Sūtra II. 4. 14 is taken up along with II. 1. 4 and 6 as it quotes two verses : RV. I. 189. 1-2 out of the four already cited in II. 1. 4. II. 1. 4 : [In the Śravaṇā-Karma (a serpent-rite performed with a view to avert danger from snakes during the rainy season)] after sunset, (the performer of the ceremony) cooks a sthālīpāka¹ and a cake in one cup and sacrifices the Sthālī-pāka verse by verse with the four verses RV. I. 189. 1-4...

II. 1. 6 : [After sacrificing the cake in one cup with his hand (sūtra 4th)] he sacrifices over it the butter in which the cake lay immersed (before being sacrificed), with the verse RV. I. 189. 5. II. 4. 14 : [In the animal sacrifice performed as part of the Aṣṭakā rite] two oblations of the avadāna (or cut-off) portions and the Sthālīpāka are offered with the two verses I. 189. 1-2.

RV. 189. 1-5. Trans. (1) O Agni lead us by good paths to wealth, O god ! knowing all ways. Remove from us harmful sin ; let us offer unto thee the most abundant expression of worship. (2) O Agni ! do thou ever newly, ferry us across all evils with blessings and be unto us, a wide, abundant and broad stronghold and be thou a blessing and prosperity to our children and offspring. (3) O Agni ! do thou avert from us diseases, may they afflict people who cherish not Agni. Again for us, (come) unto our land, accompanied by all the immortals, O worshipful one ! (4) Protect us, O Agni ! with thy undying protection and shining forth in thy beloved abode (protect us) ; let not fear, O most youthful one ! find out thy praiser now and let it not (find him)

¹ A dish of barley or rice boiled in milk.

in future, O mighty One ! (5) Deliver us not for evil unto the wicked man, the covetous man, the enemy ; give us not over to the biter with teeth nor to the demon who bites not, give us not over to the hurtful one, O mighty One !

The citation of the first four verses in ĀG. II. 1. 4 is of the 'oblatinal' type as the verses addressed to Agni become applicable because they accompany oblations to the fire. The prayer to Agni for protection from fear in verse 4 has a bearing on the danger from snakes.

The citation of the fifth verse in ĀG. II. 1. 6 is of the 'Sacramental' type as the verse which refers to 'the biter with teeth' is appropriate in a serpent-rite. A significant fact regarding the employment of RV. I. 189. 1-5 in a serpent-rite is that Agastya the Ṛṣi of the hymn : I. 189 is also the Ṛṣi of the hymn RV. I. 191 *which is a charm against serpent-poisoning*.

The citation of the first two verses in ĀG. II. 4. 14 (the Aṣṭakā rite) is of the 'Oblational type, the influence being ĀS. 3. 7. 5 where the two verses are employed in an animal sacrifice as in our text where the animal sacrifice is part of the Aṣṭakā rite.

A survey of the earlier liturgical employment of these verses reveals the following points :—

- (1) They are used as expiatory formulas as in TS. 1. 1. 14 3 & 4.
- (2) They are associated with the four-monthly-rites which almost coincide in time with the Śravaṇā-karma as in TS. 4. 2. 11. 3. (3) They are associated with the offering of a Puroḍāśa cake as in our text II. 1. 6. Compare also ĀS. 3. 13. 12.

ĀG. II. 1. 7 :—' शं नो भवन्तु वाजिनो हवेषु ' इत्यक्ता घाना अञ्जलिना । ७ ।

(A continuation of the same rite). (He then sacrifices) the fried barley-grains smeared with butter, with his joined hands, with the verse RV. VII. 38. 7.

RV. VII. 38. 7. Trans. (a) May the strong ones (Vājinaḥ), when we call on them, be a blessing, (b) swiftly coming to the divine assembly, brilliant ; (c) crushing the serpent, the wolf, the demons, (d) completely may they divert from us all sickness.

As the verse especially pāda (c), invokes the Vājins to crush the serpent etc. the citation of it in a serpent-rite (like the Śravaṇā-karma) is of the 'Sacramental' type.

In TS. 1. 7. 8. 2. in a section describing the chariot-race in the Vājapeya (a Soma-sacrifice), our verse is one of a group, employed to address the horses when they race forth. This same is the context of the verse in VS. 9. 16. and ŚB. 5. 1. 5. 22. In the ritual Samhitās then, the 'Vājinaḥ' of the RV. are, horses. But important for our text, is the employment of the verse in TS. 4. 2. 11. 3, in a section giving the Puroṇuvākyās and yājyās (invitatory and offering verses) of the Varuṇa-praghāsa (the second of the four-monthly sacrifices), where it accompanies the Vājina offering. This same section of the TS. 4. 2.

11 employs RV. I. 189. 1-2 verses employed above in this very rite in our text. *This explains how the two citations RV. I. 189. 1-4 and VII. 38. 7 are found together in the same rite in our text.* The proximity in time of the Varuṇa-praghāsa (of the TS.) to our Śravaṇā-karma has already been noted.

ĀG. II. 3. 7 :—पश्चादग्नेः स्वस्तरः स्वास्तीर्णः, तस्मिन्नुपविद्य 'स्योना पृथिवि भव' इति जपित्वा संविशेत् सामात्यः प्राक्शिरा उदङ्मुखः । ७ ।

(In the ceremony of Pratyavarohana or Redescent when the use of high bedsteads necessitated by the danger from snakes during the rains is formally given up) the performer of the ceremony sits down on a straw-bed spread evenly to the west of the fire and then lies down on it after muttering the verse RV. I. 22. 15. with his relatives, with his head to the east and his face to the north.

RV. I. 22.15. Trans. :—O Earth ! be thou a soft resting-place, devoid of thorns ; do thou bestow upon us thy wide protection.

As the verse is employed in a ceremony after which the use of beds on the ground (pṛthivī) is resumed, the address to pṛthivī to be a 'soft resting-place' makes the citation one of the Sacramental type.

The verse occurs in the AV. 18. 2. 19 and Kauś 80. 3 employs it when a dying man is laid on the darbha-grass. In VS. 35. 21 also the verse occurs in a Pitr-medha context and the commentator Mahidhara remarks that there is no 'Śrauta' employment for this verse but only 'Śmārta' (i.e. in the Gṛhya ritual). The clue to its employment in our text is furnished by ĀŚ. 8. 14. 8 where it is employed in the 'Mahā-nāmnī' vow while touching the ground. The transition from the context in AV., to that in ĀŚ. and then to that in our text is perfectly natural.

ĀG. II. 3. 11-12 :—संहाय 'अतो देवा अवंतु नः' इति त्रिः । ११ । एतां दक्षिणामुखाः प्रत्यङ्मुखा उदङ्मुखा श्वतुर्यम् । १२ ।

Sūtra 11th. (The performer of the ceremony and his relatives) having arisen (from the straw-bed), mutter the verse RV. I. 22. 16 thrice and (Sūtra 12th.) mutter the same verse for the fourth time facing the south, the west and the north (alternately-repeating one pāda while facing each of the three directions. The verse as a gāyatrī has three pādas).

RV. I. 22. 16. Trans. (a) From that place may the gods help us (b) from which Viṣṇu strode through the seven domains of the earth.

As the verse is a general invocation to the gods for protection the citation belongs to the 'Invocational' class.

The verse is employed in ĀŚ. 1. 11. 13 in an expiatory homa in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice and in ĀŚ. 6. 7. 2. to expiate for soma-excesses in the morning-libation (Prataḥ-savana).

AG. II. 3. 13 :— सहाय सौर्याणि स्वस्त्ययनानि च जपित्वा..... । १३ ।

(At the end of the Pratyavarohana ceremony) (all the members) having gathered together (Samhāya)¹; mutter the 'Saurya' and 'Śvastyayana' hymns....

The Saurya hymns.—The problem here is to ascertain which particular hymns from the RV. are meant, as there are quite a number of hymns sacred to Sūrya and may thus be called 'Saurya' hymns. Prof. STENZLER quotes Nārāyaṇa who specifies RV. X. 158; I. 50. 1-9; I. 115 and X. 37 as the 'Saurya' hymns meant and notes that Prayogaratna gives the same enumeration only placing X. 158 last (i.e. in its proper place). An attempt is made below to trace the authority for Nārāyaṇa's statement—which enumerates the hymns in a particular order (X. 158 at the beginning and only nine verses from I. 50 1-9).

In AB. 4. 9. 5-12 we have the following discussion, (the context being the Āśvina-śastra in a soma sacrifice):—"They say that 'one should recite seven hymns sacred to sūrya.' This view should not be respected, one should recite only three hymns" = AB. 4. 9. 5-6. The passage 4. 9. 8 seqq. next disapproves of that mode of reciting these three hymns which puts 'Udu tyam' i.e. RV. I. 50 first; and says that a beginning must be made with X. 158; I. 50 should be the second and I. 115 the third. RV. X. 37 should follow these three by way of a closing benediction—this passage explains the order of hymns in Nārāyaṇa's enumeration but there are two discrepancies :—X. 37 is assigned an inferior position as a mere benedictory hymn and the whole hymn I. 50 is mentioned instead of its first nine verses only. The real basis of his statement is therefore ĀŚ. 6. 5. 18 which enumerates the 'Saurya' hymns employed in the Āśvina-śastra as follows :—'Sūryo no divaḥ' (i.e. X. 158), 'ud u tyam jātavedasam' *iti nava* (the first 9 of I. 50), 'citram devānām' (i.e. I. 115) and 'namo mitrasya' (i.e. X. 37). This is exactly the enumeration of Nārāyaṇa. It is but natural to suppose that our text means by 'Sauryāṇi,' just those hymns that have been so specified by the AB. and ĀŚ. which are texts that stand in a special relation to it as belonging to the RV.

The 'Sauryāṇi' and 'Svastyayanāni' are also employed in another place in our text, IV, 6, 18 :— उदित आदित्ये सौर्याणि स्वस्त्ययनानि च जपित्वा.

At the end of the Śāntikarma (the ceremony of renewal of the Gṛhya fire when the old one has proved unlucky by the death of the Guru or other misfortune) the performer and his relatives after an all-night vigil, mutter the 'Saurya' and 'Svastyayana' hymns at sunrise, etc. In both these contexts the citation of both the 'Saurya' and

¹ There is a play on this word. In Sūtra 11, it means 'having arisen (from the straw-beds)'; here, 'having come together.' Prof. OLDENBERG translates it in both places as 'arising' and 'having arisen,' which will not suit the present sūtra as they have all got up already.

svastyayana hymns belongs to the 'Invocational' type as they are general benedictory hymns, the recitation of which forms a fitting auspicious close to the ceremonies.

As regards the employment of these four 'Saurya' hymns (specified above) in early texts, it is seen that they are only recognized as hymns to Sūrya (as in AV. 13. 2. 16-24 = RV. I. 50 I-9) and brought into some relation to the deity 'Sūrya' either in a homa (VS. 7. 41) or a cup (VS. 8. 41) to that deity.

The svastyayana hymns II. The same problem has to be solved with regard to these hymns. 'Svastyayana' literally means 'bringing welfare' (svasti) and quite a large number of hymns in the RV. answer to that description. Nārāyaṇa's view (as mentioned by Prof. STENZLER) is that they are RV. I. 89, V. 51. 11-15 and X. 63 because the verses in these hymns contain the word 'Svasti.' *Unfortunately no early (or late) text upholds his view in this case as in the case of the 'saurya' hymns.*

The Bṛhaddevatā (dated about 400 B.C. by Prof. MACDONELL, in his Introduction to HOS. Vol. 5th) which is at least not later than our text, mentions (in vii. 90 ; viii 77, 87) RV. X. 185, 178 and 57 as Svastyayana hymns ; the same enumeration is given by the Sarvānukramāṇī. The R̥gvidhāna (a late work) designates (in iv. 23. 2 and 3) RV. X. 178 and 185 as Svastyayana hymns. AB. iv. 29 names RV. X. 178 as a 'svastyayana' hymn. Whereas there is thus some agreement in these enumerations as regards RV. X. 178 and 185, none of them includes those mentioned by Nārāyaṇa. I shall, therefore, take up each of the three hymns named as 'svastyayana' by Nārāyaṇa and see how they are known and designated in other vedic texts.

I. 89. This hymn being sacred to the Viśvedevas is styled as a 'Vaiśvadevam' (sūktam) in AB. III. 31 ; KB. 20. 4 Bṛh.-D. III. 122 and the R̥gvidhāna 1. 20. 5 and is employed in offerings to the Viśvedevas (VS. 25. 14 to 23) or in a Vaiśva-deva-śastra (AB. III. 31). *It is no where recognised as a svastyayana hymn at all !*

V. 51. 11-15. One puzzle here is why Nārāyaṇa calls this group of five verses, which is a part only of a hymn, as a 'Svastyayana' hymn ! Secondly, Nārāyaṇa himself in his comment on III. 11. 2 says that by 'Svastiātreyam' this very group of five verses is meant !

X. 63. AŚ. 7. 7. 2 names it as the 'Vaiśvadevam' and employs it in the Vaiśvadevaśastra.

So no early or late text nor even Sāyaṇa knows any of these hymns under the name 'Svastyayana' !

I therefore think that our text must be supposed to refer to RV. X. 178 (compare AB. etc. above) X. 185 (compare Bṛh.-D. and R̥g-Vidhāna above) and X. 57 by the term 'Svastyayana'.

AG. II. 4. 6 :—'उदीरतामवर उत्तरास' इत्यष्टभिर्हुत्वा यावतीभिर्वा कामयीत ॥ ६ ॥

(In the Aṣṭakā ceremony, on the day previous to the अष्टमी day, he

should offer to the Pitṛs boiled rice with or without sesamum-seeds or rice-milk or cakes made of four Śarāvas of flour), after having sacrificed with the first eight verses or as many verses as he likes from the hymn RV. X. 15.

The hymn is sacred to the Pitṛs.

As salutations and prayers to the Pitṛs and invocations to them to attend the soma sacrifice form the subject-matter of the hymn, the citation of verses from it as the offering of oblations to the Pitṛs belongs to the Sacramental class.

In TS. 2. 6. 12. 3 verses from this hymn form the Hotṛ's verses at a sacrifice to the Fathers. ĀŚ. II. 19. 22 also employs several verses from this hymn in the Mahā-pitṛ-yāga context. So the employment of the verses of this hymn is throughout in keeping with its original RV. Context.

ĀG. II. 6. 8 :- सुत्रामाणं पृथिवीं द्यामनेहसम् ' इति नावम् । ८ ।

One should ascend a ship with the verse RV. X. 63. 10.

RV. X. 63. 10. Trans. That we may attain to good fortune, let us ascend to that earth, the good protector, to that Heaven sinless, to Aditi of good fortune, good guidance ; that divine ship with its good rudder, free from offence, which leaks not.

As the metaphor of a ship in the verse is responsible for its employment in our context, the citation possesses 'superficial' applicability, because as the next paragraph shows, in no early text is the verse employed in the context of a journey on a ship as in our text.

This verse is cited in early texts in a variety of contexts e.g. for the praise of Aditi in AV. 7. 6. 3 ; in a special sacrifice to Agni Vaiśvānara in TS. 1. 5. 11. 5 ; among the formulas of the Sautrāmaṇi in VS. 21. 6 and in a Soma sacrifice in AB. 1. 9. 7.

ĀG. II. 6. 13. ' ऋषभं मा समानानाम् ' इत्यभिक्रामन् । १३ ।

While approaching (the assembly i.e. the 'saṁsad' of sūtra 11th) he mutters the verse RV. X. 166. 1.

RV. X. 166. 1. Trans. " Make me a bull among equals, the vanquisher of my rivals, the destroyer of my foes, the resplendant master of kine." As the pratika of this verse that is quoted consists of a whole first pāda, the whole *verse* only should be meant according to the rules but Nārāyaṇa says that the whole *hymn* is meant without giving any reasons as Prof. STENZLER points out (p. 79). In support of his view, however, may be mentioned the fact that the Āśvalāyana-mantra-Saṁhitā¹ gives this whole hymn although it is not cited in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. Prof. STENZLER follows Nārāyaṇa in his

¹ An unpublished work which gives all the Ṛgveda mantras cited in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras of Āśvalāyana. I have described in detail the contents of two manuscripts of this work in the Library of the India office in the *Annals of the B. O. R. Institute* [Vol. 20] to be published shortly.

view that the word 'Samsadam' of sūtra 11th, which is understood before 'abhikrāman' in this sūtra means 'his own house' and Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 211) puts the mark of interrogation after the word 'Assembly' ! It may be pointed out that the trend of this hymn which is a spell against foes, rivals and competitors is against Nārāyaṇa's interpretation ; verse 4 actually refers to the conquest of an Assembly ('samitim'), and it is highly improbable that such a hymn should be recited while one approaches one's house where there can be no prospect of the 'rivalry, enmity or subjugation' that the hymn speaks of. Besides in the parallel grhya-texts, 'sabhā-praveśanam' or entry into a debating-hall or assembly is an important topic treated independently (compare PG. III. 13) and these sūtras in our text II. 6. 11 seqq. correspond to that section.

As the context (for these reasons) is an approach to an assembly (or debating-hall) for success, the citation of the first verse (or hymn according to Nārāyaṇa) which treats of the same subject belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

The Brh-D. VIII, 69, the Rg-Vidh. 4.20.3 and the Anukramaṇi describe the hymn as 'Sapatnaghnām' (destroying rivals). Its first verse is not employed in any Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa or Śrauta-Sūtra.

ĀG. II. 8. 11 :—

तच्छमीशाखयोदुम्बरशाखया वा 'शंतातीयेन' त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षति । ११ ।

[In the Vāstu-parīkṣā, when the site (for building a house upon) has been selected and measured out] the performer of the ceremony sprinkles it with a śamī branch or udumbara branch (dipped in water) while going round it three times, keeping his right side turned towards it, repeating the 'Śamtātiya' hymn (RV. VII. 35).

The Śamtātiya hymn is employed in three other places in our text :—(2) II. 9. 7 :—

ब्रीहियवमतीभिरद्भिर्हिरण्यमवधाय शंतातीयेन त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षति । ७ ।

In the ceremony of appeasing the 'vāstu' (or site) upon which the house *has been built* (Prof. OLDENBERG's footnote 6 on p. 214, to Vāstu as "the ground on which the house *is to be built*" is *not accurate* as this ceremony takes place after *the house has been built* upon it), the performer of the ceremony sprinkles the grounds with water mixed with rice and barley and with a piece of gold immersed in it, going round three times from left to right repeating the 'Śamtātiya' hymn'.

(3) IV. 8. 39 :— शंतातीयं जपन् गृहानियात् । ३९ ।

(At the end of the Śūlagava rite), the performer goes home muttering the 'śamtātiya' hymn.

(4) IV. 8. 43 :— शंतातीयं जपन् पशूनां मध्यमियात् । ४३ ।

(In a rite to cure the cattle of sickness by sacrificing to Rudra), the performer goes in the midst of his cattle, muttering this same hymn.

The two commentators Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta state that RV.

VII. 35 beginning with 'Śam na indrāgni'—a hymn to the Viśvedevas, whose Ṛṣi is Vasiṣṭha, is the so-called 'Śamtātiya hymn.' All the verses in this hymn except the last two begin with 'Śam naḥ'. Hara-datta remarks that according to strict rules of grammar (Pāṇini V. 2. 59), the formation 'Śamtātiya' should denote a hymn *containing the word 'Śamtātiḥ.'* In Ṛgvidh. 1. 23. 5, and in ŚŚ. 16. 13. 6, the verses of this hymn are referred to as the 'Śamtātiyāḥ.' But Ṛgvidh. 1. 3. 5 designates the verses of this same hymn as 'Śamvatyaḥ' (ṛcaḥ). ĀŚ. 8. 14. 18 which employs this hymn does not refer to it by this name nor does Sāyaṇa in his commentary mention this name of the hymn. The Brh. D. V. 165 describes the hymn as a 'Vaiśvadeva' hymn and does not know of 'Śamtātiya' as the name of this or any other RV. hymn! The only definite evidence of this designation that I can find is the following :—AV. XIX, 10th and 11th. hymns together constitute RV. VII. 35. According to Prof. LANMAN (WHITNEY'S *Atharva veda* :—HOS. Vol. 8th p. 912). "The Berlin MS. in its treatment of hymns 9-12 after ekaroam (h. 12) adds : vāsiṣṭham Vaiśvadevam śamtātiyam traistubham (*these four words apply well to hymns 10-11*)"—etc.

As the hymn RV. VII. 35. contains prayers for general welfare ('śam') applicable to any context (our text itself uses it in four different contexts), the citation of it in all the four contexts belongs to the 'Invocational' class.

AG. II. 8. 12 :—अविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया 'आपोहि ष्ठा मयोभुव' इति तृचेन । १२ ।

And (he goes round the Vāstu again thrice), with an uninterrupted stream of water (poured out to the accompaniment of) the triplet RV. X. 9. 1-3. [These same verses are employed in two other places : in II. 9. 8 and in IV. 6. 14.]

(2) Sūtra II. 9. 8. is identical word for word with this Sūtra (II. 8. 12) and in context follows immediately after II. 9. 7 which employs the 'Śamtātiya hymn in the ceremony of appeasing the Vāstu (It is translated under the preceding sūtra). (3) All the words of this sūtra from 'avicchinnayā'—to 'iti tṛcena' occur again as part of IV. 6. 14 which reads :—

अथापराजितायां दिश्यवस्थायामिन्नानडुहेन गोमयेन च अविच्छिन्नया तृचेन 'परी मे गापनेष' इति परिक्रामत्यु जपेत् । १४ ।

(In the Sānti-karma ceremony consisting of a renewal of the Grhya fire on the death of a Guru or other misfortune) all the relatives (and young ladies of the house) go round the new Grhya fire with the kitchen fire, leading a bull¹ and carrying cow-dung, all the while pouring out an uninterrupted stream of water reciting the verses :—RV. X. 9. 1-3 etc.

¹ I adopt the reading 'anaḍuhā, gomayena' (with a bull and cow-dung) of the Trivandrum edition, in preference to STENZLER's "ānaḍuhena gomayena" (bull's cow-dung !) because the next sūtra IV. 6.15 runs : 'A tawny-coloured bull should be led round' so they say.

Trans. X. 9. (1). May ye apportion to us strength that we may see great joy, for ye, O Waters ! are the givers of blessings (2). That savour of Yours which is most auspicious, of that do ye grant us our portion, like glad mothers (3). May we duly go to that, to the possession of which, ye send us and O ye Waters ! may ye grant us offspring.

The verses are sacred to the Waters and are recited in all the three contexts while water is being sprinkled. The citation therefore belongs to the 'Mythological' class, appropriate as it becomes, through their deity 'the Waters'.

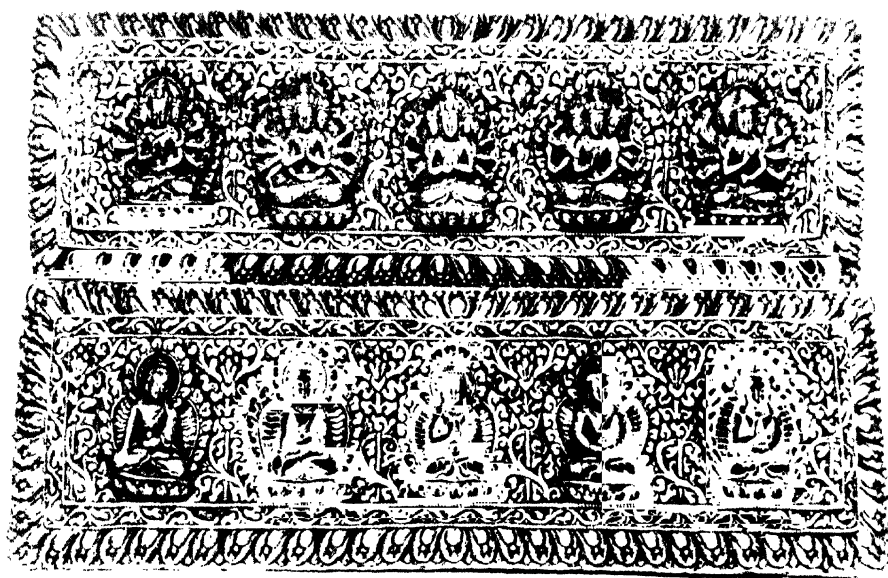
VS. 11. 50-52 are these three verses. In the course of the building up of the Uttara-vedi (the High Altar), water heated with the gum of the Parna tree is sprinkled on the lump of clay while this triplet is recited.

TS. 4. 1. 5. 1. employs the verses similarly in the fashioning of the Ukhā (fire-pan). *It is these passages in TS. and VS. that have suggested the employment of the verses in the first two contexts (of house-building).*

In TS. 7. 4. 19. 4-6—the recitation of these verses accompanies the purification of themselves by women in the Aśva-medha sacrifice. This is *suggestive of the third context*, where the young women of the house go round the new fire after salving their eyes.

In the AV. i. 5. 1-3 as well as SV. 2.1187 seqq., the three verses constitute an independent hymn—which shows that for ritual purposes the triplet formed an independent group—an example of a different arrangement of RV. verses dictated by ritual needs.

(To be continued.)



A. obverse.

Figures of Dhyāni Buddhas and new type of Dhyāni Buddhas or Bodhisattvas (?)
from Nepal.

A. recto



VIIIth CENTURY GOLD-GILT COPPER-BOARD INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURES FROM NEPAL

By

H. D. SANKALIA

The inscriptions and sculptures are engraved and embossed on the inside and outside respectively of two gold-gilt copper boards, which were used probably as covers for Mss. The boards were bought this year for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Their photographs¹ and inscriptions thereon are published here with the kind permission of Rev. H. HERAS, S. J. The boards are designated as A and B. Board A measures 17.8" × 5" × ½" and B 17.7" × 4" × ½" respectively. On the outside of A are floral borders in decreasing depth, and inset detachable figures of Five Dhyāni Buddhas, the entire sculpture being in very high relief; on the reverse or inside is an inscription which is split up into three sections by three engraved figures. Board B is similarly decorated on the outside, but instead of figures of Dhyāni Buddhas, the inset figures are of multi-headed and multi-handed Dhyāni Buddhas (?) or Bodhisattvas; on the inside there is an inscription which is identical in every respect with that on A, but for the name of the book which it was intended to preserve. The central engraving is also of a different Buddhist deity. Each inscription contains 7 lines and the average size of letters is 20". Verdigris has crept in at a few places; into crevices of designs, parts of figures and inscriptions (which appear blurred in the photographs), while faces of some of the figures are damaged by pressing. Otherwise the boards are in excellent condition.

INSCRIPTIONS

Both the inscriptions are dated in (Nepāli) Samvat 728² Kārtika Māsa, Śukla Pakṣa, Aṣṭamī Tithi, Dhanistā Nakṣatra, Vṛddhi Yoga, Ādityavāsara. This corresponds to Sunday, 18th October A. D. 1607,³ when the Sravaṇā *nakṣatra* ended 54 moment, and Dhanistā commenced ending on Monday at 47 moment. With regard to the date it may be noted that the practice of giving full astronomical data is found only in records dated in the Newārī era⁴

¹ See Plates.

² See below for discussion of the reading.

³ S. K. PILLAI, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

⁴ Cf., for instance, Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, 1885, pp. 1, 4.

It is absent in early inscriptions ¹.

The object of the inscriptions seems to record the donation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Pañcarakṣā* books (manuscripts) together with the covers bearing on them gold-gilt figures of deities (of the Buddhist pantheon), according to the religious practices of the age (?) by the Dānapati (Lord of Gifts) Mānasimha who was of Śākya family, his wife Hirā Lakṣmī, and his eldest and youngest sons Yogasimha and Mānasimha respectively, for the purpose of obtaining in this world wealth, happiness and the eight kinds of divine faculties and the Sukhāvati heaven in the next. Mānasimha and his family lived in Nakāgrha situated to the west of Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra at Lalitapaṭṭana in Nepāla maṇḍala (province).

Prajñāpāramitā is a famous Buddhist philosophical work. According to the Buddhist tradition Nāgārjuna discovered it in the nether world, brought it on the earth and promulgated *Mahāyāna* ². After its discovery the book appeared in several larger or smaller forms known as *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* or *Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Mere copying of the Ms. was considered a meritorious act, as several Mss. of the Pāla period show ³. The discovery of a number of Mss. of about the 10th century ⁴ show that in Nepāl also the writing or donating of the work was held in high esteem. But it is remarkable that this tradition should have been prevalent there even in the 17th century.

Its main teaching contradicts all the previous tenets about the chain of causation, about the four great truths of Buddhism, leading to Nirvāṇa by saying that "all things, as known to us, all Dharmas are not real in the highest sense, but phenomenal only, subjective, temporal and evanescent." Consequently "a man should draw near *Prajñāpāramitā*, and would then be Citta-a-varaṇa" and finally obtain final, firm and real Nirvāṇa ⁵.

The *Pañcarakṣā* is another Buddhist work whose several Mss. have been found from Nepāl ⁶. The work is often called *Pañca-Mahārakṣāsūtrāṇi*. It is thus a collection of five charms for "warding off evils likely to result from adverse planets, ferocious animals and venomous insects; diseases; evils from wicked spirits; destroying sins

¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 9, 13.

² BHATTACHARYYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, Introduction, p. xi.

³ Cf. BENDALL, *Catalogue Buddhist Sans. Mss.*, Cambridge, p. 101, *JRAS.*, VIII, 1875, pp. 3 & 108.

⁴ The earliest Msa. from Nepāl seems to be No. Add. 866, 1464, and 1643, BENDALL, *Catal. of Buddhist Sanskrit Mss.*, pp. 1, 150, 151 respectively.

⁵ MAX MÜLLER, *Prajñā Pāramitā Hṛdaya Sūtra*, p. 59; cf. GEMMELL, *Prajñā Pāramitā*, pp. 13 and 107-110; DUTT *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁶ The earliest seems to be Add. 1688, of the 14th year of Nayapāla's reign (c. A.D. 1054). BENDALL, *Catal. of Mss.*, p. 175; Cf. also BENDALL, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the British Museum*, No. 545, p. 233, which is also of about the same time.

and difficulties called respectively *Mahāśītavañi*, *Mahārakṣā Mantrānu-sārīṇi*, *Mahāsahasrapramardīṇi*, *Mahāpratisāra-kalpa*¹. The fifth is called Mahā Mayūri². The Mss. are found in such a great number in Nepāl, because there, according to BENDALL, the work is used in the administration of oaths³. But though several palm-leaf and other Mss. of both these and other Buddhist works have been found from Nepāl and different parts of India⁴, it seems that it is the first time such inscribed, engraved and sculptured covers of Mss. are brought to light. Till now only two references to brass covers are made⁵, and in one of them the obverse of the cover has ornamented borders and some figures⁶. It would also appear that these are the first "copper-plate" inscriptions from Nepāl which are published.⁷

Mānasimha, the donor was of Śākya family. Neither his nor his family's name can be traced in the *Vamśāvalis* published by Bhagvanlal INDRAJĪ⁸, Sylvain LÉVI⁹, WRIGHT¹⁰, LONDON¹¹ and BENDALL.¹² It is therefore difficult to say whether Mānasimha and his two sons had any relation with the ruling family of Lalitapaṭṭana. But since they trace descent from the Śākyas, they were Kṣatriyās and probably connected in some way with the

¹ For details see Rajendralal MITRA, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 164-69.

² All these were conceived as goddesses as it appears from the opening verses. Cf. BENDALL, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1902, p. 231 and BHATTACHARYYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 133-35.

³ *Ibid.* "Its fame had also spread to Central Asia, as we find part of the text of the charm No. 2 among the Bower Mss."

⁴ The writer has consulted the following catalogues of Mss :—BENDALL, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, 1883; *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* London, 1902. KEITH, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office with a Supplement of Buddhist Manuscripts*, by F. W. THOMAS, Vol. II, Part II, Oxford, 1935. COWELL and EGGLING, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, J.R.A.S.*, Vol. VIII (NS), 1875. Rajendralal MITRA, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, 1871; Haraprasad SASTRI, *Catalogue of Palm leaf and selected Mss. from the Durbar Library, Nepal, Buddhist Mss. and Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Govt. Collection Asiatic Society Bengal*, (1917), Vol. I. Other general catalogues by AUFRECHT and others.

⁵ BENDALL, *Catalogue of Buddh. Sanskrit Mss.* pl. iii, 3; WRIGHT, *History of Nepal*, p. 316.

⁶ BENDALL, *op. cit.*, plate (iii) 3.

⁷ BENDALL, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India*, Appendix I, pp. 71-87; Sylvain LÉVI, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II; BÜHLER and Bhagvanlal INDRAJĪ, *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, Bombay 1885.

⁸ *op. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

⁹ *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 312-15.

¹¹ *Nepal*, (London 1928), Vol. I, at the end.

¹² BENDALL, *Journey in Nepal and Northern India*, Tables I & II.

government of the city. This inference seems probable if we look at the history of Lalitapaṭṭana at the end and beginning of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Lalitapaṭṭana and the district around it became a separate and independent state in or after the first decade of the 17th century, under Hari Harasimha of the Malla dynasty¹. Both he and his successor were weak rulers². It is not therefore surprising that our inscriptions (which refer to the opening of the 17th century) do not mention the ruling dynasty, as is usual with many records from Nepāl³; or that Mānasimha had in any way ruled at Lalitapaṭṭana before or immediately after it became independent. If the latter alternative were proved correct then our inscriptions will have supplied important links in the history of Nepāl. In any case they do supply us dates in the history of Lalitapaṭṭana which is not done so far by the published material⁴.

The Hiraṇṇavara Mahāvihāra near which Mānasimha and his family lived was one of the most famous Buddhist *vināraś* in Lalitapaṭṭana. According to a tradition it was founded by King Bhāskaradēva in A. D. 1046⁵. Since then it continued to flourish as is attested to by a number of manuscripts from Nepāl⁶, in some of which it is called Hēmavara. Because of its importance, perhaps that it was placed under a Nāikiyā or chief Bauddhamārgi⁷. It was still in existence when Sylvain LÉVI visited Lalitapaṭṭana in January–March of 1898. This French scholar tried to go inside the place but was not given admission to it. He therefore sent inside the Pandit who accompanied him and the latter found that the *vihāra* contained nothing but the records of the Mallas (the Malla dynasty)⁸. Nakāgrha, the actual residence of Mānasimha can be perhaps identified. It appears to be the same as Ngkā-chok, which according to WRIGHT⁹, was situated in the district of Hiranyabann, and granted by King Siddhi Narasimha Malla in A. D. 1620 to a Tāntrika who had defeated some jugglers.

Lalitapaṭṭana is also called Lalita Pāṭan¹⁰, but usually Pāṭan. It is one of the most important towns of Nepāl, and about 2 miles south-

¹ Sylvain LÉVI, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 257, Lévi places the event in A.D. 1603.

² LANDON, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 55.

³ Cf. BENDALL, *Cata. of Mss. Royal Asiatic Society, J.R.A.S.*, VIII (NS), p. 11, and Bhagvanlal INDARJI, *op. cit.*

⁴ The earliest Ms. in the 17th century seems to be Add. Ms. 1405 of Nepāl Samvat 734 (A.D. 1641) in BENDALL, *Catal. of Buddhist Ms.*, p. 86.

⁵ Sylvain LÉVI, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 194.

⁶ BENDALL, *Catalogue, Mss. Cambridge*, No. 1703, p. 197; KEITH, *India Office Catalogue*, II, pp. 1411-12, 1406.

⁷ WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 234; also Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 194.

⁸ Sylvain LÉVI, *op. cit.* II, p. 343.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

¹⁰ Also Lalitapuri.

east of Kāṭmāṇḍu. It is supposed to be an older town than the latter. As stated elsewhere it became with two others—Kāṭmāṇḍu and Bhatgoan—one of the three independent states in the Nepāl valley from the early part of the 17th century¹.

The method of donating mentioning the whole family including the wife is characteristic of Buddhist records from Nepāl². It reminds us of similar practice found in the late dedicatory inscriptions of the Jainas³.

The object of this meritorious act was, beside the acquisition of the earthly happiness, the realisation of bliss in the Sukhāvātī heaven, which from early times⁴ was held out for the Buddhist devotees by their teachers, and fully described in a work called *Sukhāvativyūha*⁵, the Land of Bliss.

The religious preaching or standard according to which the act was performed cannot be properly understood. Usually it is said to be '*Deyadharmā*' in some Nepāl records⁶. But in our inscriptions, if the reading is correct, it seems to be '*Yūgulidharma*' and '*Yūgudharma*' which may mean 'religious practices or ideals of the age'.

The inscriptions are in prose and the language incorrect Sanskrit and old Nepālī or Newārī. The peculiarities of the former are noted and corrected in footnotes to the text. Among the latter may be mentioned such words as *Dāhala Pājala* (line 3); *Jayāna* and *Dāhalaṭpā* (line 6) and *Lalālāna Prāpha* (or *Prāpta*), *Jayamālajala* (line 7). A number of inscriptions⁷ and manuscripts⁸ use what they call '*Deśibhāṣā*' or *Nepālībhāṣā*, but these words could not be traced in them.⁹ They seem to have been derived from Sanskrit and may mean 'gave', 'for success' etc.

With regard to orthography may be noted the doubling of consonants after the *repha*: *Dharmma*, *Nirmmita* (lines 2 and 3); the use of long *ū* for short, for instance *Sūvarṇṇa* and *Pūstaka* (line 2) and *Sūkhāvātī* (line 7). The small dots at two places, after *Bhāge* line 4 and *Lalānāva* (line 7) stand perhaps for short stops.

The script is Dēvanāgarī with a few traces of the

¹ See for details WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff. and *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XX, p. 25.

² Cf. BENDALL, *Catalogue, Mss. Cambridge*, No. Add. 1355, p. 65; SHASTRI, *Des. Cat. Sans. Mss. Govt. Collec. ASB.*, Nos. 78 and 113.

³ NAHAR, *Jaina Inscriptions*.

⁴ Must be before the Christian era, as the first Chinese translation of the work, mentioned below, was done by Lokarakṣa between A.D. 147-186.

⁵ It is translated and published by MAX MÜLLER and Bunyiu NANJIO in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, Part II, Oxford 1883.

⁶ Cf., for instance, BENDALL, *Catalogue, Mss. Cambridge*, pp. 70, 109, 175.

⁷ Cf. Bhagwanlal INDARJI, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸ BENDALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 86, 99, 100 etc.

⁹ Nor in the *Dictionary of the Nepālī Language*, by R. L. TURNER, (1931), London.

later developed form of the Kuṭila, Śāradā and the early Bengali, and does exhibit to a certain extent the characteristics of the 17th century Nepālī manuscripts described by BENDALL¹. In lines 1-2 we find instances of the initial *a*, *ā*, *i* and *e*. *E* resembles very closely that in the Badal Pillar Inscription of Nārayaṇapāla², and to a certain extent that in the Dēvapara Inscription of Vijayasena³. *I* has a horizontal headstroke for which we may compare similar forms in BÜHLER'S⁴. *A* and *ā* with a lower cut stroke sloping leftwards have no exact parallels⁵. Among the consonants *na*, *tha*, *bha*, *la*, and *śa* have a distinctly older look, and may be compared with similar letters from A.D. 1165 to 1576⁶ from Nepāl manuscripts. *jñā* in *Prajñāpāramitā* looks like Dēvanāgarī *jā*, unless this letter itself be read as *ja*. Some of the conjuncts have a long swooping form as noted by BENDALL⁷; for instance *kya* in *Śākya* (line 4) and *jya* and *sta* in *jyeṣṭa* (line 5). A peculiarity may be noted in the use of the *mātrās*. Use is made of *prṣṭhamātrās*, which look like a *ḍa* or an *avagraha* sign, as in *Śreyostu* and *Tithau* (line 1), *bhāge* and *vamśo* (line 4). But in some other cases curved top strokes have been used keeping the space below blank. Quite clear instances of this feature are found in *dīne* and *devatā* (line 2); *Nepāla* (line 3).

As to the reading of the date there is no doubt about; for the rest, we may compare the lists given by BÜHLER,⁸ COWELL and EGGEING⁹.

Inscription A

Text

1. ¹⁰ब्रेयोऽस्तु ॥ स¹¹म्बत¹² ७२८ कार्ति¹³-कमासे ॥ शुक्रपक्षे¹⁴ ॥¹⁵

¹ *Catalogue of Mss., Cambridge*, Historical Introduction, pp. xxxii-iii.

² Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 163 & 296, line 13; BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel V, 1, xx. In line 1 of the inscription the letter looks like the modern Devanāgarī *e*.

³ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 309, line 17; BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, Tafel V, 7, xviii.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Tafel VI, 3, xii, xv-xvii; also Tafel V, 3, xxiii.

⁵ Cf. BÜHLER, *Ibid.*, Tafel, V, 1 & 2, and VI, 1 & 2.

⁶ Cf. BENDALL, *Catal. Mss. Cambridge*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Hist. Intro. Mss., Cambridge*, p. xxiii.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, Tafel, IX, left hand corner Table, II, xii & 8, xi.

⁹ *Catalogue of Buddhist Sans. Mss. in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, JRAS.*, Vol. VIII, (NS.), 1875, Table facing p. 51.

¹⁰ The stroke on the right of the letter I have taken as a sign of *o mātrā* according to the explanation given in the introduction. But in this case, standing as it does in the beginning of the inscription, the sign may be a symbolic representation of *om*.

¹¹ Read *Sam.*^o

¹² Should be *Samvat*.

¹³ Read *Kārttika*.

¹⁴ I read as *Pakṣe* according to the explanation given in the Introduction.

¹⁵ These stops are unnecessary.

- अष्टम्यान्ति¹(थौ²) ॥³ धनेष्टा⁴ नक्षत्रे ॥³ वृद्धियो²गे ॥³ आ
2. दित्यवासरे ॥ एतद्दिने इदं सूर्वणनिर्मित⁵ देवताकारसहितं. प्रज्ञापारमिता पू⁶ स्तक
सथूगुलीसह
3. कं दाहलपाजल ॥ थूगुलीधर्म्मन⁷ दानपति श्रीनेपालमण्डलान्तर्गत ललितपट्टन
महानगरे हिरण्ण
- 4 —वर्णमहाविहारात् पश्चिमदिग्भागे² (।)⁸ नत्कागृहधिवासित श्रीशाक्यवंशोद्भव
श्रीमानसिंह ॥ तद्भा
5. र्घ्या हिरालक्ष्मी ॥ ज्येष्ठपूत्र⁹ श्रीयोगसिंह ॥ कनेष्ट¹⁰ पूत्र⁹ श्रीदानसिंह ॥ ध्वते¹¹
परिवारया धर्म्मचित्तउत्त
6. त्ति जयान¹¹ (।)⁸ थूगुलीसद्वृकं दोहलपा¹² ॥ थूगुधर्म्मन इहलोक ससू¹³रवस¹⁴म्पति
सफवृद्धि¹⁵ अष्टैश्वर्यादि
7. ह ललानाव (।)⁸ परत्र ससू¹³रवावति प्राफ¹⁵ जयमाल जल¹⁶ ॥ शुभं भवतु
सर्वजगतां¹⁷ ॥

Inscription B
Text

1. थ्रे¹⁸यो¹⁸स्तु ॥ स¹⁹म्बत् ७२८ कार्त्ती²⁰कमासे¹⁸ ॥²¹ शुक्लपक्षे⁸ ॥²¹ अष्टम्यान्ति²² था²³ ॥²¹
धने¹⁸ष्टा⁴ नक्षत्रे¹⁸ ॥²¹ वृद्धियो¹⁸गे²³ ॥²¹

1 Should be *Aṣṭamyān*.

2 Cf. notes 10 and 14 on page 50.

3 These stops are unnecessary.

4 Read *Dhaniṣṭā*.

5 Read *Suvarṇa* and *Nirmita* respectively.

6 Read *pustaka*.

7 Read *Dharma*. The correct reading of the expression may be *yūgulidharma* for *yugadharmā*.

8 The stop is indicated in the original by a small dot.

9 Read ° *putra*.

10 Read *Kaniṣṭha*.

11 and 12 These words seem to be Sanskrit corrupted by Newāri. See Introduction. *Thava* forms occur frequently in the Newāri part of inscriptions from Nepāl. Cf. Bhagwanlal INDARJI, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

13 Read ° *sukha*.

14 Read *saṁ* °

15 May be *sapta*° and *prāpta*° respectively.

16 Cf. notes 16 and 17 above.

17 Read *Jagatām*.

18 In this case, as in inscription A, there is no stroke on the right of the letter. But as explained in the Introduction I have taken the curved head *mātrā* (stroke) as a sign of *ē* or *ō*. A clear instance of this use is provided in the word *Nepāla* line 3.

19 Read *Sam*°.

20 Read *Kārttika*.

21 These stops are unnecessary.

22 Seems to be an inverted case of the Sandhi rule.

23 In this and other two cases the *ō mātrā* is written to the left of the word in the form of *ḍa*.

2. आदित्यवासरे¹ ॥ एतद्दिने¹ इदं सूवर्णं² निर्मितं² देवताकारसहितं³ पंचरक्षापूस्तकं⁴ सथूगुलीसहकं दा⁵
3. हलपाजल ॥ थूगुलो⁶ धर्म⁶नं दागपति श्रीने¹पालमण्डलान्तर्गत ललितपट्टन महानगरे¹ हिरणवर्णं
4. महाविहारात् पश्चिम दिग्भागे⁷. वन्का⁸गृहाधिवासित श्रीशाक्यवंशो⁹द्भव श्रीमानासिंह ॥ तद्गाय्या
5. ग्या¹⁰हिरालक्ष्मी ॥ ज्येष्ठपूत्र श्रीयो¹गसिंह ॥ कने¹ष्टपूत्र श्रीदानसिंह ॥ थ्वते¹ परिवारया धर्मचित्तउ¹¹
6. जयाव थूगुलीसहकं दो¹हलपा ॥ थूगुधर्मन इहलोकससूरवसम्प¹²त्ति सफ¹³वृद्धि अष्टैश्वर्या
7. दि ललानाव. परत्रससूरवा¹⁴वावति प्राफ¹⁵ जयमालजल ॥ शुभं भवतु सर्वजगतां ॥¹⁶

SCULPTURES

The identification of some of the sculptures is not easy. Undoubtedly they are Buddhist, as they form part of boards (?) of two Buddhist manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Pañcarakṣā* respectively.

On the obverse of A there are five figures, each about 2.5 inches high. All are seated on a lotus with their legs locked and soles turned upwards, forming what is called an adamantine pose (*vajrāsana*). Excluding the fifth figure (from the right), all have a *prabhāvali* in the shape of a trefoil, floral arch, which in the case of the fifth figure is formed by an intertwining serpent, who also forms a canopy over the figure's head with his 7 heads.

The figures have curly hair, arranged in the shape of an *uṣṇīṣa*, *urnā* on the forehead, long-lobed ears¹⁷ tightly fitting necklace,

¹ In this case, as in inscription A, there is no stroke on the right of the letter. But as explained in the introduction, I have taken the curved head *mātrā* (stroke) as a sign of *ē* or *ō*. Clear instance of this use is provided in the word *Nepāl* line 3.

² Read *Suvarṇa* and *Nirmita* respectively.

³ Should be *Sahitam*.

⁴ Read *Pustaka*.

⁵ Not easily visible because besmeared with vedigree.

⁶ Read *Dharma*. The correct reading of the expression may be *yūgulidharma* for *yugadharmā*.

⁷ In this and other two cases the *ō mātrā* is written to the left of the word in the form of *ḍa*.

⁸ In A the first letter reads as *na*, the word then reading as *Natkāgṛha*.

⁹ Read *Vamśē*. The *anusvāra* is missing.

¹⁰ This letter seems to be repeated by mistake.

¹¹ Read *Utpatti*. The second syllable is here missing but is clear in A.

¹² Read *Sam*°.

¹³ The letter looks like Devanāgarī *pha*, but may be *pta*.

¹⁴ Read *Sukha*°.

¹⁵ As in 13 it may be *prāpta*.

¹⁶ Read *Jagatām*.

¹⁷ These look like ear-rings.

an upper garment (stamped with circles, and covering both the shoulders, but keeping the right breast open, and then gathered up in the left arm in several beautiful folds), and a lower garment (*dhofī*) reaching up to the ankles.

Each figure has two hands. The right hand of the first (from right) is in *varamudrā*, and the left is held over the lap, supporting a roundish object; that of the second figure is in *bhumisparśamudrā*, the left hand supporting an object similar to that of the first in like manner. The hands of the third figure are in *dharmacakramudrā*, while a lotus-like object is placed on the lap. The hands of the fourth figure are in *dhyānamudrā* and also carry a bowl. The right hand of the fifth is in *abhayamudrā* and the left is held over the lap carrying a lotus-like object on the palm.

From the gesture of the hands, seating posture and dressing of the hair these figures should be identified with the Five Dhyāni Buddhas. The first figure is that of the Third Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava¹, the object in his left hand is the magic jewel (*cintāmaṇi*). The second is that of the Second Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhaya² who usually carries a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand, though it is not clear in our figure. The third figure is that of First Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana;³ the fourth that of the Fourth Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha⁴. The object on his lap, according to BHATTACHARYA⁵ would be a 'full-blown lotus,' according to GETTY⁶ a 'begging bowl'. The fifth figure is that of the Fifth Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi⁷; the object in the left hand being a double thunderbolt (*viśuvajra*), though from its shape it cannot be distinguished from the objects held by figures 3 and 4.

It is the first time it appears that the 'bronze' figures of all the Dhyāni Buddhas from Nepāl or elsewhere are published⁸. It would be therefore interesting to know whether they are placed here in the order in which they are ranked in Nepāl. If they are examined from the point of view of a serial order, it will be found that they are not sculptured here in the 'order of merit'. For in Nepāl Vairocana is regarded as the First Dhyāni Buddha⁹, Akṣobhaya as Second and so

¹ GETTY, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, (1928), p. 37; BHATTACHARYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 5.

² GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁷ GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁸ WRIGHT, *History of Nepal*, (1877), pl. vi, p. 42, has reproduced them from a painting. But they differ in certain respects from the figures discussed here. GETTY, *op. cit.*, has none of these, while in BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, pls. vii-ix, we find all; but they are not from one place, and of identical material or workmanship.

⁹ BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 4; GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

forth. Looking, however, from another point of view, that of importance, it will be apparent that Vairocana occupies the central position, because he was regarded and worshipped by Buddhist sects in Nepāl as Ādi Buddha¹. To his right and left are Akṣobhaya and Amitābha, the Second and Fourth (still the most ancient) Dhyāni Buddhas respectively. Rātnasambhava, who is said to be the least popular and hence very rarely figured² and Amoghasiddhi are relegated to subordinate positions.

On the reverse of A the central figure stands on a lotus, in a trefoil, striated *prabhāvali*. An upper garment in the form of a wavy *pichoti* decorated with rosettes is thrown round its neck and then passes through its arms and finally falls down on its either side in beautiful curls.

A *dhoti* reaching up to the ankles falls in between the legs in folds. It is decorated with a crown of five leaves, long-lobed ears and tight fitting necklace, while the hair is arranged in the shape of a *chignon*.

The figure has 8 arms. Of the two proper hands, the right is in *abhayamudrā*, and the left supports a spouted water-pot. Of the other six hands, the lowest right hand is in *varamudrā*, the rest carry a lasso, arrow, book, bow and lotus.

This figure seems to be one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara, a Dhyāni Bodhisattva, and an emanation of Amitābha, the second Dhyāni Buddha and his *śakti*, Pāṇḍarā. For in general appearance, number of hands, and particularly in the symbols carried by the latter and the *mudrās* exhibited by them, it resembles some of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara, illustrated by BHATTACHARYYA from Nepāl³.

The closest resemblance among these is to Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara, who stands on a lotus, has one face and 6 arms, two of its right hands are in *abhaya* and *varamudrās* respectively, whereas the rest carry a rosary, *tridaṇḍi*, *utpala* and water-pot⁴.

Excluding this resemblance our figure remains unique, for no such figure, in bronze, stone, vignette, or painting seems to have been published so far⁵.

Mañjuśrī is the other Dhyāni Bodhisattva to which it may be compared. Like him our figure carries a book and other symbols, but does not carry a water-pot.

The other two figures, one on either side of the central figure, are of women who look identical in every respect. Both stand on a

¹ GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ *Op. cit.*, pls. xliii-lxix. Note particularly figures 25, 29, 34, 70, pls. xlix, l, li, lx respectively.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179, pl. xlvi, 16.

⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 & 27 for the description of Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara, or Mañjukumāra respectively.

lotus, inside a trefoil *prabhāvali*, have a loose upper garment thrown over the back; a lower garment decorated with rosettas and wound round the skirt keeping the lower part uncovered¹. This is perhaps a third garment covering the head upto the forehead². The ornaments are the usual ones—long ear-rings and necklace. They have two arms; in the right hand they carry a long object, crowned by a pointed egg-like thing; in the left a round ball-like object.

Are these women attendants³ holding a flywhisk (*cāmara*)-like object? Or some *śaktis* of the god? The former alternative does not seem to be plausible because of three facts: first, the figures have a *prabhāvali* though much simpler than that of the central figure; secondly, they stand on a lotus; and thirdly, the object in the right hand does not seem to be a *cāmara*. If they do represent a *śakti* who could she be? It is not possible to suggest any particular one from among the host of Buddhist goddesses, a number of whom carry a *kartri*⁴ and *kapāla* as symbols. If the figures under discussion do carry such symbols in their right and left hands respectively, then it may be that they are representations of Prajñāpāramitā, the *śakti* of Vajradhārā⁵. She is endowed with a *kartri* and *kapāla* and is engraved on the board possibly because it is the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript which the board is meant to cover and protect, though why she should be on either of a Bodhisattva, remains unexplained.

The obverse of board B has also five figures. All are seated in *vajrāsana* on a lotus seat within a floral *prabhāvali*, have a folded upper garment now called '*pichoti*, or '*dupattā*', which is shown on the arms, wear a *dhoti* decorated with small circles, tight-fitting necklace, long-lobed ears, and a crown of five leaves, with the hair arranged in the shape of a *chignon*; have an *urnā* on the forehead.

Barring this identity in 'separable accidents', all figures differ from one another in some respects.

Figure 1 (from right) has 3 faces and 8 arms. Of the latter the normal right hand is in *abhayamudrā* and the left palm is on the lap, supporting an indistinct object. The rest of the right hands carry a dagger or sword (?), rosary or lasso (?)⁶, exhibit the *varamudrā*.

¹ This is also noticed on a woman's dress, published by WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, pl. v indicating perhaps the fashion prevalent in Nepāl and reflected in our figures.

² It may be that the garment is only one like the Gujarāṭi or Mārwarī *oḍhaṇi* which when worn with a plaited skirt gives exactly the appearance noticed in our figures.

³ They may be compared with the figures on either side of the paintings of Dhyaṇi Buddhas from Nepāl, reproduced by BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, pl. vii. But unfortunately they are so blurred that a detailed comparison is not possible.

⁴ It is said to symbolize a small knife; the edge of it is sometimes uneven like that of a saw. When surmounted by a *vajra* it is called *Vajrakarti*. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁵ BHATTACHARYA, 'Vajradhārā Vs. Vajrasattva' *JBORS.*, IX, p. 117.

⁶ Probably the former because it is beaded.

The left hands hold a small object with five circles on its one face, a lotus bud (?) and lasso (?)

Figure 2 has also 3 faces but 12 hands. Of the latter the proper two are in *añjalimudrā*, two others are joined in *dhyānamudrā* and are holding a begging bowl. Of the rest 8, 4 hands on the right carry a trident, arrow, lasso (?), and exhibit the *varamudrā* respectively; those on the left a mace, bow, elephant goad, and an indistinct object (?) respectively.

Figure 3 has 4 faces and 8 arms. The two natural hands are in *dharmacakramudrā*. Of the rest the three hands on the right carry a sword, arrows and a double *vajra* respectively; those on the left a mace, bow and a lotus bud (?) respectively.

Figure 4 has 3 faces and 6 arms. Of the normal two hands, the right is in *abhayamudrā*, and the left holds a small object, begging bowl (?) in the open hand held over the lap. Other hands carry an arrow, sword, bow and a lasso respectively.

Figure 5 has 4 faces and 8 hands. Of the two proper hands, the right holds a double *vajra* against the chest, the left a bell hanging over his lap. The rest carry a sword, bow, elephant goad, axe (or is it a drum?), bow, and a lotus (?) respectively.

Exact identification of these figures is difficult, because till now such figures are neither published nor described. The following two alternatives are most probable.

Either they are the five Dhyānī Bodhisattvas, emanations of the Five Dhyānī Buddhas; or the Five Dhyānī Buddhas themselves, but having undergone a great modification in their appearance, owing to the fact that they are sculptured on a board, which was meant to cover the *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript.

The first alternative is supported by following considerations. If the gestures of the hands be the main criterion in identifying these figures then figure 2 seems to be a special form of Avalokiteśvara, the Fourth Dhyānī Bodhisattva. In one of his forms he is shown with 4 arms, the upper two hands in *añjalimudrā*, the lower two in *dhyāna*, carrying a *pātra*¹. Figure 5, likewise, appears to be a variation, not known so far, of Vajrapāṇi, the Second Dhyānī Bodhisattva. Figure 3 seems to be a form of Dharmadhātu Mañjuśrī, a form of Mañjuśrī, the oldest of the Bodhisattvas. He is shown seated, has 4 faces, and 8 arms. The proper right hands are in *dhyānamudrā*; the rest hold a sword, book, arrow etc. respectively². Our figure fulfils these requirements, except in one point, that it does not carry a book.

The remaining two figures cannot be properly identified. Though they differ in the number of arms they have, still both have 3

¹ GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

faces and their proper right hands are in identical position. But figure 1 has one of its hands in *varamudrā*,¹ and if the object held in the left palm be the magic jewel (*cintāmani*), the figure may be that of the third Bodhisattva Ratnapāṇi.

Figure 4 may be the First Dhyāni Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, if the *mudrā* of his right hand be regarded as *vitarka* and not *abhaya* ².

For the second alternative we have the following facts. A number of manuscripts of the *Pañcarakṣāsūtra* have either on the pages of the manuscript or the covers, illustrations in paintings or engravings of the five goddesses Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardani, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmayūri, and Mahāsītavati, presiding upon the *sūtras* which constitute the Pañcarakṣā charms ³. And these Goddesses are said to be affiliated to the Five Buddhas.⁴

It would not have therefore been surprising if their figures were found on our board. But this board, instead, has male figures, which in a number of points resemble those of the goddesses.

First, four out of five goddesses like our figures are seated in *vajrāsana*.

Secondly, Mayūri like Figure 1 has 3 faces and 8 arms. Her first right hand is in *varadamudrā*, and the rest carry a vessel of gems, *cakra* (disc) and a sword; the hands on left have a fruit on the bowl, peacock's feather, *ghaṇṭā*, surmounted by a *viśvavajra*, and the bejewelled banner⁵.

Mahāmantrānusāriṇī with her 3 faces and 2 arms corresponds to a great degree with our Figure 2;⁶ Mahāsāhasrapramardani with 4 faces and 8 arms with Figure 3;⁷ Mahāsītavati with 3 faces and 6 arms with Figure 4⁸ and Mahāpratisarā with 4 faces and 8 arms with Figure ⁹.

This close resemblance in the number of heads, arms, gestures and symbols, exhibited by the latter, point to an inevitable conclusion that an attempt has been made to ascribe to the five male figures the essential attributes of the five goddesses connected with the *Pañca-*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53. The figure bears some resemblance to a standing figure of Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara, who has 3 faces and 8 arms. Two of the right hands are in *abhaya* and *varamudrās* as in our figure. See BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, pl. lx, 70, p. 185.

² Cf. GETTY, *op. cit.*, p. 47. In a few respects the figure has affinities with Viśvaghana Lokeśvara. Cf. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, pl. L, 30, p. 181.

³ BENDALL, *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 544, p. 231-2; MITRA, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 164-169.

⁴ BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁵ For details, see BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

raksā sūtras. These male figures would, ordinarily, be the five corresponding gods, but in this particular case they would be the Five Dhyanī Buddhas to whom, as said before, the goddesses are supposed to be attached.

This is a novel conclusion throwing new light upon the latter Tāntric iconography of Nepāl. Only further research will tell us how far it should be accepted.

The central figure on the reverse is seated on a lotus, and in respect of dress etc., is similar to that of the central figure on the reverse of A. It has two arms, the right hand holds a double thunderbolt (*viśvavajra*) against the breast, the left holds a bell over the lap. The figure seems to be a representation of the Ādi Buddha Vajradhārā or Vajrasattva.¹ He, unlike other mortal Buddhas, "wears a crown and traditional ornaments of a Bodhisattva and is dressed in princely garments."² Vajradhārā as Dharmavajra holds a double thunderbolt at his breast in his right hand and in the left carries a bell on his lap.

Similar are the attributes of Vajrasattva who is regarded by some as the Ādi Buddha, and at the same time an emanation of Akṣobhaya³. If the figures on the obverse be identified with the Five Dhyanī Buddhas, then this figure may be regarded as the sixth Dhyanī Buddha Vajrasattva. The board would then provide us with an unique set of all the Dhyanī Buddhas, more or less in the order in which they are worshipped in Nepāl.⁴ Hodgson's report⁵ that Vajrasattva is seldom represented in statutory form thus receives additional support. For in our cover he is engraved and not sculptured as others are.

The figures of women on either side of the central figure are identical in every respect with those on the reverse of A. And if the central figure is that of Vajrasattva, they would be his *Śaktis*, for the emblems held by them are as prescribed by canonical works⁶.

All the figures have to be dated in the first decade of the 17th century, according to the inscriptions. In the absence of this date the stylistic evidence would point to the creation of the boards in the Pāla period. But these dated sculptures show that in India artistic tradition, like any other, survives for a long time.

The foregoing discussion has shown that it is perhaps the first time that 'bronzes' of all the Five Dhyanī Buddhas from Nepāl are

¹ GETTY, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

² See *ibid.*, p. 2 for the origin of the school of Ādi-Buddha in Nepāl.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ BHATTACHARYYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 2; BHATTACHARYYA, "Vajradhara Vs. Vajrasattva," *JBORS.*, IX, p. 117.

⁵ HODGSON, cited by GETTY, *op. cit.*

⁶ BHATTACHARYYA, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

brought to light. The figures published so far being either stray stone images and bronzes or paintings¹, sketches and vignettes; whereas the figures of the new type of Dhyāni Buddhas? or Dhyāni Bodhisattvas on the obverse of board B and the figure on the reverse of A remain so far unique.

¹ Excepting sculptures or bronzes the most common source of these figures is on binding boards or covers of MSS. and leaves of MSS. themselves from Nepāl and Tibet. A number of these are noted by BENDALL, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, 1883, MSS. Nos. 1688, 1164, 1647, pp. 175, 33, 153, respectively; *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, MSS. Nos. 544, 537, 534, 542, pp. 231-2, 227-28, 225, 230-1, respectively (London, 1902); and Rajendralal MITRA, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1871, pp. 164-169.

REDUPLICATIVES IN INDO-ARYAN¹

By
S. M. KATRE

§ 1. The word reduplicative is used here to embrace not only the actual doubling of an inflected or uninflected word forming a simple expression, but also instances of echo words and compounds of rhyming elements or words. All these different types in reality go to form but one category which plays an important rôle in the development of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and the term "Reduplicative" properly expresses the totality of these formations. In the present paper these reduplicatives of Indo-Aryan will be briefly indicated.

For a proper comparative etymology of Middle and New Indo-Aryan it is necessary to study in their completeness the different classes of vocables such as the Verbal Bases², nominal derivatives from these bases, the Deśi elements in Indo-Aryan³, the non-Aryan substratum, and such jingle words, echo words and other types which comprise what I propose to call the reduplicative words in Indo-Aryan.

§ 2. One of the major sources for the reduplicative element in nominal formation in Sanskrit is the "Onomatopoetic" type⁴ which may affect a single consonant, a syllable or group of syllables:

(a) Reduplication of a single consonant: *akḥkhalī-kṛtṛyā* "croaking";

(b) Reduplication of a syllable: *alalābhāvant* "sounding

¹ This paper is only a preliminary draft of the introductory chapter of a Monograph which will deal with the entire reduplicative element in Indo-Aryan followed by a complete comparative etymological dictionary of these vocables in the different languages of Northern India as a partial contribution to our knowledge of the history of these vocables. Full materials for this work have already been collected from Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrits, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Hindi and Nepālī.

² A comprehensive monograph on the Verbal Bases of Middle Indo-Aryan is already under preparation by me on this basis and it is expected that it will be published before the end of March 1940 as a monograph of the Linguistics Department of the Deccan College Research Institute.

³ The problem of the Deśi words in Indo-Aryan and in Dravidian is of absorbing interest and needs very careful investigation before a linguistic research into the substrata of both I-A. and Dravidian can be undertaken. A preliminary study of this has been undertaken by Mr. C. R. SANKARAN and myself, and we hope to place our results before the scholarly world in the shape of a monograph of the Linguistics Department, towards the spring of 1940.

⁴ Full details and bibliographical notes will be found in WACKERNAGEL, *Alt-indische Grammatik* II, 1. § 2 (pp. 6-9).

merrily", *kikirā kr-* "to tear to tatters", *masmaśā* (and variants *maśmaśā*, *mṛsmṛsā*) + *kr-* "to crush", etc.

(c) Reduplication of a group of syllables: *paṭapaṭā*, *śiriśīrā* (with just a variation in the vowel of the second syllable), *caṭacaṭā-śabda*, *kalakala-*, and certain verbs like *ghuraghurāyate*, *ghuma-ghumāyate*, *caṭacaṭāyate* which are really denominatives.

§ 3. A few instances of "Multiplicatives"¹ are interesting as giving rise in Middle Indo-Aryan to a number of verbal formations: *dadadā-*, *bababā-kr-*, Middle Indo-Aryan *ghu-ghu-ghu-ghu-ghu-ghu-*, *guma-guma-guma-*, *ḍuhu-ḍuhu-ḍuha-* etc.

§ 4. In a number of cases the reduplication is not quite perfect but easily recognized: Kāth. *manmala-bhāvant* (YV. *malmalā*^o) "lightning"; *kikkilā*; in the form *bibibā-bhāvant-* the "multiplication" is not quite perfect.

Examples which belong to this category are Sk. *kukkura-*, AV. *kurkurā-*; *kaḥkaṭā*, *tittiri-*, *tittiri-*, *kukkuṭā-*, *ḍiṇḍima-* etc.

Onomatopoetic words which have some sort of reduplicating or rhyming elements but which cannot be classified among the types mentioned above are: *kokila*² *kinkira-*, *kaṅkeru-*, *jhiñjhī*, *krakaca-* etc.

§ 5. A further classification of the types considered above is possible. In forms like *ḍiṇḍima-*, *kurkurā-*, we have the first element as *ḍim-*, or *kur-* and the second as an extension of the same as *-ḍima-*, *-kura-*. Similarly in the forms *masmasā-kr-*, *caṭacaṭā-śabda-* the second is an extension of the first half. On the other hand in OI-A. *tad-iti*, *tadad-iti* we have the first element in its proper form, but the second in the reduced form *-ad-*.

In words like *ke-kā*, *mini-miṇa-*, we have reduplication of the consonantal elements but not of the vowel in the final syllable.

Sk. *jhaljhalā*, like the form *tadad-iti* shows the extended form in the first half and the reduced form in the second half.

§ 6. A second source of reduplicatives will be found in the *Āmreḍita* formation of Old Indo-Aryan³.

In such instances the distributive sense is implied: *grhē-grhe* "in every house", with its variants *dāme-dame*, *viśe-viśe*. Examples of different cases are given already in WACKERNAGEL, *op. cit.* pp. 143 ff. In many cases the use of the *āmreḍita* is of an intensive nature.

The examples considered here consist of (a) substantives, (b) adjectives: *pānyam-panyam*, *prācīm-prācīm*, *uttarām-uttarām*, (c) numerals: *ekam-ekā*.

¹ Like reduplicatives, *multiplicatives* will comprise all classes of words involving the *multiplication* of a syllable or group of syllables.

² < **kokā*-, cf. Sk. *kekā*.

³ WACKERNAGEL, *Ai. Gr.* II. 1. §§.

Out of such formations we get the iterative compounds: (a) substantives, *putra-putr'-ādinī*; (b) adjectives, *uttarottara*, *pūrva-pūrva*, etc.; (c) numerals, *ēkaika*, *dvandva*, *pāñca-pāñca*, (d) pronouns, *eṣaiṣā*, (e) prepositions and (f) verbal derivatives, *gatā-gata*, *naṣṭā-naṣṭa*. Very frequent are the iterative compounds like *itaretara*, *anyōnyā*, *paraspara*, etc.

§ 7. Another common source is the adjectival Dvandva formed from a common word with different prepositions or prefixes.

(a) In *āca-parāca* "going hither and thither", *ācopacā* "weakening", we have different prepositions attached to a common word-element. A further example in this class is *uccāvacā* "high and low".

(b) *kṛtākṛta* "half done", *kṛtākṛtām*¹ "done and undone", *drśyādṛśya* "what is seen and what is not seen", *divyādivya* "heavenly and earthly", *balābala* "strength and weakness" or "partly strong and partly weak". Here we have the negative of the first expression compounded with it. Its opposite type is seen in *aghora ghoratarā*, *aghora-ghora-rūpa*, etc.

§ 8. In classical Sanskrit certain types of compound expressions have come into existence, the forms being mostly attested by grammarians: thus *keśākeśi*, *hastāhasti* "hair to hair, head to head", "hand to hand, in close fight" respectively. Similar indeclinable compounds are *muṣṭāmuṣṭi* "fist to fist, fighting hand to hand", *kacākaci* "hair against hair, pulling each other's hair" *rathārathi* "chariot to chariot", *nakhānakhi* "nail to nail".²

§ 9. Of verbal compounds coming within our reduplicating class we have in Vedic Sanskrit *piba-piba* "drink, drink", *yājasva-yajasva* "sacrifice, sacrifice"; otherwise a repeated verb is treated independently, both being accented or not: *stuhī stuhī* "praise, praise." WACKERNAGEL, *op. cit.* p. 329 quotes *paca-paca* as a name of Śiva, from the verbal *āmreḍita pacati-pacati*. Similarly the repetition of the second person singular of imperative forms: *lunīhi-lunihīty evāyaṃ lunāti* "he cuts in a trice".

§ 10. A vast field for investigation, not only from the linguistic point of view but also from the rhetorical point of view, is that of rhyme-word building in Indo-Aryan. In his recent paper on the Stylistics of the first seven books of the Atharvaveda³ J. GONDA has to some extent dealt with certain aspects of this question. H. GÜNTERT'S⁴ study of the rhyme-word building is limited only to independent

¹ On this form and allied matters see L. RENOU, *Sur certains emplois d' a(n) °* *priv. en sanskrit*, § 15, *BSOS*, 10.10 ff.

² A long list is given by L. RENOU, *BSOS*, 10.12.

³ *Stilistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII*, Wageningen, 1938.

⁴ *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen*, *Indogermanische Bibliothek III*¹, Heidelberg.

verbal themes and does not form part of our study of Indo-Aryan Reduplicatives.

(a) Compound expressions formed from masculine and feminine forms of a single word: *kuṭi-ku'a-m*, *dāsī-dāsa-m*, *bhāgavati-bhāgavata-m*, *nadi-nada-m*, *miñjikā-miñjika-m*, etc.

(b) Rhyming words joined in a compound: *gāja-vāja*, *dāra-jāra*-, *pārāvāra* (cf. *pārāpāra*) "the nearer and the further shore."

(c) Verbal forms of the imperative joined together to form a feminine substantive: *khādata-modatā* "continual eating and rejoicing".

§ 11. Practically all the types of reduplicatives considered above are also current in Middle Indo-Aryan. A few of the commoner varieties may be mentioned here, not included above, but which play an important rôle in later developments.

(a) Vocatives are generally repeated: *ho hoyi bhallākṣa bhallākṣa*, or in the R̥g Veda 10.146.1^a *áranyāni áranyāni* and Śat. Br. 14.5.1.1 *janako-janaka iti vai jánā dhāvanti*.

(b) Vocative phrases are repeated in the same or altered but rhyming form: *ehi re-yāhirā* from *ehi re yāhi re*!

§ 12. In Pāli¹ we first see a type of reduplicative which becomes more common in the various Prakrits. In this type two repeated words are joined together by *-m-*: *a-katha-m-kathi(n)* "free from doubt", *katha-m-kathā* "doubt, uncertainty", *agga-m-agga-* "the best of each set" ('besides *agg'-agga-* "most excellent"), *aṅga-m-aṅga* "limb by limb", *añña-m-añña-* "each other" (besides *aññoñña-*); *eka-m-eka-* "one by one, each", *kola-m-kola-* "going from family to family".

Corresponding to this we have in Prakrits forms like: *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa-* "each other", *ekka-m-ekka-* "one by one", *kala-m-kala-* "evil, tainted", *bulambulā* etc. On this analogy we have Deśi *dura-m-dara-* "risen above pain", *tuma-m-tuma* "mental attitude modified through anger", *dil(l)i-m-dilia-* "a boy, baby, child", etc. An extension of this *-m-* to other cases: *jīva-m-jīva-*, *jīvājīva-* or *jīva-m-a-jīva* "animate and inanimate".

§ 13. Another type seen in Pāli and later in the Prakrits is the lengthening of the final vowels of the first word: *calā-calā-* "moving to and fro". Compare with this Vedic *carā-carā-* "moving" *calā-calā-*² "weakening", whose simplicia are later than the compound expression itself, see WACKERNAGEL *op. cit.* § 61. The lengthening in the Vedic forms is attributed by WACKERNAGEL to either (a) rhythmic necessity or (b) the consideration of *-ā-* treated as the instrumental singular ending, comparable to that in Greek *ponōpōneros*.

¹ Dr. W. STED's paper on the "Reduplikationskomposita im Pāli" *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, (1925) 6. 89-94 is not accessible to me at the time of writing this paper.

² See RENOU, *BSOS*, 10.11 ff. for these formations.

On this analogy we have in Pāli *kiccā-kiccā* "duties of all kinds", *khaṇḍā-khaṇḍa-*, °*ika-* "piece by piece", *gamanā-gamana-* "going and coming", *phalā-phala-* "all sorts of fruit", *ākulā-kula-* "thoroughly confused", *halā-hala-* "uproar, tumult".

In Prakrit dialects we have *kolā-hala-* "cry of birds", *khaṇḍā-khaṇḍa-* "broken up", cf. *khaṇḍā-khaṇḍi* "in a broken manner" and *dhukkā-dhukka-* "to be agitated".

Comparable to Pk. *khaṇḍā-khaṇḍi* we have also in Pk. *ghummā-ghummi* adv.

§ 14. A variant of the types considered above is the doubling of the initial consonant of the second word or element: *khaṇa-k-khaṇa-* : *khaṇa-khaṇa-khaṇa-* "with jingling sound", *khala-k-khala-* "in a rumbling manner" : *khala-hala-* "the rippling of the river", *khala-ūhaliya-* "agitated"; *jhaḍa-p-paḍa-* "quickness", *taḍa-p-phāḍa-* "to be agitated" in opposition to *taḍa-phāḍa-*.

Sometimes the two elements differ only in the second having a preposition: *kaḍḍh'-o-kaḍḍha-* "tug of war", Sk. *kr̥ṣṭā'-pa-kr̥ṣṭa-*; Pk. *hall'-o-halaya-* "crying out, calling out".

§ 15. For the first time in Prakrits we find real jingle words where only one part of the reduplicative has any significance, and the other a rhyming, echoing or jingle element: *ala!'-a-pala!'-a-* "topsy-turvy", Sk. *ṣaryasta-*; Mar. *ultā-pāl'ā*, Hindi *ultāpūlā* etc.; Pk. *kailla-bailla-* "unharnessed ox" where *bailla-* is "ox"

§ 16. The popularity of these reduplicatives in New Indo-Aryan dialects may easily be perceived from the fact that in Marāṭhī there are over 1,500 words belonging to this category, and in Gujarātī over half this number, judging only from the words recorded in the Dictionaries and Grammars, but in actual practice we shall probably find almost three times these, particularly in the uncultivated dialects. We find here the same variety of forms as in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, but the number of echo-words or jingle words overwhelms all the other types of reduplicatives.

§ 17. Among the different manners of binding the two reduplicative elements one of the commonest in New Indo-Aryan and particularly in Marāṭhī is the -o- characteristic: Mar. *aka!'-o-vika!* (in opposition to *aka!'-vika!*) huge, hideous; *aṁkh-o-aṁkh* according to the number or price marked; *ardh-o-ardh* by halves; *ār-o-pār* (: *ār-pār*) through and through; in an extended form in *kad-o-vi-kad* subtle tortuousness and darkness of speech; *kān-o-kān* (i) from ear to ear; *khaḍ-o-khaḍ* (i) on the spot; *khar-o-khar* (ī. ē) positively, assuredly; *caṭ-o-vaṭi* rivalling; *caḍh-o-vaḍhi* emulous contest, competition; *ṭaṁk-o-ṭaṁk* weight by weight; *ṭaṁk-o-ṭaṁk* immediately upon; *taṁṭ-o-taṁṭ* exactly equal; *paḍ-o-paḍi* at every step; *bhar-o-bhari-* measure with measure, measure for measure; *rāt-o-rāt* by night, in the night; *rān-o-rān* through woods and wilds; *lag-o-lag*, *lag-o-lāg* close

behind; *sar-o-bari* equality, *sar-o-sar* ornament for the head; *sāmd-o-sāmd* brimful, up to the brim; *sāl-o-sāl* annually, year by year.

In Gujarātī: *ad-o-ad* quite close; *khac-o-khac* closely, tightly; *khar-o-khar* truly; *ghar-o-ghar* at every house; *cap-o-cap* at once; *cham-o-cham* bursting out into life without conception, immaculate conception; *janm-o-janma* from birth to birth; *jhaṭ-o-jhaṭ*: *jhaṭ-jhaṭ* quickly; *ṭak-o-ṭak*, *ṭamk-o-ṭamk* timely; *thār-o-thār* everywhere; *ṭad-o-ṭad*: *ṭad-ṭad* cracking sound; *tār-o-tār* having one wire separated from another; *dhab-o-dhab* repeatedly; *pāt-o-pāt* one after another; *pār-o-pār* from one end to another; *bhac-o-bhac* piercing in rapid succession; *rāt-o-rāt* in the very night; *saṭ-o-saṭ* smartly, promptly; *hāth-o-hāth* personally, from hand to hand; *hāḍ-o-hāḍ* in every bone, in the very bones.

In Hindī: *ādh-o-ādh* half and half.

§ 18. Reduplicatives in New Indo-Aryan with the *-ā-* binding element, which generally corresponds to the oblique of the reduplicated simplex, are much more common.

In Marāṭhī: *aṭp-ā-aṭap* gathering together; *aṭ-ā-aṭ*, *aṭ-ā-ghāṭ* vehement efforts, *adv-ā-aḍav* violent stopping; *aḍ-ā-aḍ* sudden stopping; *adl-ā-badal* exchange, exchanging; *āps-ā-āpas* amongst (our-, your-their-selves); *ukl-ā-ukaḷ* doing and undoing; *uck-ā-ucak* pilfering; *ucl-ā-ucal* tossing and tumbling about; *uḍv-ā-uḍav* scattering; *kac-ā-kac* a brawl; *kaḷv-ā-kaḷav* reciprocal; *khād-ā-khād* mutual jarring; *kheṭ-ā-kheṭ* pressing and jostling; *gaṭ-ā-gaṭ* with the noise of swallowing; *gut-ā-gūt* tangle; *guthv-ā-guthav* general entanglement; *ghaḍ-ā-ghaḍ* unceasing hammering; *ghās-ā-ghās* reiterated rubbing; *caṭ-ā-caṭ* in a jiffy; *cep-ā-cep* pressing and thronging; *chāṭ-ā-chāṭ* cutting and clipping; *jam-ā-jam* gathering together; *jhaḡḍ-ā-jhaḡḍ* quarrelling; *ṭol-ā-ṭol* putting off from day to day; *ṭhok-ā-ṭhok* large, solid; *ḍāl-ā-ḍāl* general heaping together; *dhavḷ-ā-dhavaḷ* disturbing, disordering;—An extension of this type is seen in the feminine forms in *-ī* or adverbs in *-ī*; *taḍk-ā-taḍk-ī* in a jiffy; *dhakl-ā-dhakl-ī* shoving; *thop-ā-thop-ī* stopping, pacifying; *daḍ-ā-daḍ-ī* hiding; *dhapp-ā-dhapp-ī* smart fisticups; *nok-ā-nok-ī* innuendoes; *pāmḡ-ā-pāmḡ-ī* general scattering; *phaṭh-ā-phaṭh-ī* slight fighting; *bharm-ā-bharm-ī* upon the general suspicion; *mard-ā-mard-ī* manliness; *ram-ā-ram-ī* equality; *lemkr-ā-lemkr-ī* from son to son; *vaḍl-ā-vaḍl-ī* ancestral, *varg-ā-varg-ī* classification; *sard-ā-varḍ-ī* mean or average proportion; *hāk-ā-hāk-ī* general calling.

In Gujarātī: *akḍ-ā-akḍ-ī* rivalry; *aḍ-ā-aḍ-ī* a crisis; *athad-ā-athad-ī* wandering, collision; *ucl-ā-ucal* or *°ucl-ī* lifting; *oḷ-ā-oḷ* in a line or row; *kacr-ā-kacr-ī* pressure due to overcrowding; *kaṭ-ā-kaṭ-ī* mortal enmity; *kaḍ-ā-kaḍ* low crackling noise, *kaḍ-ā-ka-ḍī* rivalry; *kas-ā-kas-ī* rivalry; *khaṭ-ā-khaṭ-ī* discord; *gaḍḍ-ā-gaḍḍ-ī* wrestling; *gap-ā-gap* eating briskly; *gham-ā-gham* hurriedly; *ghurk-ā-ghurk-ī* mutual glowing;

caṭ-ā-paṭ-i uneasiness; *cars-ā-cars-i* rivalry; *chaṭ-ā-chaṭ-* repeatedly; *chal-ā-chal* filled to the brim; *cheḡ-ā-cheḡ* scratches in several places in writing; *ched-ā-ched* vexing, vexation; *jhagḡ-ā-jhagḡ-i* mutual quarrelling; *jhap-ā-jhap-(i)* slaughter; *ṭhas-ā-ṭhas* completely; *ṭhok-ā-ṭhāk* continued knocking; *ḍāḡh-ā-ḍugh-i* blots; *taḍ-ā-taḍ* briskly; *tān-ā-tān* pulling about; *thaḍ-ā-thaḍ* clashingly; *dekh-ā-dekh-i* imitation, rivalry; *dhakk-ā-dhakk-i* a scuffle; *nās-ā-nās-i* hurried retreat; *pakṣ-ā-pakṣ-i* party spirit; *phāṭ-ā-phāṭ* general disunion; *bol-ā-bol* disputing; *mār-ā-mār-i* scuffle, broil, assault; *leṇ-ā-deṇ-i* dealings; *sars-ā-sars-i* superiority; *hōs-ā-tōs-i* competition.

In Hindi: *aīmdh-ā-dūmdh* indiscriminate, rash; rashness, anarchy, misgovernment; *ek-ā-ek-i* suddenly, unexpectedly; *er-ā-pher-i* exchange, barter; *qur-ā-qur* grumbling or rumbling in the bowels; *kah-ā-kah-i* dispute, altercation; *khac-ā-khac*, crowded, close; *khaṭ-ā-paṭ-i* wrangling; *khoīc-ā-khoīc-i* mutual wrangling; *garm-ā-garm* fresh, very hot; *ghac-ā-ghac* successive sword thrusts; *cakh-ā-cakh-i* discord; *caṭ-ā-caṭ* reiterated sound; *jhar-ā-jhar* rapidly, unceasingly; *jhāīk-ā-jhāīk-i* peeping; *ṭūmg-ā-ṭūmg-i* pecking and nibbling; *damḡ-ā-damḡ-i* fighting with sticks; *dhūs-ā-dhūs-i* cramming and stuffing; *pher-ā-pher-i* walking backwards and forwards; *māl-ā-māl* full, replete, rich; *rūṭh-ā-rūṭh-i* mutual coolness; *lūṭ-ā-lūṭ* plundering; *haṭk-ā-haṭk-i* driving back.

§ 19. In a few instances the characteristic binding element is *-e-*.

In Marāṭhī: *āp-e-āp* spontaneously; *koṇ-e-koṇ-i* in every corner; *nīm-e-nīm* by halves; *lag-e-lag-e*; *lag-lag* in haste, hastily.

In Gujarātī: *kān-e-kān* ear to ear; *koṭ-e-koṭ* along the surrounding wall; *koṭ-r-koṭ-o* boisterous laughs; *chaḍ-e-chaḍ-ū* alone; *ṭol-e-ṭol-ā* in gangs, troupes or crowds; *thok-e-thok* (in) many groups; *nīm-e-nīm* half to half; *pakk-e-pakk-ū* quite ripe; *pec-e-pec* trickishly; *pol-e-pol* total emptiness; *bhūk-e-bhūk-i-(o)* rack and ruin; *mīṭ-e-mīṭ* patience; winking of the eyes; *lāḡ-e-lāḡ* exactly fitting; *sāc-e-sāc-ū* absolute truth; *hāḍ-e-hāḍ* in every bone, in the very bones.

§ 20. The classification of these reduplicatives in modern Indo-Aryan languages proceeds along the same lines as for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. We have here (a) Onomatopoeic expressions with reduplication of a syllable or groups of syllables, (b) Āmreḍita formations affecting substantives, adjectives, pronouns and pronominal adverbs, numerals, verbs and verbal formations, (c) rhyme-words with real significant rhyming simplicia, (d) echo-words or jingle-compounds where one alone of the elements is significant. In such cases where both elements are not significant we have the first division of onomatopoeic words in New Indo-Aryan languages. The very large number of such jingle expressions, sometimes formed out of a single simplex, shows how vital this formation is in the development of I-A. dialects.

§ 21. Onomatopoetic expressions: Mar.:— *kac-kac* the screaming of the crane; *kaṭ-kaṭ* wrangling; sharp sound; *kaḍ-kaḍ-ā* imitation of the sound of drums; *khaṭ-khaṭ* clap! clap!; *gaṭ-gaṭ* swallowing sound; *gar-gar-ne* to whirl; *cak-mak* flint and steel; *cham-cham* imitation of jingling; *jhak-jhak*, *jhag-jhag* glittering.

In Guj.: *than-than* a hollow sound; *dam-dam* a tom-tom; *dhan-dhan* clanking sound; *taḍ-taḍ* cracking sound; *thai-thai* dancing sound; *dhaḍ-dhaḍ* quickly running; *paṭ-paṭ* quickly; *phaṭ-phaṭ* with a sound; *phad-phad* flapping sound; *baḍ-baḍ* gabble.

In Hindi: *paṭ-paṭ* sound of beating; *pic-pic-ā* flabby, clammy-watery; *phaṭ-phaṭ-ānā* to flap wings; *phar-phar-ānā* to flutter; *phus*, *phus* whistling; *bar-bar-ānā* to grumble or mutter; *bhin-bhin-ānā* to buzz, swarm; *rap-rap* trot of a horse; *laṭ-paṭ* staggering, reeling; *vaṭ-vaṭ-ānā* to babble, chatter or jabber; *sum-sum* simmering, noise of moist wood burning; *hā-hā* singing.

§ 22. • Amreḍita formations: In Marāṭhī: *adhar-adhar* lightly; *āp-āp* of one's own accord; *ūn-ūn* burning hot, very fresh; *ek-ek* each one. Many of the forms with binding elements quoted above come within this category.

In Gujarātī: *āp-āp-nū* one's own; *kṣane-kṣane* repeatedly; *khanu-khanu* every moment; *ghaḍi-ghaḍi* every time; *jem-jem* just as; *jot-jot-ā-mā* instantly; *jarā-jarā* little by little; *thām-thām*, *thāme-thāme* everywhere.

In Hindi: *ek-ek* one by one; *bahā-bahā phirnā* to wander; *saṭi-saṭi* joined, crowded, stuck together; *sāth-sāth* together with, along with.

If we classify these *āmreḍita* compounds or expressions according to the scheme mentioned in § 19 above, we have:—

(a) Substantives: Guj. *khanu-khanu*, *ghaḍi-ghaḍi*, etc.

(b) Adjectives: Mar. Guj. Hindi. *jarā-jarā*, M. *ūn-ūn*, M. H. G. *garam-garam*, etc.

(c) Pronouns: M. H. *āp-āp* G. *āp-āp-nu*; etc.

(d) Pronominal Adverbs: M. *jasā-jasā*, *tasā-tasā*, *kasā-kasā*, etc.; G. *jem-jem*, *tem-tem*, *em-em*, etc.; H. *jaisā-jaisā*, *taisā-taisā* etc.

(e) Numerals: M. G. H. *ek-ek*, M. *don-don*, G. *be-be*, H. *do-do* etc.

(f) Verbs: M. *jātā-jātā*

(g) Verbal Formations: M. G. *ramat-ramat*.

§ 23. Rhyme words with real significant rhyming simplicia:

(a) In Marāṭhī: *aṃga-bhaṃga* corporeal gestures: *aṃga-saṃga* carnal connection, close quarters; *adhā-madhalā* or *adhcā-madhcā* medial; *asāsā-usāsā* panting, gasping for breath (Sk. *āśvāsa-* & *ucchvāsa-*); *āi-bāi*, *āi-māi*, *āis-māis* all terms of endearment; *ālā-pālā* green or fresh vegetables; *ujāl-pājāl* (Sk. *ujjvala-* & *prajvala-*) bright, shining; *karma-dharma* conduct; *khāmjaṇi-bhāmjaṇi* addition

and subtraction; *gamat-ramat* playing and idling; *garam-naram* sharp and mild; *gard-wardi* round about; *ghāt-pāt* killing, maiming; *jamtar-mamtar* hocus-pocus, etc.

(b) In Gujarātī: *calan-valan* movement; *jamtar-mamtar* charm, spell; *jari-mari* epidemic; *jem-tem* indifferently; *raman-bhaman* perplexity; *ramat-gamiat* play and pastime; *rahyū-sahyū* remaining at rest, etc.

(c) In Hindi: *ati-gati* very much, very greatly; *ab-tab* presently, occasionally, now and then; *ār-vār* a stop or prop; *ānā-jānā* coming and going; *ās-pās* vicinity, neighbourhood; *idhar-udhar*, hither and thither; *jalā-balā* passionate, hot-tempered, *bājā-gājā* sounds of various instruments, etc.

§ 24. Echo-words or jingle compounds. Under this category we have not only purely onomatopoeic expressions, but also formations where one alone of the simplicia is significant, the other being merely the jingle or rhyming element, the chief feature of a real Reduplicative.

We have to consider here briefly two classes: (a) the first element is significant or (b) the second element is significant.

(a) In Marāṭhī: *acar-pacar*, *acar-bacar* dry food, hard fare; *acar*; *amdhārī-kumdhārī*, *amdhārī-komdhārī* in private, secretly: *amdhār*; *ādī-bidī* first of all: *ādī*; *ugrā-bāgrā* fierce: *ugra* (is the second element connected with Sk. *vyagra* ?); *kātar-kutar* serrated; indented: *kātar*; *khābaḍ-khubaḍ* uneven, rugged: *khabaḍ* (cf. Konkani *khadbaḍaṣe*, rugged); *gāḍā-nāḍā* worldly establishment: *gāḍā* etc.

In Gujarātī: *navū-savū* new, recent: *navū*; *ramak-jhamak* playful, sportive: *ramak*; *sāc-māc* true: *sāc*, etc.

In Nepali: *uthal-puthal* upside down: *uthal*; *udhin-pādhin* searching, scrutiny: *udhin*; *kelāi-kulāi* cleaning, sifting: *kelāi*; *khatanā-patanā* whiskers which are just beginning to appear: *khatanā*; *kharca-parca* expenses: *kharca*; *khal-bal* disturbance, uproar, *khal-bali* hubub: Sk. *khalati* shakes; whence *khalla-malla*, *khalla-balla* etc.; *khicari-micari* higgledy-piggledy: *khicari*; *khaj-khāj* thorough investigation: *khaj*; *khodal-khādal* digging: *khodal*; *cāt-cuṭ* licking: *cāṭ*; *cālā-mālā* custom, habits: *cālā*; *cij-bij* article, thing: *cij*; *cur-cār* crumbs: *cur*; *chāmchām-chumchum*, *chām-chum* groping: *chām*; *chitir-mitir* scattered: *chitrāunu*; *cheu-chāu* margin, edge: *cheu*; *chek-chāk* hindrance: *chek*; *jamān-kamān* pledge: *jamān*; *jālē-mālē* deceit: *jāl*; *jhagarā-sagarā*, *jhagarā-sagarā* bickering: *jhagarā*; *jhalak-jhilik* a flash: *jhalak*; *jhalak-malak* flash, from the same source; *jhāt-jhut* threshing (of corn): *jhāt*; *jhār-jhur*, *jhār-jhor* incantation: *jhār*; *jhiṭi-miṭi* chattels: *jhiṭi*; *dhali-mali* lolling about: *dhālnu*; *dhāt-dhūt* hypocrisy: *dhāt*; *dhil-dhāl* delay, hesitation: *dhil*; *dhukne-bhukne* creepy crawly: *dhukne*; *tāur-māur*, *tāhur-māhur* alertness: *tāur-tāur*; *tāch-tuch* planing and connected work: *tāch*; *dhūle-dāblo* emaciated: *dhūle*; *dhut-dhāt* extortion of money by fraud: *dhut*; *nīphan-nāphan* winnowing:

niphan; *pāt-sāl* foliage: *pāt*; *pāl-sāl* tents, sailing tackle: *pāl*; *piṭi-pāṭi* having beaten: *piṭnu*; *puch-pāch* inquiry, questioning: *puchnu*; *pot-pāt* whitewashing: *potnu*; *balla-talla* with great difficulty: *balla*; *bār-būr* division: *bār*; *bhān-bhun* (e) rough, violent, violence: *bhān*; *bhūti bhā'i* hasty frying: *bhu'nu*; *much-māch* mixing together: *much*; *rahal-pahal* remnant, rest: *rahal*, etc.

(b) Second element significant:

In Marāṭhī: *acak-bocak* disorderly: *bocak-nē*; *amjārñe-gomjārñe* to smooth down in coaxing: *gomjārñe*; *aḍoṣi-paḍoṣi* neighbourhood: *paḍoṣi*; *avaḍ-civaḍ* confused mashing: *civaḍñe*; *ās-bhās* sign: *bhās*; *iḍā-piḍā* affliction: *piḍā*; *umerā-ghāmerā* sweating profusely: *ghāmerā*; *kothē-methē* coriander: *methē*; *khudrā-pādrā* obscence: *pādrā*; *cil-i-pili* children: *pili*; *pāthorā-piṭhorā* the new moon festival in month of Śrāvaṇa: *piṭhorā*; *pārjā-purjā* a scrap of paper: *purjā*, etc.

In Nepālī: *āco-khāco* time of need: *khāco*; *ākal-jhukal* by fits and starts; *jhukal*; *āltu-phāltu* strange: *pāltu*; *irḍa-girḍa* surroundings: *girḍa*; *lākh-likh* environment, surroundings: *likh*; *lāt-loṭ* mixing, contaminating: *loṭ*, etc.

§ 25. It is interesting to note the manner in which jingle formations occur. Unlike in Dravidian, there is no definite principle in these New Indo-Aryan languages for this particular type of formation, but the general tendency may only be inferred from actual notes taken from non-literary languages and dialects. Ordinarily the palatal seems to be the most favoured of the reduplicating consonants with the *i*-colouring in such dialectical reduplicatives or echo-words or jingle formations: M. G. H. *bhāji-biji*: *bhāji*. This tendency is however, not marked in the literary formations recorded in the various lexicons and grammars. We can only trace for the present certain types of reduplication: (a) simple reduplication of the simplex and (b) reduplication of the simplex with slight alteration of the consonants or vowels or both of the simplex.

Under (a) come all kinds of reduplicatives, with or without binding elements, with or without prefixes.

Under (b) we have to consider the following types:

i. change of consonant: M. *agaḍ-tagāḍ* trash; *aṭar-phāṭar* jabber; *khaḷke-valke* squabbling; *khut-put* fretting about; *gaj-baj* humming, etc. In Guj.: *khaṭ-paṭ* intrigue; *khaḍ-baḍ* bickering; *korū-morū* quite new; *gaṭak-maṭak* hastily; *caṭā-paṭā* stripes, etc. In Hindi: *naṭ-khaṭ* shrewd, naughty *turt-phurt* at once; *luṭ-khur-i* flattery; *lapar-ṣapar* jargon, etc.

ii. change of vowel; in Mar.: *kāt-kūt* cuttings, clippings; *garib-gurib* the poor and the mean; *gāḍ-gūḍ* rumbling; *gām-ghūm* sweltering; *ghāl-ghoḷ* disorder; *cāpi-copi* neatness, spruceness, *cāpūn-copūn* having levelled and smoothed; *cuk-cak* chirping of the house lizard; *civūn-cāvūn* sparingly; *cup-cāp* silently, etc. In Guj.: *sāph-*

uph neat and clean ; *sūm-sām* dead silence ; *phus-phās* light, flimsy*dā* etc.

iii. change of consonant and vowel : in Mar. : *akdā : tikdā* incoherent speech ; *agaṭ-cigaṭ* slow, dull ; *ajā-dujā* mine and thine ; *abak-ṭubak* name of a play ; *khāraṭ-turaṭ* salty ; *khota-nāṭā* bad, false ; *cālā-bolā* crumpled ; *cukat-mākat*, *cukat-vākat* erringly ; *cerā-morā* visage ; *junā-pānā* used and worn out ; *deṭṭ-rāṭ* temple and palace, etc.

In all these cases the rhyming affects the final syllable primarily of the simplicia, and the other changes indicated above are only in the initial syllable.

§ 26. From these considerations it will appear that a comparative etymological dictionary of reduplicatives in Indo-Aryan will have to deal with all types of simplicia, forming either significant vocables or merely jingle words, leaving out purely rhetorical compounds in Old or Middle Indo-Aryan for a stylistic study elsewhere, and that under each simplex will have to appear all reduplicative formations of which the simplex may be the first or the second element.

That the same simplex yields even in a given language a large number of reduplicatives may be gathered from the following examples.

Marāṭhī : *agaḍ-tagad*, *agaḍ-bagaḍ* trash ; *agaḍ-dhagaḍ* haram-scaram ; *agḍi-dagḍi*. *avaḍ-civaḍ* confused mashing ; *avaḍ-nāvaḍ* liking and disliking. *āṭ-ghāṭ* teasing ; *āṭ-chāṭ* rigid exactitude ; *āṭ-ā-āṭ*, *āṭ-ā-ghāṭ* *āl-ā-piṭ-i*, *āṭ-ā-piṭ* vehement efforts ; *āṭ-pāṭ* play among children ; *ālā-tālī* dallying ; *ālā-toliā* grasp, compass. *ugā-mugā* silently and still, *ugā-vāgā* clearance, disentanglement. *kad-kad* sound of drums, *kad-bad* residue of food, *kad-mad* lassitude. *khaṭ-khaṭ* fuss, *khaṭ-naṭ* wrangling *khaṭ-paṭ* bustle, etc.

Gujarātī : *aḍi-aḍi*, *aḍi-daḍi* children's play ; *aras-daras* looking glass, *aras-paras* mutually ; *kac-kac* idle talk, *kac-pac* noisy talk ; *gaḍ-gaḍ* thundering, *gaḍ-baḍ* clamour ; *taḍ-taḍ* cracking sound, *taḍ-paḍ* struggles, *taḍ-phad-vū* to chafe and fume, *taḍ-bhaḍ* precipitately.

I have only briefly indicated here the types of formations without entering into the full details or ramifications of the subject which will appear in their proper place in the comparative etymological dictionary of these reduplicatives. The work that really remains to be done is to observe and note down from the hundreds of unrecorded Indo-Aryan dialects these jingle formations for the correct history of reduplicatives as a formative element in the development of vocables and the force of these formations for syntactical purposes.

ABSOLUTIVES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE VIRĀṬAPARVAN

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The Absolutes in the Virāṭaparvan conform to the general rules by which they are formed in the strictly classical Sanskrit. The rules for their formation are very simple. The suffix *-tvā* is added to the simple or non-compounded roots and the suffix *-ya* to the compounded roots.¹ Exceptions² to this rule, however, are not altogether wanting in the Virāṭaparvan. We note some non-compounded roots taking the suffix *-ya* and some compounded ones *-tvā*. It must be admitted that there are not many instances of this type.

We divide these absolutes in four groups: (i) Regular absolutes of non-compounded roots; (ii) Regular absolutes of compounded roots; (iii) Irregular absolutes of non-compounded roots; (iv) Irregular absolutes of compounded roots.

(i) *Regular absolutes of non-compounded roots.*

The absolutes of this type are not more than forty-one. These are formed, as said above, by the direct addition of the suffix *-tvā* to the root, or in some cases with the intermixing of vowel *-i*.³ The examples from the Virāṭaparvan are⁴:

kṛtvā 4.4.49; *gātvā* 4.1.2; *jītvā* 4.32.7; *tyāktvā* 4.55.14; *dātvā* 4.19.5; *dr̥ṣtvā* 4.4.36; *baddhvā* 4.44.5; *bhittvā* 4.32.25; *bhūtvā* 4.1.20; *matvā* 4.4.20; *muktvā* 4.15.36; *yātvā* 4.29.25; *yuktvā* 4.41.3; *labdhvā* 4.1.2; *uktvā* 4.5.15; *uṣṭvā* 4.2.17; *viddhvā* 4.49.12; *śrutvā* 4.14.3; *smṛtvā* 4.61.12; *hatvā* 4.2.11; *hitvā* 4.20.11; *jñātvā* 4.28.10.

Next we come to the forms in *-i-tvā*.⁵ Most of these are made up from the roots of the tenth conjugation, i.e. the *-aya* roots or from causatives. Examples for the roots in the tenth conjugation are:

arpayitvā 4.52.7; *kathayitvā* 4.1.3; *cintayitvā* 4.16.4; *darśayitvā*

¹ WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 355, § 990.

² WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 355, § 990 a; also Louis RENOU, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, Tome I, p. 124, § 98.

³ WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 356, § 991.

⁴ I have mentioned only one reference; but this does not preclude the possibility of the repetition of the same form. The first figure shows the number of the parvan in the *Mbh.*, the second the number of *adhyāya* and the last the number of *śloka*.

⁵ For the explanation of *-i-tvā* forms as analogical to the participles in *-i-ta* or as based on the present stem, cf. Franklin EDGERTON, *Gerunds and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, *Language* 13, 108-109.

4.57.14; *pūrayitvā* 4.63.17; *mantrayitvā* 4.64.36; *mrgayitvā* 4.24.5; *lakṣayitvā* 4.31.16; *sāntvayitvā* 4.28.12.

Examples of the absolutives in *-itvā* from causatives are: *drāvayitvā* 4.57.16; *pātayitvā* 4.15.7; *pāyayitvā* 4.62.9; *bhrāmayitvā* 4.12.23; *ghātayitvā* 4.21.63; *yojayitvā* 4.29.15.

The rest are :—

grh̥itvā 4.19.30; *viditvā* 4.20.17; *sahitvā* 4.21.55.

(ii) *Regular absolutives of compounded roots* :—

The suffix *-ya* (or *-t-ya* in case of roots ending in short vowels) is added directly to the compounded root to form absolutives. They are numerous and far outnumber the absolutives in *-itvā*. The examples are :

apāśya 4.61.18; *nirasya* 4.23.11; *paryasya* 4.56.18; *anusamprāpya* 4.1.19; *avāpya* 4.33.19; *prāpya* 4.1.18; *samprāpya* 4.5.9; *abhyetya* 4.6.7; *adhūtya* 4.45.5; *samabhyetya* 4.13.10; *sametya* 4.36.21; *samupetya* 4.7.2; *samidhya* 4.4.48; *abhiprekṣya* 4.9.2; *abhiṅvikṣya* 4.10.11; *abhyudikṣya* 4.29.3; *avekṣya* 4.36.28; *udvikṣya* 4.59.5; *prasamikṣya* 4.6.4; *prekṣya* 4.2.3; *samikṣya* 4.8.7; *samprekṣya* 4.18.7; *ākramya* 4.21.37; *nīṣkramya* 4.62.2; *vinīṣkramya* 4.23.18; *vyapakramya* 4.54.7; *vikṣya* 4.49.10; *apākīrya* 4.4.5; *vikīrya* 4.10.2; *parākīrya* 4.39.3; *adhigamya* 4.45.5; *abhigamya* 4.13.5; *āgatyā* 4.56.19; *upasaṁgamya* 4.21.43; *upāgamya* 4.33.4; *saṁgamya* 4.29.11; *samāgamya* 4.22.1; *udgrathya* 4.40.24; *vigāhya* 4.34.5; *parigrhya* 4.6.1; *pragrhya* 4.22.19; *pratigrhya* 4.64.35; *vigrhya* 4.60.1. *āghrāya* 4.5.27; *upāghrāya* 4.3.10; *samupāghrāya* 4.66.23; *vinīścitya* 4.28.14; *anucintya* 4.14.4; *paricintya* 4.44.5; *samcintya* 4.26.7; *ācchidya* 4.39.11; *avajitya* 4.32.34; *(a)nirjitya* 4.36.22; *viṅjitya* 4.2.11; *vinirjitya* 4.30.6; *parityajya* 4.17.11; *pratāpya* 4.17.25; *avātṛya* 4.33.8; *anādrīya* 4.48.9; *ādāya* 4.4.3; *pradāya* 4.17.18; *samādāya* 4.34.17; *upādāya* 4.36.15; *samuddiśya* 4.14.5; *abhidṛtya* 4.32.26; *anudṛtya* 4.36.37; *vidrāvya* 4.33.4; *vidārya* 4.60.9; *abhisamdhāya* 4.14.4; *alīsamdhāya* 4.42.12; *paridhāya* 4.8.1; *pradhmāya* 4.59.4; *pranīdhāya* 4.41.2; *pratisamdhāya* 4.59.40; *samidhāya* 4.57.19; *sampranīdhāya* 4.36.15; *samvidhāya* 4.24.6; *nīrdhūya* 4.21.2; *vidhūya* 4.36.28; *pratinandya* 4.63.4; *ānamya* 4.28.11; *praṇamya* 4.62.4; *apīnahya* 4.10.5; *vinādyā* 4.61.27; *apanīya* 4.41.2; *ānīya* 4.19.29; *praṇudya* 4.49.1; *abhipatyā* 4.56.27; *samutpatya* 4.21.47; *pariplāvya* 4.62.9; *utpātya* 4.12.21; *pratīpidya* 4.29.10; *avaplutya* 4.36.27; *pratīpūjya* 4.61.26; *nībadhya* 4.22.10; *samudbadhya* 4.44.5; *vībhajya* 4.29.15; *nīrbhidya* 4.57.4; *abhibhūya* 4.61.28; *anubhūya* 4.17.3; *paribhūya* 4.30.7; *sambhūya* 4.29.28; *nīrmathya* 4.13.7; *pramathya* 4.32.7; *unmathya* 4.32.9; *anumantrya* 4.13.10; *āmantrya* 4.21.62; *sammantrya* 4.1.12; *āmucya* 4.30.24; *nīrmucya* 4.40.23; *parimucya* 4.38.16; *pratimucya* 4.2.22; *pravimucya* 4.22.26; *vimucya* 4.10.5; *parāmṛṣya* 4.32.31; *(a)vimṛṣya*

4.44.12; *udyamya* 4.12.22; *niyamya* 4.20.18; *samudyamya* 4.5.7; *abhiniryāya* 4.36.20; *niryāya* 4.31.1; *prayujya* 4.20.34; *parirabhya* 4.16.7; *ārujya* 4.22.18; *samārujya* 4.32.16; *āruhya* 4.10.6; *samāruhya* 4.44.13; *upāruhya* 4.5.25; *āropya* 4.22.10; *samāropya* 4.22.10; *ālabhya* 4.16.9; *ālingya* 4.22.4; *ālodya* 4.20.33 *ālokyā*; 4.38.18; *abhivādya* 4.53.15; *nirūṣya* 4.48.7; *praviṣya* 4.21.40; *nivārya* 4.61.8; *parivārya* 4.22.1; *samparivārya* 4.61.7; *samvārya* 4.53.46; *āvṛtya* 4.52.27; *nivartya* 4.32.34; *nivṛtya* 4.61.4; *parāvṛtya* 4.60.16; *samāvṛtya* 4.41.24; *samnivartya* 4.1.4; *upāvṛtya* 4.56.21; *viparivartya* 4.22.17; *vivṛtya* 4.61.9; *niśamya* 4.5.20; *āsṛitya* 4.32.15; *upāsṛitya* 4.43.16; *ucchritya* 4.35.20; *pratiśṛitya* 4.36.20; *upaśṛitya* 4.24.21; *viśṛāya* 4.48.18; *āsvāsyā* 4.62.9; *paraśvasya* 4.61.21; *samāśvāsyā* 4.36.46; *vinīḥśvasya* 4.21.59; *samīḥśya* 4.66.23; *samāsajya* 4.5.9; *prasahya* 4.32.7; *abhyavaskandya* 4.22.17; *praskandya* 4.30.4; *samstabhya* 4.61.3; *pariṣvajya* 4.20.34; *āsādyā* 4.2.11; *samāsādyā* 4.22.9; *āsthāya* 4.12.8; *paryavasīhāya* 4.58.6; *prasthāpya* 4.63.29; *samāsthāya* 4.9.1; *samupasthāya* 4.9.2; *samprasthāpya* 4.41.23; *samīsthāpya* 4.41.9; *utthāya* 4.16.5; *samutsrjya* 4.61.15; *utsrjya* 4.19.30; *visrjya* 4.36.25; *samsprīya* 4.38.19; *visphārya* 4.48.21; *anusmrtya* 4.46.18; *nihatya* 4.32.8; *samhatya* 4.46.10; *vinihatya* 4.45.17; *prahasya* 4.20.24; *samprahāya* 4.16.11; *vihāya* 4.16.5; *samāhāya* 4.8.7; *prakṣālyā* 4.16.2; *ākṣīpya* 4.15.6; *utkṣīpya* 4.5.18; *samutkṣīpya* 4.8.1; *ājñāya* 4; 50.2; (a)*vijñāya* 4.15.27.

(iii) *Irregular absolutes of non-compounded roots*¹

The absolutes which are made from non-compounded roots by the addition of the suffix *-ya* fall under this head. I have been able to collect only two absolutes of this type. They are *ikṣya* 4.61.24 and *grhya* 4.47.16. The variants for *ikṣya* are (1) K. *eva*; (2) B₁ TG₂ *hi niśamya*; (3) G₃ *prasamikṣya*; (4) M₁ *hi samikṣya*.

grhya occurs in the following verse:—

*kṣīpṛaṃ balacaturbhāgaṃ grhya gaccha puraṃ prati
tato'paraścaturbhāgo gāḥ samādāya gacchatu* 114.47.16.

S reads the first line as:—

rājā balacaturbhāgaṃ kṣīpṛamādāya gacchatu

(iv) *Irregular absolutes of compounded roots*².

In the end we come to this last type of absolutes which are made from compounded roots with the addition of suffix *-tvā*. The examples are *abhiyātvā* 4.29.8; *prakīrtayitvā* 4.10.9; *ācchādayitvā* 4.63.22; *vitṛāsayitvā* 4.34.7; *viśālāyitvā* 4.49.17.

¹ ZDMG 43, 57 gives us the following irregular absolutes from the other epic—Rāmāyaṇa.—*grhya* 2, 16, 5. 77, 10, 32, 23. 63, 18, 26. 4, 10, 19. *Sthāpya* 3, 4, 29. *Vedya* 2, 34, 29.

² ZDMG 43 57, gives us the following irregular absolutes of this type from Rāmāyaṇa : *apratyuktā* 1, 76, 27; *samcintayitvā* 1, 55, 5; *upāsītā* 4, 10, 24, 27.

“SOME IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES OF BAGHDĀD”

**DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE 4TH AND THE EARLIER
QUARTER OF THE 5TH CENTURIES OF ISLĀM**

By

C. H. SHAIKH

Baghdād, sometime the Capital of the Muslim Empire, was the seat of Abbasid Government, and the centre of learning and arts, sciences and crafts. Politicians and diplomats, poets and scientists, elocutionists and orators, philologists and grammarians, historians and geographers, calligraphists and painters, architects and engineers, musicians and composers, astrologers and astronomers,* mathematicians and logicians, philosophers and theologians, chemists and physicians,—in fact everyone whose skill was useful in life, found a vast field and true patronage at Baghdād. The historical monuments and archæological remains that have stood the ravages of time and destiny finely point out the grandeur of the town that was the metropolis of a mighty Empire. It would be unnecessary, in the presence of an excellent monograph by G. LE STRANGE “*Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs*,” to attempt a description of Baghdād. The present writer will only attempt a brief mention of some of the important personalities that flourished at Baghdād during the latter half of the 4th and the earlier quarter of the 5th centuries of Islām.

During this period the reins of the caliphate were in the hands of *aṭ-Tāi'* (363 A. H.-381 A. H. = Aug. 5, 974-Oct. Nov. 991 A. D.) and Qādirbi'llāh (381 A. H.-422 A. H.). Both these caliphs were the nominal heads, in fact puppets, in the hands of the Persian dynasty of the Buwaihids (932 A. D.-1055 A. D.). The Buwaihīd power reached its zenith under '*Aḍud-d-Dawla*, the ablest of them. After his death in 372 (983 A. D.), there ensued a severe war between his three sons Sharafu'd-Dawla, Samsāmu'd-Dawla and Bahāu'd-Dawla, out of which the youngest of them Bahāu'd-Dawla emerged victorious. He was a weak amir and was entirely in the hands of the army whose dictates, which were based on selfish motives and fitful policy, he followed verbatim with the consequence that the Buwaihīd power declined day by day and under his sons and successors conditions became deplorable.

Such was the political condition of Baghdād during the period we have selected for our purposes. Excluding the caliphs and the Buwaihids, the following persons who were connected one way or the other either with the court of the caliphs or of the amirs, deserve deep

study. We classify them here for convenience under different categories :—

I *Vaziers and Courtiers*:

- (i) Vaziers and their progeny
- (ii) Nobles and courtiers.*

II *Men of Learning and Science*:

- (i) Poets and Writers
- (ii) Grammarians and philologists, etc. etc.

I *Vaziers and their progeny* :—

Abu'l-Qāsim, *Muṭahhar b. 'Abdillāh*, was the vazier of 'Aḍud-d-Dawla at 'Omān which he had conquered¹. He was the most trusted vazier of 'Aḍud-d-Dawla and was left behind in charge a huge force to look after Baghdād². He was instrumental in bringing about the arrest of Tāhir³, the 'Alawid, father of the famous poet Ash-Sharifu'r-Raḍī, and ḥf-Sābī, the author of "*Kitābu't-Tāj*". No doubt it was due to his intercession that Sābī was released⁴ on the first occasion. It was again he who suggested to 'Aḍud-d-Dawla the idea of getting *Kitābu't-Tāj* composed by Sābī. The Vazir led a huge army against Ḥasan b 'Imrān but failed as a consequence of which he committed suicide⁵. He was buried in his own house Karāzin⁶ (369 A. H.)

2. Abū Maṣṣūr, *Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥān*, was the Vazier of Sharafu'd-Dawla. When Sharafu'd-Dawla came to know of the revolt of Ustādh Harmuz, he despatched Abū Naṣr Khāwshādhah with an army against him. He defeated Ustādh Harmuz and took him captive. The Vazier's post, thus, lay vacant. Sharaf-u'd-Dawla, therefore, released Abū Maṣṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān, who was in prison, and appointed him Vazier in 374 A. H. It was during the regime of Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn Ṣāliḥān that the Khārijite, Bād b. Dostak, whose lust for power had driven him into rebellion, was defeated at al-Jazīrah and Mouṣil in 377 A.H. by the 'Uqailid forces whom Abū Naṣr Khāwshādhah had especially summoned⁷. There is a reference to this revolt and consequent defeat of Bād in a poem of Sharifu'r Raḍī in which he celebrates also the victory of Ibn Ṣāliḥān.⁸

The prosperity of Sharafu'd-Dawla, the Buwāihid, was the direct result of Ibn Ṣāliḥān's wise and effective administration.⁹

¹ *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, AMEDROZ & MARGOLIOUTH, Vol. II, 360.

² *Eclipse*, i, 381.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 399, *Raḍī's Diwān* (ed. Beirut), Vol. I, p. 230.

⁴ *Eclipse* III, 21-22, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 409.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 143-145.

⁸ *Raḍī's Diwān*, I, 48.

⁹ *Eclipse*, III, 128-129,

Religious to a degree¹, perhaps unusual in persons of his rank in those days, Ibn Ṣāliḥān had always the good of humanity at heart. The freedom from imprisonment bestowed upon various men of repute², during his Vazierate, and by his intercession, may serve as an example of his humane treatment meted out to humanity at large. The constant warfare—the cause of unnecessary human bloodshed that was the order of the day—was too much for his peace-loving soul to stand, and he finally betook himself to pilgrimage in 389 A.H., in the company of the poet and his brother, Raḍī and Murtaḍā and the Vazier Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd b. Abir'Rayyān.³

(3) Abu'l Qāsim, 'Abd'ul 'Azīz b. Yūsuf al-Ḥakkār' was the Vazier of 'Aḍu'd-Dawla, and after the latter's death, of Samsāmu'd Dawla and Bahā'u'd-Dawla. He does not seem to have taken a leading part in the politics of the day although his arrests have been mentioned on various occasions. Ibnu'l Athīr, however, mentions⁴ him only in 388 A.H. when he died at Wāsiḷ. The news of his death arrived at Baghdād on Wednesday, 10th Shawwāl, 388 A. H. Raḍī wrote a pathetic dirge on him.⁵

(4) Abu'l Qāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad, Abarqūhi, was one of the Vaziers of Bahā'u'd-Dawla. He began his career as a Marshal ('Ariḍ) of Turks⁶, but soon rose to power and was appointed Vazier in 381 A. H. Soon after his appointment the 'Uqailid chief of Mousil revolted and Ḥajjāj (not the famous tyrant) was sent to subdue him. To assist him Abarqūhi was also despatched⁷. After submission by the 'Uqailid chief, Bahā'u'd-Dawla's army compelled him to arrest and put to death Ibnu'l Mu'allim.⁸ Bahā'u'd-Dawla thought that the revolt of his own army and their insistence upon putting Ibnu'l Mu'allim to death was the direct result of Abarqūhi's instigation. On this suspicion Abarqūhi was arrested in 382 A. H.¹⁰

How far this suspicion was justifiable is problematic for, one

¹ *Ibid.* III, 138. On hearing the prayer-call Ibn Ṣāliḥān would abandon everything and go to prayers.

² *Ibid.* 147 ; 155. He was the cause of the release of Abū Maṣṣūr Shirāzī, (see later).

³ *Ibid.* 340. His notice will follow in due course.

⁴ His career as a Vazier of 'Aḍu'd-Dawla, Samsāmu'd-Dawla and Bahā'u'd-Dawla is given in detail in the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*. See Index.

⁵ Raḍī's *Diwān*, I, 479.

⁶ *Eclipse*, III, 187.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁸ Ibnu'l Athīr IX, (year 381); *Eclipse* III, 240.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 244 ; Ibnu'l Athīr, (year 382).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 246 ; Ibnu'l Athīr (year 382).

of the most dominant personalities of the time, the 'Alavīd poet Raḡī refutes it and defends Abarqūhī against such accusation.¹

(5) *Abū 'Alī, Ḥasan*, later on called *aṣ Ṣāhib 'Amīdūl-Juyūsh* was the son of the famous Vazier Ustādh Harmuz. He was originally a Naqīb under the Buwaihids but was promoted in 374 A. H. to the post of the Ḥājib (Chamberlain).² He entered the service of Samsām u'd-Dawla in 381. A. H.³ and even during the regime of his own father achieved much prominence. When Samsām u'd-Dawla died in 388 (998) he entered Bahāu'd-Dawla's service and soon rose to power. He was appointed Vazier⁴ in conjunction with Fakhru' Mulk, Abū Ghālib. But the latter soon ousted him and sent him away as Governor of Ahwāz in 391 A. H. On this occasion Bahāu'd-Dawla gave him the title of "*Aṣ-Ṣāhib 'Amīdūl Juyūsh*."⁵

As a minister the Ṣāhib 'Amīdūl-Juyūsh followed a wise policy. People prospered under him; economic conditions and resources improved; military discipline advanced; corruption and bribery received a heavy blow and the treasury of Bahā u'd-Dawla received an enormous revenue.⁶ After an eventful career Ibn Ustādh Harmuz died during the life-time of his father on Thursday night, 19th Jumāda I, 401 A. H. (1010-1011 A. D.) at an early age of 49. He was buried in the Cemetery of the Quraish at Baghdād.⁷

(6) In the person of *Fakhru'l Mulk*, Abū Ghālib⁸ 'Alī b. Muḥammad, "Dhu's-Sa'ādātain", we have an eminent personality of Baghdād. Born on Thursday, 22nd Rabī' II, 354 A. H. at Wāsiṭ, Fakhru'l Mulk has the distinction of being one of the three great Vaziers (Ismā'il b. 'Abbād and Ibnu'l 'Amīd being the other two) of the Buwāhid dynasty⁹. He was Vazier of Bahāu'd Dawla, and after his death, of his son Sultānu'd-Dawla. His first occasion to act as such was when he was made joint Vazier with Ibn Ustādh Harmuz whom, as we have stated before, he soon ousted. How far Ibn Khallikān's statement that his respect and fortune never suffered during those troublous times can be justified is difficult to say; it is, however, true that repeated arrests are not so common in his case as in that of other Vaziers. There are, nevertheless, three occasions¹⁰

¹ *Raḡī's Diwān* II, 850; *Tha'ālibī-Yātima* ii, 305. *Raḡī's* poem is also referred to in the *Yātima*.

² *Eclipse* iii, 100, 150.

³ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 370.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 400; *Raḡī's Diwān*, I, 111.

⁶ *Eclipse*, iii, 401.

⁷ *Raḡī's Diwān* I, 111.

⁸ In *Raḡī's Diwān*, his Kunya is Abū Sa'd.

⁹ *Ibn Khallikān-Wafayātu'l A'yān*. Notice No. 710.

¹⁰ *Eclipse* III, 371, 458 & *Ibn Khallikān-Wafayāt*,

when his arrest is mentioned. The statement may be justifiable, on the other hand, from the point of view of confiscation of property for, we know that his vast property¹ was immune from state interference until his death.

It is unfortunate that *Miskawaih's Chronicle*, the only existing authoritative work on the history of the Caliphate during the Buwāihid supremacy, supplemented by *Hilāl's Fragments* brings down the account to the year 993 A. H. when Fakhru'l Mulk's fall is mentioned. From that date to the year 427 A.H. our information has to be based on *Ibnu'l Athir's Chronicle* about which Prof. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH has aptly remarked "Ibnu'l Athir in his *Chronicle* has recorded the names of Sultāns and Vaziers, and the date of their accession to and fall from power, but they have about as much individuality as the pieces on a Chessboard; of the affairs of the Capital he mentions little besides an occasional riot or some other disaster. Sometimes he observes that a prominent personage was eulogized or lamented by Mihyār".² The present writer has, therefore, relied mostly on contemporary poetical utterances of Raḍi and Mihyār the Dailemite whose accounts will follow in their proper places.

Fakhru'l Mulk was gifted, in addition to his ability as the great Vazier, with a fine literary taste which attracted a number of poets and men of learning to his patronage. His superstitious nature compelled him to fulfil every obligation for, he believed that serious results would ensue on its non-compliance. In fact he was convinced that his arrest in 393 was the result of overlooking the claim of a widow whose husband was killed by one of the favourites of Fakhru'l Mulk³.

Fakhru'l Mulk was put to death by the orders of Sultān'u'd-Dawla on 27th Rabi' I, 407, at Ahwāz and was buried there. After his death, his huge treasures, weapons, were confiscated by the Buwāihid Amīr and his relations were put in prison⁴.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Ibn Khallikān* records the exact amount and other things in detail. He is also reported to have lent money in substantial amount to Bahau'd-Dowla on various occasions. See e.g. *Eclipse* iii, 331.

² MARGOLIOUTH, *Poems of Mihyar the Dailemite, Oriental Studies in Honour of Dasturji Saheb Cursetji Erachi Pavri*, Jan. 1934.

³ *Ibn Khallikān-Wafayāt*. Notice No. 710,

⁴ *Ibid.*

SOME FOLK-SONGS OF MAHARASHTRA

By

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Below are given some songs sung by Maratha women. These are sung on certain festivals by women, who gather for that purpose at one house. Fifteen days before the Nāgapañcamī festival the singing of songs commences every afternoon. Nāgapañcamī day is the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa i.e. July-August. It is a day of a serpent festival observed throughout the Maratha country. With a short interval the song festival continues into the next month in honour of the Goddess Gaurī. Songs about the Nāgobā (serpent) and the Goddess are sung but there are also songs about other gods and goddesses, heroes and saints. These songs are of two kinds. The longer ones, reproduced below, are narrative in character and slow in rhythm. There are other songs, sung especially for the Gaurī festival by small girls. These are short rhymes with a quick dancing rhythm.

Maratha women sing also at their labours in the field and while trotting to the market with their farm-produce.

The songs sung at the harvest time or while going to the market are generally made up of short stanzas, very lively in tune and rhythm, with frequent repetition of the same phrases. Generally one woman sings a line and the others repeat it twice or thrice. These songs are poor in literary content as compared with the songs sung at home.

These five songs have been obtained from one Gayābai Powar of Poona. They are all of a narrative character.

पांची पांडव कौरवांचं गाणं

कस्तुरीत पडली हिंगाची चिटी ।
 बिगडऱली सोन्याची भटी ॥ १ ॥
 हस्तिणापुर एक नगर ।
 तेथें नांद कौरव चातुर ॥ २ ॥
 बंदु एक आगळे शंभर ।
 शंभरानी केला वीचार ॥ ३ ॥
 बन्वला मृतिकेचा हत्ती ।
 लाविली चाक त्याला सुती ॥ ४ ॥
 दिली रंग बहुतगिरी ।
 सूर्यपाण मस्तकावरी ॥ ५ ॥
 हत्तीवर घातली अंबारी ।
 अंबारीला खांब सोनेरी ॥ ६ ॥
 आत् बसवली माता गंधारी ।
 हत्ती त्यांणी मीरविला ॥ ७ ॥
 दिली वाणं नम्र नारीला ।
 हत्ती तिथून फीरविला ॥ ८ ॥
 नेला कुंतीच्या वाड्याला ।
 ती भायेरुन हांका मारी ॥ ९ ॥
 डाव्या पायाच्या आंगठ्यानी ।
 कुंकू लावि ती दरवाजाला ॥ १० ॥
 हे शेजीचं घेणं सवाइ देणं ।
 नाही देइल तिच्या प्रूजाला उणं ॥ ११ ॥
 भीमा म्हणे आतां झाली क्षिमा ।
 गंधारी वबसून गेली आम्हा ॥ १२ ॥
 कुंती मनांत इस्मं करी ।
 सुनं वाण देऊन गेली गंधारी ॥ १३ ॥
 भीमानी ठोकली आरोळी ।
 भीम गेले यमुनाजळी ॥ १४ ॥
 यमुनाच्या दरडी कोसळी ।
 बंद केली कौरव आळी ॥ १५ ॥

The Sankrānti festival arrived.
 There were quarrels with Kauravas
 Arjuna said " O ! mighty Bhīma,
 Bhīma, do not talk of mud (making a mud elephant,)
 Send a letter to Indra's house
 Bring out the army of Indra."
 Then Arjuna shot an arrow
 Bhīma mounted it and went up.
 Indra spoke to Bhīma
 " Bhīma, why have you come? "
 " My mother has to give gifts
 Please give your elephant to us. "
 " Bhīma, this elephant is uncontrollable
 You can't catch it. "
 Indra showed him the elephant
 He took it on his back
 Indra said " Bhīma is mighty
 This¹ Bhīma is suffering from pride "
 Bhīma was thrust down
 Mother Kuntī saw him (falling down)
 And spread the end of her garment
 Wherein Bhīma was received with the elephant
 Bhīma's pride was humbled.
 The Pāṇḍavas decorated the elephant
 Made mother Kuntī sit on it
 Took her to Gāndhārī's house
 Called her from outside
 " Madam² (husband's elder brother's wife)
 please come out.
 Take this return gift from the neighbour."
 Gāndhārī said to the Kauravas
 Though you are a hundred, for me
 You made an elephant of mud
 That Kuntī has but five Pāṇḍavas
 They called the elephant of Indra
 Thus the pride of Gāndhārī was humbled.

¹ Just as in Greek mythology the favourite theme of Hindu tales is that of humbling the pride of this or that mortal. Bhīma was proud of his powers but when his mother broke his fall by receiving him and the elephant in the end of her garment, naturally he was humbled.

² Gāndhārī was the wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the elder brother of Pāṇḍu, who was Kuntī's husband. Hence she is addressed by the honorific title *Bāi* or madam by Kuntī.

आली संक्राती तीळगुळ ।
 कौरव मातली कळ ॥ १६ ॥
 अर्जुन म्हणे अरे भीम बळी ।
 भिमा चिखलाची गोष्ट नाही बरी ॥ १७ ॥
 चिठी पाठव इन्द्रा घरी ।
 इन्द्राचं दल काढ बाहेरी ॥ १८ ॥
 अर्जुने मंग बाण सोडिला ।
 भीम चंघून वरती गेला ॥ १९ ॥
 इन्द्र बोले तो भीमाला ।
 भीम कशियाला आला ॥ २० ॥
 वाण देयाचे मायेला ।
 तुमचा हत्ती द्याहो आम्हाला ॥ २१ ॥
 भीमा ह्ये हत्ती मस्त झाला ।
 नाही सांपडायाचा तुला ॥ २२ ॥
 हत्ती इन्द्रानं दाखवीला ।
 त्यांनी पाटीशी मारिला ॥ २३ ॥
 इन्द्र म्हणे अरे भीम बळी ।
 ह्या भीमाला गर्व झाला ॥ २४ ॥
 भीम मदास निष्ट्रइला ।
 कुंती मायेनं पाहीयला ॥ २५ ॥
 बोटं पसरीला त्याला ।
 हत्ती सहीच बोटयां आला ॥ २६ ॥
 ह्या भीमाचा गर्व गेला ।
 हत्ती पांडवानी सजविला ॥ २७ ॥
 आंत बसवली माये कुंतीला ।
 नेला गंधारीच्या वाढ्याला ॥ २८ ॥
 बाहेरून, हांक मारी ।
 तुम्ही बाहेर या हो बाई ॥ २९ ॥
 हे शेजीचं उसन घेई ।
 गंधारी म्हणे कौरवाला ॥ ३० ॥
 तुम्ही शंभर असून माला ।
 हत्ती मृतुकेचा केला ॥ ३१ ॥
 पांची पांडव त्या कुंतीला ।
 हत्ती विंद्राचा बोलाविला ॥ ३२ ॥
 ह्या गंधारीचा गर्व गेला ॥ ३३ ॥

Śrīyāla-Cāṅguṇā¹

Shall I toss one citron, shall I toss two citrons?

Let me serve the third citron and garland Hanumān

²Hanumān has a blue mare, on the blue mare

the ³Swāmī mounted.

He crossed one forest, he crossed the second forest,

In the second third forest he met herds of elephants

"Whose are these elephants, whose are these elephants?"

"These elephants are Śrīyāla's, These elephants are Cāṅguṇā's

Who gives gifts at Cāṅguṇā's house."

Swami went from there, Swāmī went from there.

He went to Cāṅguṇā's house.

⁴Truth-loving Cāṅguṇā came out in the courtyard.

Who gives gifts at Cāṅguṇā's house?

What do you require for your meal?

For my meal—a shark—

Cāṅguṇā went from here, Cāṅguṇā went from there.

Went to the fisherman's house, went to the

fisherman's house.

"O, fisherman brother. O! fisherman brother

You shall be my friend and bring a shark"

A shark he brought. A shark he brought

And gave in the hands of Cāṅguṇā

—gave in the hands of Cāṅguṇā.

With a golden knife the head was severed

With onion and parsley oil and asafoetida

After roasting and frying the dish was filled.

"Swāmī, get up for your meal, get up for your meal"

"For my meal a tame goat" (The Swami said)

Cāṅguṇā started from there, Cāṅguṇā started from there.

Went to the goatherd's house, to the goatherd's house.

"O! goatherd brother, O! goatherd brother

You shall be my friend and give me a tame goat."

He gave a tame goat,—a tame goat.

¹ This song tells of the story of the King Śrīyāla, Queen Cāṅguṇā and their child Cilayā. No beggar went away dissatisfied from their palace. They gave whatever a beggar wanted. In order to find out whether this reputation was true, the god Śaṅkara went to Cāṅguṇā's house as a religious mendicant and demanded a meal of prince Cilayā.

² I cannot make out the sense of the first few lines. This theme of tossing citrons and the blue mare of the God Hanumān is however found at the beginning of many-folksongs. The image of Hanuman is many times decorated with a garland of citrons.

³ Swami is a religious mendicant.

⁴ Truth-loving really means in this context "one who sticks to her promise" and thereby gains merit.

भैयाळ—चांगुणा

एक लिंबू झेल्लं । कां दोन लिंबू झेल्लं ।
 तिसऱ्या लिंबाची सेवा करूं । हणमंताला माळ घालूं ।
 हणमंताची निळी घोडी । निळ्या घोडीवर सोमि झाले स्वार ।
 एक वन वलांडीले । दोन वन वलांडीले ।
 दुसऱ्या तिसऱ्या वनाला । लागली हत्तीची चिळारं ।
 हे रे हत्ती कुणाचे । हे रे हत्ती कुणाचे ।
 हे रे हत्ती शिरवळाचे । हे रे हत्ती चांगुणेचे ।
 चांगुणाच्या घरी दान कोण करी । तिथून सोमीजी निघाले ।
 तिथून सोमीजी निघाले । गेले चांगुणेच्या वाड्या ।
 सत्वाची चांगुणा, बाई निघाली अंगणा ।
 चांगुणाच्या घरी बाई दान कोण करी ।
 तुमच्या भोजनाला काई जी लागतं ।
 धामच्या भोजनाला मंगरमासा ।
 इथून चांगुणा नीघाली तिथून चांगुणा नीघाली ।
 गेली भोयाच्या वाड्याला, गेली भोयाच्या वाड्याला ।
 अरे अरे भोई दादा अरे अरे भोई दादा ।
 माझा मैतर होशील, मंगर मासा आणून देशील ।
 मंगर मासा आणीला मंगर मासा आणीला ।
 हाती चांगुणाच्या दीला, हाती चांगुणाच्या दीला ।
 सोन्याच्या सूरीनें बा शिरकांड उतरील ।
 कांदा या कोथंबिरी, हिंगाची फोडिणी ।
 अर्तूनी प्रतूली बा ताट जी भरील ।
 उटा सोमी भोजनाला उटा सोमी भोजनाला ।
 आमच्या भोजनाला पाळीव बकरा ।
 तिथून चांगुणा नीघाली तिथून चांगुणा नीघाली ।
 गेली धनगर वाड्याला गेली धनगर वाड्याला ।
 अरे अरे धनगर दादा अरे अरे धनगर दादा ।
 माझा मैतर होशील पाळीव बकरा आणून देशील ।
 पाळीव बकरा त्यांनी दीला पाळीव बकरा त्यांनी दीला ।

With a golden knife the head was severed
 With onion and parsley oil and asafoetida
 After roasting and frying the dish was filled.
 "Swami, get up for your meal, get up for your meal
 "For my meal the child Cilyā."

Cāṅguṇā started from there, started from there.
 She went to the picture palace, to the picture palace.

"With a smock and cap,
 With *pīpal* leaf ornament on your fore-head,
 With golden ornament round your neck
 And golden rings round your arms,
 With jingling ornaments on your feet
 O! Cilyā, my child come"
 (She) held him by hand and took him in her hall.

With a golden knife the head was severed
 With onion and parsley oil and asafoetida
 After roasting and frying the dish was filled.
 "Swāmi, get up for your meal, get up for your meal"

Swāmi says "fill four dishes."

Cāṅguṇā says "four dishes for whom?"

Four dishes for whom?

Two for the pair of you, for the pair of you
 One for the child Cilyā, for the child Cilyā."
 She prepared four dishes—prepared four dishes
 Went out in the courtyard and called.

With a smock and cap,
 With *pīpal* leaf ornament on your forehead,
 With golden ornament round your neck
 And golden rings round your arms,
 With jingling ornaments on your feet
 O! Cilyā, my child come, come child Cilyā."

At the first call the child came from beyond
 She took him up.

The truth loving Cāṅguṇā came out to the courtyard.

सोन्याच्या सुरीनं वो बिरकांड उतरील ।
 कांदा या.....उटा सोमो भोजनाला ।
 आमच्या भोजनाला चिल्या बाळ ।
 तिथून चांगुणा नीघाली तिथून चांगुणा नीघाली ।
 गेली चित्तरशाळेला गेली चित्तरशाळेला ।
 अंगडं टोपडं रे पिपळपानाच्या । सरी ये माठली ।
 पाइये घागऱ्या । येरे चिल्या बाळा ।
 हाताये धरूनी वो मालामंदी नेले ।
 सुतर सोन्याच्या सुरीनं वो बिरकांड उतरीलं ।
 कांदा या.....ताट जी भरीलं ।
 सोमीजी म्हणताती चार ताट करा ।
 चांगुणा म्हणिते चार ताट कोणाला वो चार ताट कोणाला ।
 दोन तुम्हा उभैताला दोन तुम्हा उभैताला ।
 एक आहे चिल्याबाळा एक आहे चिल्याबाळा ।
 चार ताटं तिनी केली चार ताटं तिनी केली ।
 अंगणी होऊनी ग हांका मारीयली ।
 अंगडं टोपडं पिपळ.....येरे चिल्या बाळा ।
 पहिल्या हांकेला ग बाळ आला तिकून ।
 उचलून घेतला कडेवर तिनं ।
 सत्वाची चांगुणाबाई निघाली अंगणा ।

बोधल्याचें गाणें

सारंगधर फकीर झाला हो । सारंगधर फकीर झाला हो ।
 वाढ्या बोदल्याच्या गेला वो वाढ्या बोदल्याच्या गेला वो ।
 बोदला बसला होता देवपूजेला वो बोदला बसला देवपूजेला ।
 देवा तुम्ही कुनीकून आला वो देवा तुम्ही कुनिकुन आला ।
 अनपूर्णा धांवत आली वो अनपूर्णा धांवत आली ।
 मिठी घातिली चरणाला वो मिठी घातिली चरणाला ।
 देवा तुम्ही कुनीकून आला वो देवा तुम्ही कुनिकुन आला ।
 आमचं रानं (रहाणं) पंढरीत । ईग आरोळी तिरभुवनांत ।
 तुमच्या इथं लई धरम । आम्ही आलो दान कारणं ।
 तुमी आले दान कारणं । मोती पवळे घ्या सूप भरून ।
 आमच्यां हीथं काय उणं । मोती पवळे उंडण सोनं ।
 भागीरथी तूझी सून देरे बोदल्या दानाला ।
 हे वचन माझं तुला । भागिर्था दिली दानाला ।
 पूस घेरे तूं आपल्या लेकाची । हांका मारी रामदासासी ।
 भागिर्था तूझी कामीणा । आम्ही दिली दानाला ।
 दीली ती बरी केली । तुमची आज्ञा कुणी मोडिली ।
 जन लोकं बोलल्याती । येडं लागलं बोदल्याला ।
 भागिर्ती दीली फकीराला । चांदीचे घंगाळ न्हावूं घाली आनंदानं ।
 वोटि भरली मोत्या पवळ्यांनी । भागिर्था तिथून निघाली ।
 गेली कंथाच्या जवळी । पूस घेतली आपल्या कंथाची ।
 तूग जाग आणंदानी राज्य कर बया मौजेनं ।
 भागिर्ती घराच्या बाये भागिर्ती दाराच्या बायेरु ।
 भागिर्ती ये गांवाच्या बाये भागिर्ती येसीच्या भाये ।
 लागली वनाच्या मारगी
 सारंगधर बोलतां झाला ग—

दान पावल गे सर्पुनी (संपूर्ण) जाग भागीरती प्रतूनी ।
 नाही जायाचे प्रतूनी नाही जायाचे प्रतूनी ।
 माझे माइबाप रोखडे । बोदल्याचे नांव केवढे ।
 माझे माइबाप स्त्रीजोर । बोदल्याचे नांव दूरवर ।
 चाल चाल भागिर्ती बिगी चाल ।
 तुम्ही म्हालांत रहाणारी गोड गोड वो खाणारी ।
 सारंगधर गुप्त झाला वो सारंगधर गुप्त झाला ।
 गेला बोदल्याच्या वाड्याला रे—
 दान पावल रे सर्पुनी । आण भागोरथी प्रतूनी ।
 मैणा पालवी घेऊनी । आणिली भागिर्ती जाऊनी ।
 धन्ने धन्ने भागीरतीवो धन्ने धन्ने वो भागीरती वो ।
 दोनी कुळ्या उद्धरीती ।

गाणें श्रावण बाळाचें

वसुदेव म्हणे राही रुक्मिणी । माझ्या पित्याला लागली तान पाजावे पाणी ।
 हांक श्रावणाला दिली । आम्हा काशीला जायाचं ।
 श्रावण तिथूनी निघाला । गेला तांबट आळीला ।
 आरे आरे तांबट दादा । माजा मैतर होशील झारी बनवून देशील ।
 झारी त्यानी बनविली । हाती श्रावणाच्या दिली ।
 मुखी राम राम केला । श्रावण तीथूनी निघाला ।
 गेला बुरुड आळिला । अरे अरे बुरुड दादा ।
 माझा मैतर होशील कावड बनवुनी देशील (न) ।
 कावड त्यानी बनविली । हाती श्रावणाच्या दिली ।
 मुखी राम राम केला श्रावण तिथूनी निघाला ।
 गेला अस्तूरी म्हालाला । अगे राणी अस्तूरीयरी ।

अम्हा काशीला जायाचं । मि हो म्हतंल आयका ।
 तुमची कवळी उमेत । काशी तुमी जाऊ नका ।
 जावं धनगर वाढ्याला । आणा धनवटी कांबळं ।
 बांधा दोहीची मोट । द्यावी गंगेत सोडूनी ।
 जाईन् काशीला भिडूनी । होईन तीरथं घडूनी ।
 स्रवण राग क्रुध झाला । माज्या माई ग बापाला ।
 दोड-गत्या चीतलिस । कावड त्यांनी सजविली ।
 आंत बसवली आईबाप । मुखी राम राम केला ।
 स्रवण तीथूनी निघाला । लागला वनाच्या मारगाला ।
 आईबाप हो बोलत्याती । तान लागली अचाट ।
 कावड ठेवली बेलाच्या खांदी । गेला पाण्याच्या शोदाला ।
 असा पुतुर इमायनी । रची दगडाच्या टिमांनी (उतरंड)
 असा पुतुर देरे देवा । वनामंदी घाली धावा ।
 पानी त्यांनी शोधियिलं । झारी तळ्यांत टाकिली ।
 एक झारी विसळली । दुसरी झारी बुडबुडली ।
 तो आवज घेतला दसरथानी । बाणं त्यांनी सोडियिला ।
 बाण हुर्दी लागीयला । स्रवण धरणीला पडला ।
 दसरथ धांवत पळत । गेला तळ्याच्या जवळी ।
 तू कोणायचा कोण । त्यो सांगत त्याजईला ।
 पाणी नेऊन दे पीत्याला । झारी त्यान घेतीयली ।
 स्रवण बाळाच्या सारखी । हांका त्यान मारीयली ।
 तूं कूणाचा कोण । मी राजा दशरत ।
 स्रवण बाळं कुठं । माझा बाण लागयला ।
 स्रवण धरणीला पडला । अक्रोळ मांडीला फार ।
 तुला पुतुर चौघेजनं । राम लक्ष्मीमण भरत छत्रघन ।
 तुला पाणी पाजील कोण । तेथे ने ये आम्हायला ।
 धांवत पळत गेले बाळ्याच्या गळ्यांत ।
 मुक्त झाले तीघे जणं ।

गाणें कृष्णाचें अंगाई

यश्वदा भ्या घालि मुलाला ग दारीं बागुलबूवा जाला
 तो बूवा मी पाहिन मग झोप मी घेईन
 तुझ्या झोपेचि गत कशि झाली कोण गारुडी इद्या केली
 ती सर्पिण कोटे गेली गोळी बाळाची हरवली
 हात गळ्याला घातला हार तदक्यानं तोडिला
 मी सांगेन नंदूजोला नको सांगू नंदूजिला
 मोती येचाया लागला हार गुंफाया लागला
 हार गुंफीता गुंफीता येक मोती हो ठेविला
 येक मोती ग घेउनी गेला मागल्या दाराला
 आळं लावलं हातावरी येल गेले भिंतीवरी
 पान वाऱ्यानं हालती मोती उन्हांनं चमकती
 यश्वदे सुंदरी मोती तोडुन वटी भरी
 मोती तोडुन वटी भरी नाना परिचा शिंगार करी.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROTO-DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS

By

C. R. SANKARAN

It is a matter of common knowledge that Indo-European comparative grammar has established a method of reconstructing the most essential phonological features of pre-historic Indo-European and that 'even as mere formulæ, these reconstructions are of the highest systematic value which have contributed to the development of Indo-European comparative grammar into an exact science'¹. Venkata Rajalu REDDIYAR has undertaken this work for the Dravidian recently². He, however, restricts himself to the study of pronouns. The few problems he raises, are of great interest. In this paper, it is proposed to discuss them briefly. Fuller treatment of each of them will be separately dealt with at a later stage only.

Doubtless the Tamil *yāṇ* is older than *ñāṇ*, for in the oblique cases there are no forms corresponding to the latter. —*ñāṇ* (Malayālam) seems certainly to be the intermediate form³. CALDWELL'S rejection of the view that *ñāṇ* is later than *yāṇ*⁴ should not be taken seriously as his statement was based only on the strength of *Nannūl* but not on the earlier grammarian Tolkāppiyānār⁵, who made no mention of *ñāṇ*⁶.

In the case of adaptations from Sanskrit, like *ñāṇam* [skt. *jñāna*,] *jñāpakam* [skt. *jñāpaka*] and occasionally *ñāyam* [skt. *nyāya*,] we find the palatal nasal *ñ* in modern colloquial Tamil. There are good reasons to feel that the point alveolar nasal *ṇ* from about the late middle Tamil period came gradually to replace the blade-dental *ṇ* in initial position. Since *y* is homogenic with *ñ*, it is easy to conceive that the former might easily have changed into the

¹ E. PROKOSCH, *A comparative Germanic Grammar*. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. Ling. Soc. of America 1939, p. 36.

² *Drāviḍa Mūviḍappēyar* Madras University, 1939, which I saw only in proof-stage.

³ P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VI, 1932, pp. 389-391.

⁴ CALDWELL, *Dravidian Grammar*, p. 367.

⁵ See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* V 1931, p. 50. *Tolkāppiyam* can be assigned to the 3rd or the 4th century B.C. Cf. Ramchandra DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, London, 1930, p. 13. The date of composition of *Nannūl* is about 1200 A.D. See Jules BLOCH, *MSL*. Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1914, p. 89 BARNETT, *Cat. of Tamil books in the Brit. Mus. Preface*, p. III.

⁶ *Tān-yān-ennumāyi rutiyum Mēn-mup-peyarōṭum vērupā-ṭ-ilavē*. *Tol. E.* 193.

latter at one stage, which subsequently became the 'spread-contact' dental nasal.¹ The 'spread-contact' dental-nasal as opposed to the 'point-contact' alveolar nasal existed only in Malayālam and in old Tamil. There seems to be no such phonemic difference in modern Tamil. Therefore, the phonemes *y*, *ñ* and *ɳ* in old Tamil might have formed a class.

The old initial *ñ* is preserved in Malayālam as in *munñāṇṇu* 'day before yesterday' [< *mun-ñāṇru*] and *ñāl*—it shows *ñ* in *ñāṇ* 'I' [Tamil, *yāṇ ṇāṇ*] and *ñāṇṇāl ṇāṇṇāl*² 'We'.

Tamil grammatical tradition distinguishes the blade-dental or the 'spread-contact' dental from the 'point-contact' alveolar nasal. *Tol. El.* 93 in describing the dental *ɳ*, refers to the slightly spread out character of the tongue-blade as '*ñāṇṇiparaṇḍu*' and to the dental position '*paṇ mudanmaruṅgiṇ*'. The 'coronal' character of the alveolar *ṇ* is shown by the bare reference to 'tongue-tip' *ṇuṇi ṇā*³.

It is plausible that a soft consonant originally influenced the preceding vowel. This archiphoneme could not be represented by the alphabet since an adequate alphabetic writing implying fully and exhaustively the phonemic structure of the language had not been evolved in Tamil. Hence *ā* came to be represented by either *ṇā* or *ñā*⁴.

Only *ṇeṇ* seems to have survived in modern Telugu. This is the form in the nominative. But in the oblique cases, the stem is *ñāṇ*—beside *ṇāṇ*—(perhaps < **nyāṇ*?). Tentatively of course, **eṇ*—(1st person singular) as the antecedent in the Proto-Dravidian can be accepted.

To say that there is a correlation between the phoneme *ā* and the idea of the first person singular as REDDIYAR seems to think, smacks of Horn's theory⁵ which no modern linguist believes in.⁶ The following four similarly ordered classes, however, may go a

¹ Like the strongly post-alveolar or perhaps even point-inverted ['domal' 'cerebral'] *R l* and the dentals in some Germanic dialects. Cf. E. PROKOSCH, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar* 1939 p. 14. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that according to E. H. TUTTLE, Dravidian influence would explain the Aryan use of initial reverted linguals. Cf. E. W. TUTTLE, *Dravidian Development*, p. 15.

² Vide L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Linguistic 'Preservations' in Malayālam. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras Vol. XI. 1937. p. 4.

³ *Tol. EL.* 94. L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, *JORM.* Vol. XI. p. 5.

⁴ Cf. K. K. V. SUBBIAH, *Dravidic Studies*, Madras University No. 2, 21-22.

⁵ HORN, *Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion*. Palaestra 135, Berlin 1921. Leipzig 1923.

⁶ See, L. BLOOMFIELD, A set of postulates for the science of Language. *Language*, II 1926 p. 153. F. N. 3.

long way to support the view that the Telugu *ñēnu* is from *nān* (later Tamil).

Tamli.	Telugu.
(1) <i>yān du</i>	<i>ēndu.</i>
(2) <i>yāru</i>	<i>ēru.</i>
(3) <i>yādu</i>	<i>ēda.</i>
(4) <i>āl</i> (verb)	<i>elu.</i>

The physiological processes involved in the evolution of the original Proto-Dravidian **en>*yēn>*Tamil *yān* may be a case of prothesis common to all Indian languages (Indo-Aryan and Dravidian)¹. The parallelism presented by *en* (first person singular) in Māgyar is only accidental. Doubtless, Telugu *memu*, *maṇamu* (first person plural), *miru* (second person plural) are only innovations, for they are not found in the other Dravidian languages; *nān* alone replaced the older *yān*² in Tamil and the older Kannada *ān*.

To postulate on the other hand *nān<*ān* is unthinkable. The change of **intu>nintu* is equally so. In fact, it should have been other way about *nintu>intu*. It is quite plausible that from the base *nir*, *nintu* was derived.³

According to usage, Tamil, *nām* seems to be first person plural while *nānkal* appears to be the exclusive first person plural. But literary evidence, negatives this distinction⁴. Telugu *emu*, *ñemu*, *memu* (first person plural) are *exclusive* pronouns, while *maṇāmu* is the *inclusive* first person plural. Only *mēmu* and *maṇāmu* largely occur in usage and they alone appear to take case inflections⁵. In Malayalam *nām* and *nōm* (first person plural) are inclusive pronouns, while *nānmal* is exclusive pronoun like *yeṅkuḷu* in Tulu, unlike the *inclusive*

¹ I owe this suggestion to Prof. S. M. KATRE.

² *iyān* (*Tiruvācagam* III. 58, POPE's ed. p. 21).

³ CALDWELL, *Comp. Gr. of Dravidian Languages*, p. 200.

⁴ *nānkal* (*Tiruvācagam* III. 86, POPE's ed. p. 24).

According to CALDWELL, 'In all the Dravidian dialects with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the *plural inclusive*, the other excludes the party addressed and denotes only the party of the speaker and may be called *plural exclusive*. The colloquial Tamil forms the plural exclusive from *nām*, the ordinary regular plural by addition of *gal* which is properly a neuter sign of plurality' *Comp. Drav. Gram.* 414-5. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI denies this distinction between *nām* and *nānkal* even in colloquial speech. Only the author of *Nānmal* makes distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns. (*JORM* VI, 1932, pp. 391-2). Vide also *Civakacintāmaṇi*, 1762.

⁵ Possibly, these case-endings were accented according to the law of relative frequency.

Cf. G. K. ZIPF. Relative frequency as a determinant of phonetic change. *Harvard Studies in classical Philology*. Vol. XL. 1929. p. 12-13.

first person plural *nama*¹. It seems to me reasonable to posit the existence of **ēm*² (first person plural) in the Proto-Dravidian, if only because it is easier to derive *em* from *ēm* than to derive *em* < **yam* < ***yām*. But on the basis of the statement, *am ām enpaṇa munṇilai yāraium*

em ēm om ivai paṭarkkai yāraiyum etc.

made in *nanṇū* 333³ alone, it is not possible to say that the original Proto-Dravidian first person plural is *ēm*; all that the *nanṇū* states is merely that *em*, *om*, *ēm* are used to exclude the person spoken to. It can be taken that *yām* is the exclusive first person plural, while *nām* is the inclusive first person plural in Tamil, and in Kannaḍa *nām* seems to be an inclusive first person plural while *em* appears to be an exclusive first person plural. But it is clear that there is no conclusive evidence to posit a distinction between the *inclusive* and *exclusive* plural in the Proto-Dravidian. That in Kannaḍa *em* is used at least in one place as an inclusive first person plural goes against the theory⁴.

That the various Dravidian languages do indeed make a distinction at one time or another between the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural is undoubtedly clear. But in the absence of very strong evidence, one is not justified in tracing this distinction to the primitive Dravidian before ramification. It is safer to consider this distinction merely as a parallel development in related languages⁵.

Even in the old Telugu, the *exclusive* first person plural *ēmu* and *nēmu* were used only in the nominative. Only the *exclusive* first person plural *memu* has survived. It becomes *mam-* in the accusative and *mā-* in other cases. Some physiological processes might have been involved in the change of original *nēmu* into *mēmu*. But it would not have been certainly a conscious innovation. Such an assumption is unwarranted, for no linguistic change is known to have occurred in that way.

The theory that the *inclusive* first person plural *maṇamu* in Telugu is the result of contamination of the two forms *mā* and *nām* does not seem to me tenable. I would on the other hand prefer to

¹ Cf. J. BRIGEL, *A grammar of the Tulu language*, Mangalore, 1872, page 33. The Kurukh language has the *exclusive* 1st person plural *ēm* as against the *inclusive* first person plural *nām*. Cf. HAHN, *Kurukh grammar*, Calcutta, 1900, page 18.

² It must be remembered that **ēm* is kept unchanged in Kurukh-Malto (E : H. TUTTLE, *Dravidian Developments*. Language Monographs V 1930. Linguistic Society of America p. 28).

³ Swaminatha IYER's edition.

According to *Viracoliyam* v.v. 9 *nām* was used as a honorific singular and *nāṅkal* as a plural. See JORM, VI, p. 392.

⁴ *Pampa Bhāratam* 961. Bibliotheca Carnatica, edited by B. LEWIS RICE. Bangalore, 1898, p. 197.

⁵ See for Contra E. H. TUTTLE, *Dravidian Development*, 1930. Language Monographs No. V. Linguistic Society of America, p. 29.

say that the morphophonemic **mana* is due to the metathesis of **nama*, a morphophonemic alternation of **nām* which functions as genitive in Tamil and which appears as *namma* in Kannaḍa in the genitive.¹

One is justified in reconstructing **nīn* as the second person singular Proto-Dravidian antecedent, on the ground that it is easy to postulate the change **nīn* > *nīn*- (the stem which takes the case-endings). This is perfectly understandable as in Kannaḍa *nām* and *tām* and *nān* change into *nam*, *tam* and *nan*. But to detect the element *-in* in Tamil *ceṇṇicin* as a modification of this *nīn* (Proto-Dravidian second person singular) and then find support in this analysis as REDDIYAR does (thus completing the vicious circle) for the postulation of primitive Dravidian **nīn* is unwarranted, like the needless assumption of BOPP, that the formative elements of Indo-European were once independent words, from which again resulted the erroneous assumption that the Indo-European compound-words are historically derived from phrases². This theory has no other support than the circumstance that we analyse it in this manner. Again, from the Kannaḍa second person plural forms *ceyyim* and *Kelim*, to argue for the presence of the original suffix *-in* in the second person singular and thence to deduce **nīn* is far-fetched.

Tamil 'yāy varuka *onro*' nullifies the sound-symbolism theory that *t* and *n* stand respectively for the third person and second person. It is ingenious to suggest that the original reading here would have been 'āy varuka *onro*' on the basis of NACCINARKINIYAR'S comments 'tāy varuka'. This may not find easy acceptance. This distinction between *yāy*, *nāy*, etc., and *tav-vai*, *nūv-vai*, *ev-vai* etc., in their origin,

¹ Cf. 'There are difficulties, associated with exclusively linguistic problems, which however can be solved only on the basis of psychological analysis. Thus it has been suggested that the characteristically oceanic distinction of inclusive and exclusive pronouns requires a deeper explanation than any which would confine itself to merely grammatical relations.' MALINOWSKI, *supplement I*, to OGDEN and RICHARDS, *Meaning of Meaning*, p. 302, London, Kegan Paul, 1936.

One of the characteristics shared in common by the Austro-Asiatic family and the Austronesian group of languages according to SCHMIDT is the presence of an inclusive and exclusive form for the first person plural of the personal pronoun—SCHMIDT, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied Zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesians*, 1906, *Les peuples Mon-Khmèrs trait d'union entre les peuples de l'Asiecentrale et de l'Austronesie*, BEFEO, VII, pp. 213-63, VIII, pp. 1-35.

See also P. C. BAGCHI, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Calcutta, 1929, pp. IX-X.

² JACOBI, *Compositum und Nebensatz*, Bonn, 1897. BRUGMANN, *GRUNDRISSE II* 1, pp. 37, 78, 49 ff.

L. BLOOMFIELD, sentence and word. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 45, 1914, pp. 73-4.

L. BLOOMFIELD, A Set of postulates for the science of language *Language*. Vol. II, 1926, p. f. n. 3.

might have been purely accidental.¹

It may be to avoid confusion between masculine and neuter, the *n* of the original **nin* might have been dropped in ancient Tamil.² In the case of the first person, as there can be no possibility of neuter, there is no confusion. In the third person, the verb can determine easily the gender. Therefore there is no difficulty here too.

The argument is weak which seeks to establish that the Proto-Dravidian **nīm* (second person plural) became *nīvu* in the second person singular in Telugu. Merely on the ground that we are able to abstract the suffix *-avu* in Telugu and *-ai* (*ay*) in Tamil and Kannaḍa in the second person singular verb, as a result of our analysis, it is not possible to agree with REDDIYAR in the matter of postulation of the existence of both the suffixes *-ai* (*ay*) and *-au* (*av*) in the Proto-Dravidian, in the absence of further evidence from other Dravidian languages. For aught we know, it is equally plausible that the suffix *-au* (*av*) in Kannaḍa might have been a borrowal from Telugu. Or it is equally plausible that it might have borrowed *-ai* (*ay*) from Tamil. It is not possible to say which of the two suffixes *-ai* (*ay*) and *-au* (*av*) is inherited from the parent-Proto-Dravidian tongue, in the present state of our knowledge. Either *-av* (*au*) might have been a special feature of Telugu or *-ai* (*ay*) might have been a special feature in Tamil. The evidence for *-av* (*au*) in old Tamil is very doubtful. It may be only due to the shortening of the vowel to such an extent as to become a semi-vowel³. All that we can say with certainty is that there did exist as second personal terminations in the indicative mood *i*, *ai*, *āy*, *oy* in ancient Tamil⁴. Of these terminations *i* and *ai* alone seem to have been more frequently used in the most ancient period. Now only *āy* is very frequently met with in colloquial speech. The author of *Viracoliyam* only mentions *āy*.

¹ For the reason for the change of *tāy* into *āy* first and the subsequent re-statement of the old form *tāy* itself again, see A. Chidambaranatha CHETTIAR, some phonetic tendencies in Tamil, *NIA*, 2, 309-310.

² For a full discussion of the form *nī* in ancient Tamil, see P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM*, VI, 1932, p. 393, also *Tol. E.* 180, and *Tol. Col.* 189.

nī-y-en-onu-peyar neṭumutal kurukum.

Ā-vayu n-nakaram- orrā kummē. *Tol. E.* 180.

Avarrul nī-y-en kilavi y-orumai- k. k. uritte. *Tol. Col.* 189.

³ Similar examples can be given from the Indo-Aryan cf. Hindi *jāō* > **jāu* > **jāu* > *jāv*. I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE for this suggestion.

Avarrul.

Munnilai-K-Kilavi.

I ai -āy-ena varū mūnrum

oppa-t tōnrum-oruvarkkū

m-onra-kkum (*Tol. Col.* 223).

Āy-en-kilaviyum- avartotu Kollum (*ibid.* 212).

See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM*, Vol. VII, 1933, pp. 134, 139, 140,

Before *y*, the final *u* of the roots was changed into *i* in Tamil, so that the forms like *aṭakkiya* (p. n. 6.25) were formed which later on, in their turn gave place to those like *aṭakkinā*¹ and there was a tendency to consider 'in' as the past tense sign. 'In the indeclinable participle *i* alone is added in such cases to represent the past tense as *aṭakki*, *uṇṅki*, etc. Thus 'i' which was originally the modified form of *u* in sandhi may have come to be regarded as a part of the past tense sign². Therefore an attempt to establish **kaṇḍikin* as the antecedent of *kaṇḍicin* on the mere ground that *kaṇḍikum* is the second person plural is not well directed. However, it cannot be gainsaid that in *kaṇḍikum* the pluralising particle *m* is added to *-ku*³. But there is justification for saying that the vowel phoneme palatalises the following dentals as in *aḍittān* > colloquial. *aḍiccān*, *nūḍinān* > colloq. *nūñcinān*, *ariṇār* > *ariṇar*, *peritu* > *pericu* (colloq.), *teyṇtu* > *teyṇju*⁴. (colloq.). REDDIYAR is fully justified in formulating the special law of palatalisation in Tamil, which brings out the correspondences between Kannaḍa forms like *key* and Tamil *cey* etc.⁵

The opposition *yān* : *yām* (first person) *tān* : *tām* (third person) is indeed paralleled by *nūn* : *nūm* (second person). Of course, on the analogy of *poṇinān* : *poṇān*, we are justified in assuming the opposition *nūyir* : *nūr*.⁶ The evolution in the primitive Dravidian may be represented as follows:

**nūm* > **nim* > **num* > *um* (Tamil).

um + *kal* = *unkal* }
nūm + *kal* = *nūnkāl* } Tamil.

According to Tolkappiyanār, *-kal* is the pluralizing particle of a ∴ *riṇai* nouns only subsequently its use seems to have been extended to *uyartiṇai* nouns also. 'It would also be interesting to observe that Kannaḍa *gal* or *galu* and Telugu *lu* which correspond to Tamil *kal* are occasionally used as the plural suffix, in Kannaḍa and Telugu. Of rational nouns and pronouns corresponding to *uyartiṇai* nouns and pronouns in Tamil and that, in *cilappadikāram*, for the first time, the form *yānkāl* occurs with *kal* in *uyartiṇai*, though no verbal form with *kal* is found there.' Only in works like *Tevāram* and *Nālāyirappṛaṇa*

1 *Yakaram Varu-vaḷi-y-ikarankurukum*

U-karak-kilavi tuvara-t tōmrātū [Tol. E. 411.]

2 See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM*. Vol. VII, 1933, p. 146.

3 See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI *JORM*. VII, 1933, p. 139.

4 Words like *settēn* are only apparent exceptions, for here, the law of emotional intensity operates. See my paper, *Accentual Variation in relation to Semantic Variation. The Kuppuswāmi Sastri Commemoration Volume*, p. 135.

5 See also A. Chidambaranatha CHETTIAR, *Some phonetic tendencies in Tamil*, *NIA*, 2, 307-308.

6 E. H. TUTTLE, *Dravidian Developments* p. 30.

7 CALDWELL, *Comp. Gr. of Dravidian*. pp. 555-563.

See also P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM*, VII, 1933 ; p. 142.

nlam belonging to the 6th¹, 7th and 8th centuries A. D., we meet with verbal forms with *kal*. Hence it is plausible that Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu ramified from the primitive Dravidian between 5th century A. D.² (the age of *Cilappatikāram*) and the period 6th to 8th centuries A.D.³.

The first literary appearance of the double plural from *nīnkaḷ*⁴ (from the plural *nīm*) is in *civakacintāmaṇi-nīnkaḷ nōkkumin*—(you better see), C. C. 1045⁵. We may have *nūvir* < *nīyir* (cf. *nīyir aivīrum*. KAMPAR A, 725.67) < **nūmir*, since *nūvir* is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār and is not found in the earlier saṅgam works⁶ Tamil *irukkumin* (second person plural imperative) gets changed into *irukkuvin* in Malayālam likewise. Similarly the following can be postulated **nīm* > *nūm* > *mimru* > *mīru* (Telugu). Undoubtedly *tān* and *tām* are the reflexive demonstrative pronouns⁷ in the nominative singular and plural respectively in Tamil. In the oblique cases, before the addition of case suffixes, they are shortened to *taṇ* and *tam*. However in the modern period *tām* also takes *kal*. As an honorific second person singular also, the form *tānkaḷ* is used, when followed by a verb of the second person plural.

According to one view *tān* is traced to R. V. *tanu* and *tām* to *tman*⁸. Tolkāppiyāṇār does not seem to have restricted the use of *tān* and *tām* to the third person only; on the other hand there are good reasons to believe that to him they could be used along with the pronouns of all persons and genders. It might be that in their origin *tān* and *tām* were reflexive and later on perhaps after the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, they might have passed as demonstrative pronouns also⁹.

Doubtless, the neuter remote demonstrative singular pronouns in the Proto-Dravidian were *at* and *it* and their plurals should have *av*, *iv* and *uv*. REDDIYAR's theory that the Tamil remote demonstrative pronouns a. : *tu* (neuter singular) originally denoted the idea 'belonging to that' but later on fell with *atu* is not supported by any strong

¹ Tamil language underwent radical transformation in regard to style and metre, etc. by the beginning of the 6th century. *Saṅgam* as an active institution probably ceased to exist by about 600 A.D. *Tevāram* evidently belonged to the 7th century A.D. See V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*. London, 1930. pp. 3, 7, 15.

² Vide P. S. Subramanya SASTRI, *loc. cit.*

³ E. H. TUTTLE, *Dravidian Developments*, p. 30.

⁴ See Subrahmanya SASTRI, *op. cit.* pp. 113-4. For a learned discussion of the two forms *yānkaḷ*, *nānkaḷ* see also the same author *JORM* VI, 1932, p. 390.

⁵ See *JORM* VII, 1933 p. 113.

⁶ P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* VII, 1933, p. 117.

⁷ R. Swaminatha IYER, 'Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronoun', Third All India Oriental Conference, Madras p. 47.

⁸ P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* VII, p. 118.

⁹ See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* VII, 1933, p. 116.

evidence. The presence of peculiar phoneme between *a* and *t* is a difficult problem which baffles any easy explanation.

The postulated change *vāṇru* > *vāṇḍu* is understandable. The original alveolar cluster phonemes *-ṇr-* might have easily passed into the more simple cerebral compound phonemes. The following appears to me as quite plausible.

avanru > *vānru* > *vāṇḍu* > *vāḍu* (Tel.)

ivanru > *vīnru* > *vīṇḍu* > *vīḍu* (Tel.)

The question whether the original *-tu* (found for instance in Tamil *a-tu* passed into *-ḍu* in Telugu and *-ḷu* in kui requires indeed a very detailed investigation.

It is quite plausible that the original *avan* passed into *avam*, in view of the fact that in new Kannaḍa we have *avanu* and the Tamil *avvumpiravum* 'they and others' *pari* 26.23'. It cannot be however proved that Kannaḍa *avāntir* changed into *vāntiru* > *vāntru* [*>* Telugu *vānṭrū*]

ā, *i* and *ū* can be postulated as the original demonstrative bases in the Proto-Dravidian. But Brahui seems to be intractable in this respect. It has *tā*, *e*, *o* as the demonstratives².

It is still problematical whether *yā* + *avan* or *yā* + *an* yielded *yāvan* (interrogative pronoun). No doubt the original interrogative root was *yā*. It should have certainly been the base, before the time of Tolkāpiyanār, of the forms only in the nominative case³.

At the time of Tolkāpiyanār, the base *yā* was generalised throughout⁴. At subsequent periods, *e* the original base of forms in the oblique cases, was generalised throughout⁵. If we derive *yār* from *yāvar*, we should derive *yātu* from *yāvatū*. **evan* might have been the earliest interrogative pronoun (singular) and on analogy with *yāṇ* (which itself might have formed from the oblique base *eṇ*), *yāvan* might have come into existence. Much support is lent to

¹ Sir Denys BRAY, *Brahui Grammar*, pp. 83-4.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that *ā*, *ē*, *ō* function as syntactic interrogatives in Tamil. These are added at the end of nouns or verbs e.g. *Avanā Vantān* 'Did he come'?

Avanā vantānā ? 'Did he come'?

Avanē vantān ? 'Did he come'

Avanō vantān ? 'Did he come'?

Avan vantānō ? 'Did he come'?

See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* VII, 1933, p. 119.

² See for instance, *yāvarum pirarum* (*pari*. 55.8).

³ E.g. *yāvavkkum cāyal nīnālu* (*pari*. 9.55).

evanum itai-c-ceyvān, *evarkkum itu eḷitu*. [colloq.]

⁴ See P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *JORM* VII p. 119.

⁵ See, *JORM*, Vol. VII, 1933, p. 120.

BULLETIN D. C. R. I.

FRANÇOIS MARTIN

By

R. G. HARSHE

Monsieur A. Balasubramaniam PILLAI, the late Curator, French Government Archives, Pondicherry, wrote an article,¹ some years ago, on "The Wills of François Martin and Madam Mary De Cuperly, his wife," which has been prefaced by a biographical sketch of François Martin, "the real founder of the French Dominions in India." By a lucky chance I looked into his article at a time when I was reading an old French book on "Voyage to India", which contained a very interesting account of the early life of M. Martin. Since it sheds a new light on the character and achievement of M. Martin, I give here the relevant portion of the book² translated from the original.

It is an anonymous work³ by a person who describes himself as the "Writer of the King" (*Ecrivain du Roi*) and is fully conscious of his own responsibility.⁴ In fact, the Journal of the Voyage was kept by the order of "the late Monsieur de Seignelai, Secrétaire d'Etat de la Marine." The writer knew M. Martin personally and had several interviews with him. What is more, M. Martin had actually seen and read this Journal⁵. He got the whole history of his early life while he was at Pondicherry, especially from M. de Saint Paul de la Heronne, who had been the Councillor of the "Conseil Souverain de Ponticherri" and who was to return to France along with the writer. He gives out this information as being "very true"⁶.

¹ Indian Historical Records Commission, *Proceedings of Meetings*, Vol. XIV, Lahore, December 1937, pp. 56-62.

² The title of the book is: "Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par une Escadre de six Vaisseaux commandée par M. Du Quesne, depuis le 24 Février 1690, jusqu'au 20 Août 1691, par ordre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales. Vols. I-III, Rouen, 1721.

³ To the First Volume of this interesting work, in the Deccan College Library, is attached a slip, by an unknown reader, who has found out the name of the author as M. *Robert Challes* and indicates, as his source, the "Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes de A. A. Barbier, 1874, Vol. II, p. 1008. The book belongs to the Parasnis Historical Museum.

But M. Jules SORTAS, in his "Histoire de la Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales", 1664-1719, gives the name of this author as *Grégoire de Challes* or *Chasles*: "Je m'empresse toutefois de noter que son nom est dévoilé dans la Biographie de Feller, à l'article Du Quesne. C'est un Parisien nommé Grégoire de Challes ou Chasles, né en 1659, et mort à Chartres vers 1720."—Préface, p. iv.

⁴ "J'écrivait pour un Secrétaire d'Etat...etc.—P. 2, Tome I.

⁵ Tome III, pp. 9-10.

⁶ ... "que je donne ici pour très vraie."—Tome III, p. 10.

"M. Martin is a Parisian¹, a natural son of a big grocer of the Halle². His father, extremely rich, had given him a very good education in trade and commerce and wished to make him a merchant; but the sudden death which snatched him, neither left him any time to make a Will nor an estate to François³. His step-brother, the only legitimate child of the grocer, having, even in the life-time of their common father, bought a Commission of the Treasurer of the Commissariat (Charge de Trésorier de l'Ordinaire des Guerres), turned him out, having no desire to give him any portion of a very rich inheritance; perhaps because he was less legitimate than himself; because his mother had created great scandals against him, so much so that it was publicly said at the Halle that the Son of the Father was being punished in order to make a Bastard of the Mother the inheritor.....

The death of his father who had left nothing except the name of Martin as the entire heritage, took away all hope of being established in life....Not knowing what to do and being deprived of every thing,...he was reduced to serve as a shop-assistant to another grocer; and there he was till his 28th or 29th year, when he got himself married, 12 years after the death of his father.

He was in love with the daughter of a fish-dealer who, from her side, was equally enamoured of him. The affair went on too fast, till at last he married her, and her mother, the marriage being done, did not wish to hear anything either of the daughter or of her son-in-law, and turned both of them out of the door. To add to their distress, the merchant with whom he was working, not wishing to have a married shop-boy, dismissed him. Thus he lived with his wife for two years and more, in a perfect union, but in a very great necessity of all sorts of things; the more so, as the gains that she could manage to make were very small for want of capital and not for that of intelligence. He himself did nothing, earned nothing, and it was she alone who dragged the plough; besides, the family was increasing.

At last, driven to despair and not being able to accommodate himself with a life so sad, he presented himself to the Directors of the Oriental Company, and, as he had as much intelligence as a man

¹ M. PILLAI says that he was born in Paris in 1634. The years given in this account of the voyage are only approximate, but we arrive at nearly the same conclusion, calculating according to the given data. The writer was at Pondicherry in January 1691. He says that Madame and Mademoiselle Martin had come there only five or six years back (p. 18). He had left them 22 years ago or more, before M. Martin had made a representation to the Directors of the Oriental Company (p. 15). At the time of his marriage, he was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine and had lived with his wife for two to three years (p. 12). All this shows that M. Martin was born between 1630-1634.

² The well-known wholesale market in Paris.

³ The name "François" has not been mentioned in the narrative.

could have, and as he perfectly knew exchange business, accounts, Registers of Commodities, he was engaged to maintain them in double entry system. It was thus that he went to India.¹ The famous Marcara and Caron, made a good use of his skill at Surat², Mussalipatam³, in Bengal, and at all the other places in India, where, for a long time the commerce of the Company flourished and established under the auspices of the late Jean Baptiste Colbert, who was the man of France who knew best of what use was commerce to the Kingdom.

The different voyages that M. Martin was obliged to make by sea,⁴ and the actions in which he was present, made his bravery and intrepidity shine as much as his straightforwardness shone in his books and in negotiations. The Company, very much contented with his services, gradually raised him up; and, finally, there he is General of the French in India. Mr. Du Quesne gave the patents for this, and he was recognized and saluted as such, with the thunder of the cannon and Musketry, on Thursday, 17th August, last

¹ The date of his embarkation given by M. PILLAI is 1st March 1665 and it may also agree with our calculation as per our vague data. But it seems that he did not go as a sub-merchant but as an employee (an accountant) of the Company. There is no mention of his having landed at Madagascar or his having stayed there for "more than three years." On the contrary, it is very probable that M. Martin had accompanied the very first party that was sent in October 1664 to India by land, headed by M. La Boullaille le Goux and consisting of the merchants Bébert and Du Pont.—(See p. 14, *Histoire de la Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1905). The reason is that when Messrs. Caron and Marcara reached Surat by Sea, as the first representatives of the Company, in February 1668, they found, according to our text, the services of M. Martin very useful. Without naming Martin, M. Jules Sottas says the same thing: "Lorsque Caron y avait abordé le 13 février 1668. . . ., il avait trouvé la place déjà préparée depuis deux ans à l'exploitation de la Compagnie par les envoyés français La Boulaye et Beber, qui y étaient arrivés par la voie de terre."—P. 45, *Hist etc.* Already in 1670, Martin had become an important personality as he was the Inspector of Accounts of the establishments of the Company in India and had even started correspondence with the Governor of Pondicherry for permission to open an establishment there—(P. 104). Moreover, the date of the first expedition to Madagascar is not 1st but 7th March (*Ibid.*, P. 17).

² The date of his transfer to Surat is given by M. PILLAI as 10th March 1669, which, for reasons given above requires verification.

³ "Remained idle for two years at Masulipatam."—PILLAI, p. 56. But if he were in the service of the Company, there was no reason of his being thrown out of employment, especially when he was such a good hand and the Company too had a flourishing commerce. On the other hand, we find him working as the Inspector of Accounts and visiting Masulipatam in the years 1670, 1671 and 1672 (P. 104). In 1673, we find him included in the Council at Surat and officially nominated as such in January 1674—(P. 58, *Hist. . . etc.*).

⁴ Cf. "He was then sent on missions to Arabia and Persia. After a stay of two months at Bunder Abbas, he returned."—The sequence of events and chronology are indefinite in our account. But, according to M. SOTTAS, the first expedition to Bandarabassi, on the Persian Gulf, was sent in 1669 (P. 45).

year (1690).¹ This character as General had not in any way increased his authority, he being for a long time the Chief of the Nation in all the Peninsula. He would still have been, however, a simple Director, had the death of the King of Siam, our Ally, not retained Marquis of Eragni in France.

M. Martin had several times requested the Directors of the Company for a successor and his recall; but being very much indispensable, he could obtain neither the one nor the other. He was ashamed to disclose his birth and his marriage; but at last, the love which he had preserved and still preserves for his wife; and the tenderness of a good father for his children had forced him to come to this clearing up. He hoped to return to his Fatherland and, in the midst of his family, enjoy the fruits of his labours in India; but seeing that it was an impossible thing, he himself wrote his history to the Company and asked for the alternative, either to allow him to return to Europe or to send him his wife and children.

One might give whatever name that one would like to give to this proceeding. As for me, I call it a truly heroic and a truly Christian act. The company preferred to do the latter; but it was not without great difficulty that they succeeded in it.

It was 22 years ago and more that he had left without bidding good-bye to his wife and without telling her where he was going, in one word, he had abandoned her; and since that time they had no news of each other. He did not know whether she was dead or alive: he could not even indicate any mark that could make her being recognised, except the street and the house in which she lived at his departure; but, in such long space of time, the house had changed the proprietor and so many different tenants that nobody had any idea of her: all the traces of what she could have been were lost. Even those whom a great compensation had bound to this investigation, were disgusted in six weeks which they had spent in vain, and were ready

¹ This important event has not been mentioned by M. PILLAI. It is clear from the following sentence that M. Martin was, for a long time, Director of the French in India, before this additional honour was conferred upon him. This comes into conflict with what has been said by M. PILLAI. According to him, "the Supreme Council was created at Surat by the royal edict of 21st January 1701—which was later transferred to Pondicherry (Italics are ours) and M. Martin appointed President of that assembly and Director General of the affairs of the French in India." (p. 56). But we already have got a reference to this Supreme Council of Pondicherry ("Conseil Souverain de Ponticherri"), by this contemporary writer in 1691, besides that of M. Martin having been the Director General of the French in India. We have good reasons to say that he was the Director since 1684, if not earlier: "La Compagnie avait deux comptoirs seulement (le 29 mai, 1684) au lieu de six en 1675: celui de Surate, le principal, dirigé par le sieur François Martin depuis la mort de Baron, et celui de Pondichéry ... dirigé par le sieur Deltor."—P. 80, Hist...etc. M. Baron, it seems, died in a shipwreck, in 1681 (?).—Ibid, p. 68.

to abandon the enterprise, when a mere chance made them find in a moment what they were vainly seeking to find for a long time.

While passing through a street near the Halle, they heard Madame Martin being called. They turned back and saw that this Mme. Martin, whom they called, had a bill before her according to which she carried the carps and the congers, like the petty fish-vendors who run about in Paris. The instructions that were given to them left no doubt that it was she. They let her do her bargain with the woman who was selling fish, who had called her, and then bought all that she had on condition that it would be taken to the nearest cabaret. They thought of not telling her anything in the open street about the subject ; but in the cabaret, where she followed them, she was asked the name of her husband, where he was and what he did ; and she replied to them, not without tears, in her eyes, thus convincing them that she was not deceiving them ; finally, she learnt with inexpressible joy the fortune of her husband and what he was and the tenderness that he had preserved for her. One of them who had a letter for her, which was not sealed, took it out from his skirt like an ordinary paper and concealing the address ; but hardly had she seen the hand-writing when she jumped up crying : " that is his hand-writing " and was agreeably surprised to see that it was to her own self that the letter was written.

So many proofs were worthy of belief. They requested her to send for her children. Tears again : she said that there remained for her only one daughter and that the two others had died, that her daughter was working at cleaning the Cod-fish and gone to fetch water to clean them. She is, as they told me, very amiable : I have not seen her, she being at Hoogly with M. Bureau des Landes, her husband. I have seen the mother, who is at Pondicherry with M. Martin, a woman of about fifty years, who had the remnants of a very beautiful person and who had nothing of rusticity and drunkenness of the Halle, where she was moving about for such a long time.

Those who had found her gave her a thousand francs to get herself and her daughter properly dressed with a view to be presented with decency to the Company, on the very day (they had mentioned it to her) that she would meet them. She did not fail either in the one or in the other and took her daughter with her. There, she received all that they had forced her to take and which she had refused because she did not believe herself to be such a great lady. To-day, it is no longer so ; she maintains her rank extremely well and the pearls and diamonds cover her with more splendour than the oyster-shells did in the case of the carps that she used to sell. The mother and the daughter left by the first steamer in the style of princesses. They had happily come, not more than 5 or 6 years ago. The mother is very intelligent and does not at all speak the jargon of the fish-

dealers ; she is called simply Madame here¹; or la Générale is added to it, and the daughter is very advantageously married and is very happy.

It is thus that M. Martin has got what he wanted and that God has rewarded his good heart, his probity and his good character. On the contrary, his denatured brother has seen his ample inheritance eaten up and dissipated through his own fault and on account of his bad conduct.....

¹ Her Christian name is not given in this account.

THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

“The soil, that terrestrial substratum—always the same and always situated at the same point in space—serves as a fixed foundation for the moods and changing aspirations of men, and governs the destinies of peoples with a blind brutality. The whole life of the State has its roots in the soil” so wrote Friedrich Ratzel. This determinist view of history has been criticized as only partially true. Geography does not deny free will to man but at the same time it will not allow man to have all things his own way. It spreads difficulties in his path in one direction while it makes things easier for him in other directions. National life is moulded to a much greater extent by the geographical factor than the life of an individual. It is true that there are times in history when masses of men under the leadership of some great man whose (free) will they obey, ride victoriously over geographic facts. The advance of science has all along tended to reduce the importance of this factor. But there remain many facts of history which can be explained mainly by the geographical factor. I propose to illustrate this with reference to the history of Mahārāṣṭra.

Mahārāṣṭra is the continuous stretch of country in which Marathi with its many dialects is spoken. The present boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra are—to the west from Ankola to Daman the Arabian sea; to the northwest a line connecting Daman to Kukarmunda. The northern boundary goes from west to east in a line along the Sātpuda between the valleys of the Narmada and Tapti. The eastern boundary is made up by the Vainganga river upto its junction with the Painganga river. At this point the boundary line goes westward to a point near Pusad in Berar. From Pusad the line goes due south to Bidar in the Nizam's state. From Bidar westwards to Akalkot, then again due south to Jamakhindi and thence with a slight bend to Ankola where it meets the Arabian Sea.

This country is stretched between the latitudes 15 to the south upto 22 to the north, its narrowest part lying at the south and reaching its greatest breadth in latitude 22. The area of the land enclosed within these boundaries is nearly one hundred thousand square miles i. e. one-fifteenth part of India.

The land of Mahārāṣṭra is geologically of one type called the upper cretaceous, otherwise known as the Deccan trap. Only a small portion at the southern extremity round about Goa and in the northeast

corner east of Nagpur, the rock is of the hard Archaean type. The soil of Mahārāṣṭra is of the water-holding type. The next geographic feature to be noted is that four-fifths of Mahārāṣṭra is a plateau fifteen hundred feet above the sea-level on an average. The whole of Mahārāṣṭra lies within the tropics, but this feature considerably mitigates the effects of torrid heat associated with the tropics. Konkan is the only portion of Mahārāṣṭra which can be called a lowland. It does not get the advantage of high level but there the heat is counteracted by sea breezes so that it has a more equable climate compared to the rest of Mahārāṣṭra.

Another feature to be noted is the distribution of rainfall. Mahārāṣṭra gets the advantage of both the Indian monsoons, the south-west and the north-east, but not in the same measure in all its parts. While the western part is more drenched by the south-west monsoon, the eastern portion gets the benefit of the north-east monsoon. Konkan and the hilly area of the Western Ghats adjoining it fall within the heavy rainfall zone in India receiving more than seventy-five inches of rain a year. This forms one fifth of the area of Mahārāṣṭra. The central portion constituting three fifths of Mahārāṣṭra receives less than thirty inches while the eastern-most part viz., Nagpur and Bhandara, receives more than forty inches. The heavy rainfall makes the regions of the east and the west rice-cultivating areas while the middle table-land remains in the main a millet-producing tract. The rice-producing tracts being rainy and low-lying possess a humid and enervating climate while the middle plateau is a region of dry, salubrious climate. The same factors are responsible for different kinds of vegetation in these two areas. While the Konkan and the Central Provinces are more wooded the central region is a region of grass lands and low woods.

The fourth notable feature of Mahārāṣṭra is its hills. There is no portion of Mahārāṣṭra which is without the view of some notable hill. This feature marks out Mahārāṣṭra from Gujarāt, Bengal and the Gangetic plains. Besides the continuous mountain region of the Western Ghats, which forms a sort of back-bone from north to south, there are ribs in the form of many spurs lying west to east. These spurs give rise to so many river valleys secluded from each other. While the rivers are comparatively small and insignificant, the seclusion of the various parts is very real. The Konkan has got at least three different regions—the sandy and comparatively flat and fertile northern part comprising the Thana and the Kolaba districts; the middle portion comprising the rocky part of Ratnagiri district; the third region being the southern portion of Ratnagiri, Goa and Karwar. Up the Ghats, the Tapti valley, the Girna and the Purna valleys, the Godavari valley, the Pravara valley, the Bheema valley, the Nira and the Kistna and the Vārnā valleys are to some extent well defined regions each having an individuality of its own. The north-eastern parts comprising Berar,

Nagpur and the Nizam's Dominions present yet another aspect different from that of the Konkan and the Desh tracts. These great and small regions have acted as so many different minds of Mahārāṣṭra throughout its history and have always shown centrifugal, fissiparous and separatist tendencies.

These geographic regions began their historical lives independently in many cases. They had different names also. The northern Konkan was known as *Aparānta*, the Berar and C. P. region known as *Vidarbha*, the Paithana region was known as *Aśmaka*, the Nasik district was known as *Seuṇa deśa*, the Tapti Valley was known as *Khān deśa*, the northern Satara district was known as *Vāya deśa*, the southern Satara as *Karahātaka* and the eastern Satara as *Māṇa deśa*, Goa was known as *Gomantaka* and so on. Many of these regions were at some point in their history politically independent and known as so many different kingdoms. The various people of their country took pride in their different names and thought that these names were connected with some exclusive virtues of their own. Among the factors that differentiated one region from another were race, climate and food. The Konkan region possessed a humid and enervating but mild climate, produced and lived on less substantial foodstuffs like rice and was mainly peopled (except for the higher castes) by less cultured and low statured people. So naturally it was sharply differentiated from the other parts and was treated as a separate entity. The Khān deśa, Berar and C. P. areas being a fertile region, the people produced and ate more substantial foodstuffs like wheat, gram and millets, were the vanguard of Aryan colonization and became the Vidarbha of ancient fame. The mediæval Maratha culture began, was fostered and flourished in the region surrounding Seuṇa deśa which is a high plateau well protected by high hills all round, equally fertile as Berar and in addition possessing a dry, salubrious climate. It was here that Maratha intellect reached its high-water mark with Bhāskarācārya as the great authority in Hindu astronomy and Jñyāneśvara as the finest flower of Marathi literature. The first purely Maratha empire under Singhaṇa Yādava also spread from this centre and so it is naturally looked upon as the cradle of the modern Maratha nation. The southern region of Mahārāṣṭra comprising the valleys of the Kistna and its tributaries was known as *Karahātaka* and possesses a distinct personality of its own, allied to the Kanarese type in some respects. The southern Konkan and Goa region is akin to the same type with well marked southern traits and for some time it formed part of the Vijayanagara Empire. Both these regions had principalities of their own under the Śilāhāras and Kadambas during mediæval times.

The Konkan sea-board of four hundred miles being a low-land of the Gujarat type with no high mountain to separate it from that region was naturally first colonized from the northern direction. The colo-

nization must have been facilitated by maritime communication also. The Somavamśi Pāṭhāre Prabhu Kṣatriyas and the Sāmavedi Brahmins round about Sopārā and Bassein afterwards converted by the Portuguese to Christianity seem to have descended into the northern Konkan from Gujarāt. The Chitpāvana and Sārasvata Brahmins of southern Konkan also most probably came down the same way. The northern Konkan seems to have been a separate kingdom from ancient times as its people were referred to as Aparāntas in the inscriptions of Aśoka while the Deccan people were called Peténikas and Rāṣṭikas. Their capital was Śurpāraka, the modern Sopāra, which was a commercial mart of great repute. Kalyan, Thana and Cheul were also marts of international commerce. During the mediæval times the northern Śilāhāras ruled over this region which was later on under the rule of the Muslim sultans of Gujarāt. At present with the rise of Bombay and the advent of the Parsis and the Gujaratis into it, the original northern influence is again on the increase in this region. The southern Konkan colonized by the Chitpāvans and the Sārasvatas from the seaward side and the Karhādas and Mahrattas from the eastern side has grown into a distinctive unit. In the whole of the Konkan rice forms the staple food with fish as a supplement amongst all but a few vegetarian castes. The effects of this diet are seen in the distinctive character of the Konkan people. They are thinly built but more intelligent and agile people with a wider outlook coming into contact as they do with foreign nationalities from the seaward side. In ancient and mediæval times India was in the forefront of the civilised world and so its attention was centred in itself. The sea-facing portion of India was consequently treated as the back-yard of the house and attention was more given to land problems. Under these conditions, it was not possible for the sea-coast people to impress their personality on the Deccan plateau people. On the other hand, with the rise of bigger land-powers, the plateau people with the advantages of better food and health-giving climate descended down the Ghats and added those parts to their kingdoms. Only during the last two centuries with the rise of the sea power in world politics and the migration to the ghats of the Peshwas and the Konkan people, the sea-coast people have exercised tremendous influence in shaping the ideals and directing the policies of the Marathās.

But Konkan forms less than a sixth part of Greater Mahārāṣṭra and received the impress of Maratha nationality at a comparatively later time. The original centres from which the Maratha nationality received its impress lie mostly near its eastern borders. The colonization of Mahārāṣṭra was accomplished by people who came from its north-eastern and eastern sides. It means they came though the Trikalingas up the Mahānadi, Godāvari and probably also the Kistna valleys. The Āndhra-Bhṛtya kings of Puranik dynasties were the first to rule over the Deccan plateau as suzerains.

Coming from the rice-producing and rice-eating deltaic tracts on the eastern shores, they seem to have introduced rice-culture into the Vaingangā valley forming the north-eastern border of Greater Mahārāṣṭra. They themselves were probably rice-eating people akin to the Konkan type. When Mahārāṣṭra was Daṇḍakāraṇya and hence thinly populated, the Śātavāhana kings could rule it from their east-coast capitals. But with the growth in population and prosperity they created a new capital at Paiṭhaṇa in the upper Godāvāri area. During the early mediæval period the capital of the three Mahārāṣṭra-kas was Vātāpi or the modern Badāmi situated at present in the Kanarese speaking area. The next successive capitals were situated in the central plain of the Deccan. Kalyani under the Cālukyās, Mānyakhetā under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and later on Gulbarga and Biḍar were all situated within a radius of fifty miles. Their sites were selected so as to be central in the then populated tracts of the Deccan almost equi-distant from the east and the west coasts. Their situation in those areas explains many geographic facts. Colonization first takes place in open plains as opposed to wooded and mountainous regions. As these capitals flourished there the land containing them must have been fertile with good provision of water. It means the region had ample subterranean water and received good rains. That seems to have changed with the times. The rains have become more uneven and capricious and the underground water seems to have dried up on account of disafforestation. The centre of the populated areas has also shifted westwards. The change occurred gradually and became more marked since the time of the recorded Durgā-devi famine at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Many a Deshastha Brahmin family then shifted westwards and colonized the more wooded, more mountainous, less fertile but more rainy lands adjoining the Sahyādri range, a fact known from their family papers. The name Māvals (i.e. sun-down) given to these tracts shows that the name was bestowed by eastern people and thus decides the direction of colonization. With this shifting of populations, the Satara and the Poona districts received more cultured and progressive inhabitants within their limits and brought them to the forefront. The modern history of Mahārāṣṭra has received the impress of the people of these very regions.

But the burden of welding the whole land into one nationality fell upon the shoulders of the more northern tract situated in the upper reaches of the Godavari valley with its tributaries. The work was accomplished under the aegis of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, the modern Doulatābād, during the 13th century. Singhaṇa Yādava whose conquests were not confined to Mahārāṣṭra but extended far and wide in Gujarāt, Malwa, Central Provinces, Karnāṭska and Telingaṇa, was the towering figure in this achievement. All the small, independent, inter-warring principalities of the Greater Mahārāṣṭra were laid low

and the fissiparous tendencies due to geographic factors narrated above were successfully scotched for the time being. To what an extent Singhaṇa had succeeded in centralizing the Government and creating a nerve centre for the Marāṭha nation in his capital, Devagiri, can be judged by the fact that even after the edifice of his empire had toppled down with the advent of the Muslims, the conqueror Muhammad Tughlaq still kept the capital at the same place, nay, he thought of shifting his capital in northern India, from Delhi to Doulātābad, so as to be nearer the centre of his extended dominions from the Himalayas to the Cape Camorin. Three centuries later, when the Mughals became dominant in India, they also established their capital in the adjoining city of Aurangabad, which became the city par excellence of the Deccan during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Such was the awe inspired by and the halo surrounding, the name Daulatabad that when Sadāsivrao Bhau, after the battle of Udgir in 1760, got possession of Doulātābad, the impregnable fort overhanging the city, thus obliging the Nizam, the Mughal Subhadar of the Deccan, to shift his capital to the more southern and then less significant capital of Bhāgānagar or Hyderabad, the news was taken by the whole of India as signifying the death-knell of the Mughal empire in these regions and proclaiming the Marathas as the coming suzerain power.

That was very late in the day. But why the tide of Muslim conquest could not be stemmed in the early days must be explained by the geographic factor. Though the Muslims were in possession of Northern India for a century and were knocking at the doors of the Deccan, the south remained unprepared. When Singhaṇa was conquering Malwa and Gujarat, Sultans of Delhi were also preparing to pounce upon the same prize. Singhaṇa's successors went on conquering the south still further, but they could not render themselves secure against the Muslim invasion. The reason seems to be that the northern part of Mahārāṣṭra which was advanced at the beginning of history seems to have deteriorated and lost its original vigour. The cause for this can be found in its geographical situation. When the Aryans came from the north and originally colonized those parts they had the physical vigour and intellectual culture of their forefathers in their blood. But when they settled down, their contact with the north was cut off by the intervening mountainous regions. After the first exuberance of intellectual achievement based on previous culture, the standard of their knowledge was not kept up to its previous level. The torrid heat of the Khandesh, Berar and the C. P. plain undermined their physical stamina also and made the people more sluggish and less ambitious. The low-lying Tāpti and the Waingangā valleys and the hot plateau in between have got a temperature higher by ten degrees during the summer months. This means that for a quarter of a year, the people must suspend their usual activities and work indoors. Physical stamina gradually deteriorates in this interval of enforced inactivity and some

time is afterwards lost in regaining the former vigour. Working through centuries, slowly but surely this handicap has told upon the people of these regions and it seems this very fact was responsible for their not being able to stem the tide of the Muslim invasion when it came. Even in the eighteenth century the court of the Nagpur Bhonslas showed less vigour and lesser intelligence in shaping the destinies of the Maratha people and did not give a good account of themselves as a vital part of the Maratha confederacy.

The modern history of Mahārāṣṭra is connected with the House of Shivaji. If we trace the rise of that family in geographic context we will be better able to illustrate our theme. Maloji Bhonsla, the grand-father of Shivaji, began his career in the plains of Ahmednagar and succeeded in becoming a grandee of the Nizamshahi kingdom. His son Shahaji rose higher still and ultimately became the chief defender of that kingdom against the Mughals. In his struggles against that power, he found defence impossible in the open plains before the onslaught of the Mughal Cavalry. So he transferred the capital to fort Pemagiri, north of Junnar, an extremely inaccessible place. When he could not defend it either, he descended down the ghats and retired to fort Mahuli near Kalyan. But when the Sultan of Bijapur made common cause with the Mughals in partitioning the Ahmednagar kingdom, he accepted service under Bijapur to find a new career of semi-independent type in distant Mysore. There he utilized his previous experience in the Maratha Country in its geographic context. While he made the fort of Bangalore his court he built up his defence by opening up a line of communication below the eastern ghats behind. There a chain of forts was connected with a fortified port, so as to keep an opening for escape by sea if overwhelmed on land. By this line of defence he could secure the then latest arms of war from the European naval powers, English, Dutch, French and Portuguese in peace time and a secure resort in times of trouble.

The cause of Shahaji's comparative success then is to be found in his understanding of the geographic factor in military tactics. The experience he gained and the lesson he learnt in Mahārāṣṭra he used with consummate skill in the Karnatak. There also his power was based on a line of forts and his communications with the eastern seas where the French and the English and the Dutch had already established their factories. When Shahaji descended down the eastern ghats to the Madras and Tanjore plains from Bangalore, he utilized his experience in the Konkan. This valuable experience and strategy he left to his son as an inheritance. When his time came, Shivaji copied the same policy and thus created a marvellous second line of defence for his nascent kingdom for use in an emergency and difficult times. Nay, he went a step further in shaking off his complete dependence on alien navies and created a navy of his own for self-defence and aggressive movements. He had

thoroughly understood that a power that would try to dominate the Deccan could not do without a strong navy of its own. In order to train his followers and create enthusiasm amongst them in this new plan of campaign, he once led a naval expedition in person to Basrur near Kundapur in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency, though he was not a sea-coast man himself. Shivaji's foresight in laying the permanent foundations of military strategy of the Maratha empire ultimately saved his kingdom for posterity notwithstanding the well-nigh irresistible onslaught of the whole might of the Grand Mughal for quarter of a century.

Because Shivaji had conquered and annexed to his kingdom a portion of the Carnatic and Mysore plateau as well as the plains below around Jinji and Tanjore, Rajaram could retire to those regions and defend the Maratha kingdom from there for seven years. When communications by land were cut off he could keep in touch with his accredited lieutenants in Mahārāshtra by sea. When Rāmchandrāpant Amātya sent Rajaram's wives to Jinji he first sent them down the Western coast from Rajapur to the port of Honavar in Kanara. Thence they went up the Ghats to Mysore plateau out of the reach of Aurangzib's troops and then descended down to Jinji. Shivaji had created an independent line of communication between the two parts of his kingdom. From his capital, fort Raigad in Konkan, he could start and lead his army to Phonda, west of Goa, traversing all along through the Konkan. Thence he would shift eastwards, get up the ghats via Supa, go straight to Koppal on the Tungabhadra, which was in his possession. Taking thence a south-easterly route he would reach Bangalore and then descend down to Jinji and so to Tanjore. This permanent foundation of Maratha defence was not kept up under the Peshwas and the result proved disastrous in the end. Shāhu in trying to help his Tanjore cousins had once reopened this strategic line of communication when he sent an expedition under Raghuji Bhosle in 1739. He took the famous fort of Trichinopoly, made Chandā Sahib a prisoner, and appointed Murār Rao Ghorpade to manage the new conquests. Later on however, in their rivalry with Raghuji Bhonsle, the Peshwas refused to support Murār Rao Ghorpade as being not their protégé and thus neglected and lost this indispensable line of communication. Had it not been for this, Haider Ali would not have found a chance in Mysore.

Under the Peshwas this far-sighted strategic principle of Maratha defence laid down by Shivaji was neglected. When Shivaji for example found his position impossible at Poona he would retreat to Rājgad. Ousted even from those parts he could repair to Rājgad in the Konkan. When that capital was also lost, Rajaram could transfer his capital to the far off Jinji and there safely begin his work anew, returning to Satara with the advent of better times. The Peshwas had no such plan of defence. They could not retire to Konkan because they had destroyed the Maratha navy under the Angrias.

Bajirao II when he fled before Yeshwantrao Holkar to Mahād in the Konkan, had no alternative but to throw himself into the arms of the English. The Nizam devastated Poona and the Peshwas had merely to look on with open eyes! With the growth of the empire it did not occur to them that they must shift their capital to a more central and strategic place whence they could better supervise and put a check on the fissiparous proclivities of their Sardars in the North and bring pressure on the Muslim powers. Aurangabad or Ujjain would have better served such a purpose than Poona.

The Peshwas prided themselves as the Deshmukhs of Shriwar-dhan, a sea coast town in possession of the Sidee of Janjira. But they could never free this native place of theirs from Sidee's clutches nor would they show any sea-mindedness. When Nānā Saheb Peshwa with the help of the English, destroyed the power of the Angrias he indirectly laid the foundation of the British empire in India. Once for all freed from the fear of defending Bombay against the Angrias, Clive and Wat-son could take their navy to the Madras coast to attack Pondicherry. When Siraj-ud-daulah had driven the English from Calcutta, Clive could proceed to their help from Madras and thus find his way to Plassey. The western seaboard of Mahārāṣṭra which should have been a bulwark of security, proved ultimately to be an exposed flank. For the defence of the Maratha empire a strong navy supported with funds from the central treasury ought to have been built up but the Peshwa would not devote even the meagre revenues of barren Konkan for the upkeep of the Maratha navy. The expenditure on a navy was not as unproductive as the Peshwa seems to have thought. In one sense it is purely an item of defence but with proper management it could also be made a source of income if diverted into mercantile channels as the British have done. The Peshwa had not the imagination or foresight to realize this.

Thus the Marathas of the eighteenth century had ceased to be either a naval or a land power with the mountains or seaforts as their base. They had become a steppe nomad type of conquerors, wandering incessantly in search of wealth wherever it could be found. Their only arm of war was the fleet-footed, light cavalry which cost very little and could be here, there and everywhere. With its help, the eighteenth century Marathas were also here, there and everywhere in India. But ultimately they found themselves to be nowhere, not even in their own country!

Shivaji had begun to form the Marathas into cavalrymen in order to meet the Mughals on equal terms in the plains and to carry out distant swift movements for aggression and conquest. His new cavalry won its spurs in a pitched battle with the Mughals under Ikhalskhan near Salher fort in Bāglān. He successfully carried out his Karnatak campaign with its help. After the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra, Bijapur and Golkonda in Sambhaji's reign had been

accomplished by Aurangzib, vast hordes of horsemen dismissed from their former services in the three Kingdoms were awaiting employment, but only a small part was employed by Aurangzib himself, because he did not need many horsemen, his conquest being over. So they flocked under the Māratha banner and took service under Rajaram's lieutenants like Santaji Ghorpadé and Dhanaji Jādhav, who acting on their own initiative without orders from above, depending for their very livelihood on whatever they could gather, equipping themselves with arms they could lay their hands upon, soon made themselves past masters in movements of cavalry over long distances. There being no check from any central authority as in the days of Shivaji they had every incentive to conquer new lands which they knew would form their own Jahgirs. They did yeoman's service to the Maratha cause and repulsed Aurangzib's inroads for a quarter of a century with unrivalled valour. And with the death of Aurangzib, Mughal power in these parts collapsed, never to rise again.

This superb record of Maratha valour in the seventeenth century was maintained, nay even improved upon year after year in the eighteenth century until it received a set back at the battle of Panipat in 1761. Under Bājirao the second Peshwa, this light Maratha cavalry freed from struggle at home set forth for new conquests in the north. Rānoji Scindia and his sons, Malhār Rao Holkar, Raghoji and Jānoji Bhonsle, Pilaji and Damāji Gaikwad, Pilaji and Satwoji Jadhav, and the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas have made their names memorable in the annals of Maratha History. But there was little of the discipline and moral fibre of Shivaji's times to be found amongst them. Though they were not mercenaries, they were more or less self-seekers. Cavalry being the main arm of Maratha military power in the eighteenth century, its limits were naturally fixed by the area suitable for its movement. The part of India permanently conquered by the Maratha confederates was mainly confined to the peninsular plateau-region. Comparatively it is a barren type of land. The thickly populated deltaic and alluvial lands of India were mostly left untouched by the Maratha cavalry. The Malabar coast, districts to the south and east of Mysore with the exception of the small principality of Tanjore, the Northern Sarkars districts of heavy rainfall and the Kistna and Godāvari deltas never came into their possession. The same was the case with the major part of Bengal east of the Hoogly, Bihar beyond the Ganges and Oudh. The Punjab was overrun by them for two years. Only the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges and the adjoining tracts were in the possession of the Marathas for some time. So also were the rich lands of Gujarat. But as the above-mentioned richer parts of India left unconquered by them, where revenue collection was easier and rebellions rare, were left in the possession of enemies of the Marathas, these became points of vantage from which armies could be equipped and fed. The British took full

advantage of this important fact and laid the foundations of their empire in these very parts out of the reach of the far-famed Maratha cavalry.

The permanent Maratha conquests well illustrate the geographic characteristics of their own land. They would avoid rainy lands and marshy areas. They would not dare the passage of rivers. They had but casually, if at all, crossed the Ganges. Their enemies were safe behind that mighty barrier of hoary and holy antiquity. They never crossed high mountains. In the north, the Himalayas they only touched, in the south the Nilgiris they never approached. They occupied the central table-land in the main. This area is fifteen hundred feet above sea level on an average receiving less than forty inches of rain annually. It seems they did not like the humid climate of sea sides. And if they settled in those parts they soon deteriorated, as the history of Tanjore under Maratha rule illustrates. That is also the reason why the Peshwas were not very successful in the Konkan campaigns against the Sidee and the Portuguese. They had also it seems a dread of forests. Open grasslands bordering on deserts they preferred. Otherwise we cannot explain why they wasted precious energy in Mārwar and Bundelkhand and never tried the conquest of Malabar and southern India. They liked the dry salubrious climate of the tableland with scrubland and hilly regions in their midst similar to the terrain of Mahārāṣṭra. Their character also did not undergo a change. They remained the same free-minded, exclusive, sceptical and clannish people in their new homes. The average Maratha dislikes a crowd. He has not the psychology of a man of the thickly populated plains and riverland.

The Peshwas and the Konkan people who flocked to Satāra and Poona and took upon themselves the burden of leadership in Mahārāṣṭra had no traditions, no ideals and no principles to guide them or obstruct them. Hence sprang their dynamic power. They exploited the situation they found. In modern parlance they were opportunists. They found that any number of horsemen and campfollowers could be engaged for adequate return. They started the system of engaging and employing such men. It was copied in due course by others also. The original idea of making a good horseman out of a good but rustic yeoman was Shivaji's. That grew with the exigencies of the times under Rajaram and Tarābai. When the Peshwas came to power, they rode over the flood-tide which had already set in and were carried over to a certain limit. But there being no pre-conceived plan, no knowledge of what is necessary for establishing in permanent rule in a new region, no wider outlook, the edifice of their destiny tumbled down with the change of circumstances. They had not provided against the new circumstances. Otherwise how can one explain their neglect of a naval organization or military training on the European model? They were not a land-locked power like the central Asian kingdoms of Afghanistan or Tibet. There was a sea-board at their command but they neglected it. They did not secure

any information as to the lands of the Europeans, their geographic situation and their weak points, a negligence almost criminal for the administrators of an empire. Empire-running or guarding the independence of a nation is not a pure swadeshi, home-made business to be carried on by non-co-operation with outside nations or in ignorance of their geographic as well as political problems. The Peshwas probably thought that a very rough knowledge of India gathered by the wayside as they proceeded in their conquests was sufficient for the purpose. History has belied their optimism.

LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES CONSULTED.

1. *The Geographic Factor*, by WHITBECK & THOMAS.
2. *A Geographical Introduction to History*, L. FEBVRE.
3. *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, Vol. II.
4. *India*, by T. H. HOLDICH.
5. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vols. I & III.
6. *The Bombay Gazetteers*.
7. *History of the Dekkan*, by R. G. BHANDARKAR.
8. *History of the Mahrattas*, by GRANT DUFF.
9. *History of the Mahrattas*, by G. S. SARDESAI (Marathi).
10. *The Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, 1936.
11. *The Oxford History of India*, by VINCENT SMITH.
12. *Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra*, by Dr. S. V. KETKAR (Marathi).
13. *Rādḥā Mādhava Vilāsa Campu*, Introduction (Marathi).
14. *Mahikāvaticī Bakhara*, Introduction (Marathi).
15. *Mahārāṣṭracā Vasāhatakāla*, by V. K. RĀJWĀDE (Marathi).
16. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII "The Aihole Inscription".
17. *Geography of Rama's Exile*, by PARGITER, J. R. A. S. 1894.
18. Bhārata-Itihāsa-Samsodhaka-Mandala-Annals, Journals and other publications.
19. Unpublished family historical papers at the B. I. S. M. Poona.
20. Atlas Sheets, Maps.

REVIEW

Bhāratiya Vidyā, Vol. I, Part I, November 1939. Editor : Manilal PATEL, Ph.D. (Marburg). Published by Secretaries, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Andheri, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (5s.)

This is the first number of the Journal published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, an institute founded last year in Bombay with a view, *inter alia*, to carrying on systematic research in Indology in all its branches. It contains eight articles out of which five are Extension Lectures delivered by scholars and members of the staff of the Bhavan. Three of these are in the nature of résumés. Thus Dr. Manilal PATEL gives a useful running bibliography of the efforts made by indigenous scholars and scholars trained in European methods of investigation to interpret the R̥gveda ; and he suggests at the end that the modern worker in the field must not be guided by any particular school of Vedic interpretation, but must receive light from all quarters—tradition, classical literature, philology and comparative religion. A truly broad outlook with which he wishes to handle the R̥gveda, and we do hope that he succeeds in the task he promises to undertake.

Dr. TARAPOREWALA recounts the history of the Achaemenians, the causes of their rise, success and eventual downfall. Among the several causes of their ruin he mentions the deterioration in religion brought about by the cult of the Mithra-Anāhitā, that is, the worship of the Sun god and the goddess of fertility. It is interesting to note that similar results have followed wherever the cult of the Śakti or female energy was practised. In India Tāntrism corrupted Buddhism by the introduction of the doctrine of Prajñā and Upāya which, though transcendental in essence, was misunderstood in practice as sex-worship and gave rise to many degenerate developments.

Rao Bahadur SARDESAI reviews the achievements and failures of the Marathas, and rightly points out that essentials of success of any sphere are courage, organisation, co-operation and attention to details. To these must be added not only punctuality but speedy despatch of work and trust and confidence in our workers. Because the English possessed these and the French lacked them the former succeeded in establishing an empire.

The remaining two articles—one by Dr. MOTI CHANDRA and the other by Mr. MUNSHI—cover a new field. Dr. MOTI CHANDRA illustrates with 64 figures (half-tone blocks and sketches) the Indian costume as exhibited in the figures from Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Amravati and the cave temples of Western India. It is a scholarly study of archæological material and literary evidence, and can be made more useful if the results are compared with those obtained from a study of regional ethnography. Thus the dress and ornaments of the Āndhra period, for instance, could be better understood if names and sketches of these as worn by Kunbis, who are mentioned in cave inscriptions, and aboriginal (?) people in the Deccan (including the Āndhra region) to-day were carefully recorded and illustrated along with those given in the article.

Mr. MUNSHI outlines the fundamentals of Aryan culture and though modern sociologists perhaps will not agree with everything that Mr. MUNSHI has got to say on conjugal life and the Varnāśramadharma, still the joint family ideal and tradition (historic continuity as Mr. MUNSHI calls it) have no doubt so moulded the Hindu mind that even after the impact with Western civilisation it continues to do the same things which it was accustomed to do through the ages.

With Mr. MUNSHI's thesis set out in his Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures on 'The Early Aryans in Gujarāta,' we are afraid, there would be many who would honestly disagree. Mr. MUNSHI accepts the modern European view about the Aryan 'invasion' and colonisation of the Panjab. He then tries to compress the history of the whole Vedic and Puranic periods within a thousand years from B.C. 1500-500 B.C., for from B.C. 500 downwards we have some reliable information to base our conclusions on. The results of his hypothesis are, in his own words, 'some bold inferences'; for instance, "no such (Mahābhārata) war took place, nor were the great heroes living in fact." Conclusions such as these are difficult to accept, though, at present, we have no material to prove the historicity of the epic war, nor of the heroes who participated in it. However, in spite of the fact that we cannot fix the date of the *Bhārata* which is supposed to be the original kernel of the *Mahābhārata*, still this much is certain that some 1800 years ago the heroes of the epic,—Rāma (Balarāma), Keśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasena and others were known and admired, for they are mentioned in the inscription of the Āndhra King Siri-Pulmāyi Vāsithiputa,¹ while some 500 years earlier still Vāsudeva and Saṅkṣaṇa are referred to² in a manner which implies a hoary tradition. These traditions must have some foundation to rest on, for it is these which constitute the Aryan culture in India.

Mr. MUNSHI's views have a striking originality about them, but they will have to be checked by archaeological evidence not only from India but even from outside India, whereas the Purāṇic evidence requires to be carefully analysed, classified, and critically interpreted. To take but one instance, before arriving at any conclusion the geography of the Purāṇas in its time context should be prepared; then only we could proceed with settling the chronology of different events mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Mr. MAJUMDAR's Hari-Hara image from North Gujarat on stylistic grounds does not seem to be earlier than the 14th or 15th century, hence his attribution of such an image to the fact that "Gujarāt has a decided leaning towards popular Vaiṣṇavism" may be right, but it should be noted that a classification of the Mediæval temples in Gujarāt has shown that a majority of them were of Śiva.

H. D. SANKALIA

¹ Nasik Cave Inscription, Noz. *El.* VIII, p. 60.

² Ghasundi Stone Inscription, *JBAS*, LVI, p. 77 and Nānāghāt Cave Inscription, *ASWI.*, V, p. 60.

THE RG-VEDA MANTRAS IN THEIR RITUAL SETTING IN THE GRHYA SŪTRAS*

By

V. M. APTE

ĀG. II. 9. 9 :—मध्येऽगारस्य स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा “वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मानि”ति
चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा.....। ४ ।

[The performer of the ceremony (next)] cooks a Sthālīpāka in the middle of the (new) house and sacrifices of it, with the four verses beginning with RV. VII. 54. 1, verse by verse—etc.

Now the hymn VII. 54 consists of only three verses sacred to ‘Vāstoṣpati’ the Lord of the Homestead ; so it is implied that the first verse of the next hymn VII. 55. 1 is to follow these three. VII. 55 is a hymn consisting of eight verses *the first of which alone is sacred to Vāstoṣpati* and is entirely unconnected with the following seven verses, which form a separate group sacred to Indra [and are described as ‘prasvāpinyah’ (inducing sleep) because according to Sāyaṇa they were employed by Vasiṣṭha to send the watch-dog and other people in the house of Varuṇa to sleep]. *The needs of ritual employment in our text then, dictate an arrangement of the RV. verses different from and better than that in the Samhitā text !*

The four verses have ‘Vāstoṣpati’, the Lord of the Homestead, as their deity and are thus very appropriate in the context of appeasing the Vāstu (Homestead). The citation therefore belongs to the ‘Sacramental’ class.

MS. 1.5.13 cites (as in our text) the four verses (RV. VII. 54. 1-3 and 55.1) together, at an offering to Vāstoṣpati when one is about to go on a journey with all the members of one’s household (‘grha’). ŚG. 3. 4. 8, in a context similar to that in our text, refers to the three verses of VII. 54 as “Vāstoṣpate, iti tisraḥ” and refers to VII. 55. 1 separately. PG. 3. 4. 7 solves the problem by quoting all the four verses in full in the same context.

ĀG. II. 10. 4 :—क्षेत्रस्यानुवातं “क्षेत्रस्य पतिना वयमि”ति प्रत्यृचं जुहुयाज्जपेद्वा । ४ ।
(In the ceremony of Kṣetra-prakarṣaṇa or ploughing of the field) he should offer oblations with the hymn IV. 57 verse by verse or merely mutter (that hymn) in that part of the field where the wind blows to him from the back side (Kṣetrasyanuvātam)¹.

* Continued from page 44 of the 1939 December issue.

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG’s rendering of this phrase ‘in order that the wind may blow to him from the field’ is not accurate. The purpose of that direction is that the wind blowing from behind the sacrificer and over the fire, should waft the holy smoke all over the field.

Kṣetrapati (Lord of the Field) is the deity of the first three verses of the hymn, śuna (ploughshare) of the fourth, śunāsīrau (plough and ploughshare) of the fifth and eighth verses and Sītā (the goddess of furrows in the ploughed soil) is the deity of the 6th and 7th verses. *The whole hymn thus breathes of agriculture.*

The citation of the hymn in an agricultural context in our text, therefore belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

The first three verses of the hymn (sacred to Kṣetrapati) are employed for the ploughing of four furrows in the four directions on the site of the altar in TS. 4. 2. 5. 6 and VS. XII. 69-71 and in a special sacrifice to Kṣetrapati in TS. 1. 1. 14. 2. The remaining verses are found in AV. III. 17. 4-8 in a different order. It appears then *that the first three verses to Kṣetrapati were looked upon as a separate group from the rest* though there is a general unity of subject (viz. agriculture) in the whole hymn.

AG. II. 10. 5 :—	}	गाः प्रतिष्ठमाना अनुमन्त्रयेत् “ मयोभूवातो अभिवात्स्रा ” इति
and		द्वाभ्याम् । ५ ।
AG. II. 10. 6 :—		आयतीः ‘ यासामूधः.....उत्तमः । या देवेषु तन्वमैर- यन्तेति च सूक्तशेषम् । ६ ।

AG. II. 10. 5. He consecrates the cows going out to the pasture-lands with the two verses RV. X. 169. 1-2. ;

AG. II. 10. 6 :—and (recites over them) coming back home the mantras ‘ yāsām ūdhaḥ ’ etc. up to ‘ Uttamaḥ ’ (a Non-Rgvedic mantra) and the rest of the hymn RV. X. 169 (i.e. its 3rd and 4th verses).

RV. X. 169. 1-4. Trans :—(1) May a health-bearing-wind blow unto our tawny kine, may they eat the strength-giving herbs ; may they drink the fattening, life-giving waters ; O Rudra, be merciful unto the sustenance that has feet (i.e. the cows).

(2) Those of similar forms, diverse forms, of one form, those whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice, those whom the Aṅgirasas brought hither by their penance, to those O Parjanya, give thy great protection.

(3) Those who have sent themselves to the gods, those of whom Soma knoweth all the forms, do thou, O Indra, grant unto us, those, flowing with milk and bearing offspring in our fold.

(4) Prajāpati in union with all the gods and the fathers, bestowing them on me, hath brought these gracious ones to our cowstall ; with their offspring may we abide.

The citation in both the contexts is of the 'Sacramental' type because the first two verses recited over cows going out to the pasture appropriately invoke protection, favourable wind and an excellent feed and drink for them and the last two (recited over them coming home) appropriately invoke Indra to send to the cowpen the cows full of milk etc.

TS. 7. 4. 17. 1 and 2, contains all the four verses of this Sūkta. Under the name 'gavya', (pertaining to the cows) they accompany the oblations of the 'gavya' homa in the Aśvamedha sacrifice. TB. iii. 8. 18. 4 which is the Brāhmaṇa on this TS. passage explains that the verses are called 'gavya' because of the word 'Usra' (in X. 169. 1^a) which means a 'cow', and that the 'gavya' homa leads to the acquisition of cattle.

AG. II. 10. 7 :—आगावीयमेके । ७ ।

Some [(however) prescribe the (recitation of)] the 'Āgāviya' hymn (RV. VI. 28), (over cows coming home from the pasture-lands instead of the mantras mentioned in Sūtra 6th).

RV. VI. 28 is called the 'Āgāviyam' because it begins with 'ā gāvo agman'; 'cows' (gāvaḥ) are the deity of all the eight verses of this hymn, except of the second and eighth where Indra shares that position with the cows.

VI. 28. 1 referring to the cows who have come back expresses the hope that they may rest in the cowpen. V. 3 expresses the hope that they may never be lost nor harmed by robbers and, as all the verses glorify the cows, the citation of the hymn (for recitation over cows returning home) belongs to the 'sacramental' class.

AV. IV. 21 (a hymn in praise of kine) has all the first seven verses of our hymn. TB. II. 8. 8. 11-12 has all the eight verses—in a section which gives the yājyās and anuvākyās (the Offering and Invitatory verses) for Kāmya Paśus like the Vehat (a cow that has miscarried or is barren).

AG. III. 6. 4 :—“मुञ्चामि त्वा हविषा जीवनाय कमि”त्येतेन । ४ ।

(Sūtra 3rd—For a person who is sick or diseased or attacked by consumption, a mess of boiled rice-grains should be offered in six oblations) ; Sūtra 4th :—*with the hymn* RV. X. 161.

There is a difficulty here. Six oblations are to be offered with the hymn X. 161 verse by verse but the hymn has five verses only ! As Prof. STENZLER points out, Nārāyaṇa solves the difficulty by assigning the sixth oblation to Agni sviṣṭakṛt and remarks that the Aitareyins prescribe the next hymn RV. X. 162 (a hymn consisting of 6 verses) for the purpose. But the subject-matter of that hymn is the averting of miscarriage and it is entirely unsuited to our context ! *I think the solution probably is that our text is quoting from the RV. saṁhitā no doubt but has in mind the AV. version of the RV. hymn viz. AV. III. 11, consisting of eight verses, the first four of which are identical with the first four of our hymn. Thus the discrepancy arose. As has been seen, our text is often influenced by the rearrangement of RV. verses which we find in the AV. or it may that a confusion here is made between X. 161 and X. 163 which latter consists of six verses, both of which hymns are charms against consumption and are employed by ŚŚ. 16.13.4 for curing the yajamāna of disease in the Puruṣamedha sacrifice.*

The first and third verses of the hymn X. 161 speak of setting the patient free from consumption by means of an oblation ; the second and fourth verses are prayers for his recovery and the fifth verse announces his recovery as effected by the charm. The citation of the hymn therefore to effect a cure from consumption, belongs to the 'sacramental class.'

AG. III. 6. 5 & 6 :— स्वप्नमनोऽङ्गं दृष्ट्वा “ अद्या नो देव सवितरि ”ति द्वाभ्यां, “ यच्च गोषु दुःस्वप्नमि”ति पञ्चभिरादित्यमुपतिष्ठेत । ५ । “ यो मे राजन्युज्यो वा सखा वा ” इति वा । ६ ।

Sūtra 5th :—Having seen an evil dream, *one should worship the Sun* with the two verses RV. V. 82. 4-5 and with the five verses VIII. 47. 14-18. Sūtra 6th :—or with the verse RV. II. 28. 10.

I translate and discuss the applicability of RV. II. 28. 10 only in connection with this Sūtra because I believe that this is a case where one original Sūtra which probably read :—

स्वप्नमनोऽङ्गं दृष्ट्वा ‘यो मे राजन्युज्यो वा सखा वा’ इति । has been expanded into two (Sūtras 5th and 6th), by the addition (later, of course) of the citations (RV. V. 82. 4-5 and VIII. 47. 14-18) in Sūtra 5th. My reasons are :—

(1) The latter two RV. citations are not included in the Āśvalāyana-mantra-saṁhitā—an unpublished work¹ which gives all the RV. citations in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras of Āśvalāyana. (2) If the two Sūtras stood originally as they stand now, too large a number of verses—eight in all—would appear to be prescribed for recitation at a minor mishap like an evil dream. (3) The five verses RV. VIII. 47. 14-18 are addressed to ‘Uṣas’ and it is hardly in the Sūtra style to prescribe verses sacred to one deity (Uṣas) for the worship of another deity viz. Āditya (compare “अदित्यमुपतिष्ठेत”). As regards the citation of RV. V. 82. 4-5—verses sacred to Savitr, the fifth verse makes no reference to an evil dream (4). As regards the earlier liturgical employment of these verses, the group VIII. 47. 14-18 is *not employed in any earlier text* and the two verses V. 82. 4-5 as such have not been employed anywhere but the Trca beginning with V. 82. 4 is employed in AB. IV. 30. 3 and AŚ. V. 18. 5 in the Vaiśvadeva Śastra.

RV. II. 28. 10. Trans. That companion or friend, O King, who shall pronounce unto me, frightened, an object of fear in a dream or that thief who seeks to harm us or that wolf, from him, O Varuṇa, do thou protect us.

As the verse refers to a situation exactly similar to the one in the context, the citation of it belongs to the ‘Sacramental’ class.

¹ An article in which I give a detailed description of the two rare manuscripts of this work, which I found in the library of the India Office will appear in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute very soon.

The verse occurs in MS. 4. 14. 9 in a different context. The Brh-D.IV.8.3. and Rg-vidh. 1. 25. 1 however, describe it as 'Duḥsvapnād-yapraṇāśinī' i.e. destructive of evil dreams and the like.

AG. III. 7. 1 :— अव्याधितं चेत्स्वपन्तमादित्योऽभ्यस्तमियाद्वाग्यतोऽनुपविशन् रात्रिशेषं भूत्वा “येन सूर्यं ज्योतिषा बाधसे तम” इति पञ्चभिरादित्यमुपतिष्ठेत् । १ ।

(a) If the sun sets over (i.e. while) a person sleeping (though) not ill, he should remain silent (lit. controlled in speech) and standing (lit. not sitting) for the rest of the night and should wait upon the (rising) sun with the five verses RV. X. 37. 4-8.

AG. III. 7. 2 :— अभ्युदियाच्चेदकर्मभ्रान्तमनभिरूपेण कर्मणा 'वाग्यत' इति समानमुत्तरा-भिश्चतसुभिरुपस्थानम् ।

(b) If the sun rises (while he is sleeping without being ill etc., as above because he is) fatigued by 'akarma'¹ (i.e. work that does not form part of his proper duties) or by some unbecoming (piece of) work, he should observe silence *etc. as before* ('*iti samānam*') and wait upon the sun with the following four verses i.e. X. 37. 9-12.

The problem here is what is to be taken as understood from the preceding sūtra by the word '*iti samānam*' after '*vāgyataḥ*'. The words following '*Vāgyataḥ*' in the preceding sūtra are “anupaviśan rātriśeṣam bhūtvā”. If these words are taken as understood *just as they are* in the present sūtra—then the meaning would be : If a man finds that he was sleeping when the sun rose, he should pass the *rest* of the *night* (!) in silence and standing ! This makes no account of the remainder of the day intervening before the advent of the night and besides '*rātriśeṣam*' (the rest of the night) has no propriety as the whole night must pass before he waits upon the sun next morning ! Yet this is the view of Nārāyaṇa who says that in the second sūtra it is the rising sun that is referred to, for worship ! It stands to reason however that we should understand by '*iti samānam*', '*anupaviśan ahaḥ śeṣam*' (for the rest of the day) and *that the sun waited upon is the setting sun* so that the rule would be that a person awaking to find that he was sleeping at sunrise, should pass the rest of the day in silence and standing and should wait upon the setting sun just as a person finding himself asleep at sunset, remains standing and silent during the night and worships the rising sun.

This conclusion is also supported by the character of the two groups of verses from RV. X. 37 prescribed for sun-worship in the two sūtras. The hymn X. 37 is a hymn to '*Sūrya*'—one of the four '*Saurya*' hymns mentioned in sūtras AG. II.3.13 and IV.6.18. In the

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG translates this word as 'being fatigued without having done any work' but the negative 'a' in the compound can go either with 'Karma' or with 'śrāntam'. In the former case, the translation would be as given above and in the latter case it would be : 'not' fatigued by one's own duties i.e. when the fatigue of one's own duties is not a palliating circumstance.

first group : X. 37. 4-8, the 4th verse refers to the rising sun 'jagacca viśvam udiyaṛṣi bhānūnā' = that brightness with which thou arisest over all the earth ; so also does the 5th verse ('ahelayannuccarasi svadhā anu' = unharmed, dost thou ascend after thy wonted manner ; v. 7th speaks of "Udyantaṁ tvā mitramaho dive dive jyogjīvāḥ prati paśyema sūrya" = May we long-living, day by day, behold thee as thou risest, O thou who exaltest thy friends ! and v. 8th has "ārohanāṁ bṛhataḥ pājasaspari vyaṁ jīvāḥ pratipaśyema sūrya" = May we living, O Surya, behold thee as thou *ascendest* from thy mighty abode of the light. This group of verses is thus eminently suited for a worship of *the rising sun*. In the second group of verses 9-12, v. 9 has "Yasya te viśvā bhuvanāni ketunā pracerate ni ca viśante aktubhiḥ" = Thou by whose light all the worlds have movement and by whose rays (they) again retire (at night) ; now *this suits the worship of the setting sun*.

For these reasons, the citation of the two groups in the two sūtras may be said to belong to the 'Mythological' class as they become applicable to the two contexts of the worship of the rising and setting sun respectively *through their deity*—(the rising and setting sun).

AG. III. 7. 7 :— कपोतश्चेदगारमुपहृन्त्यादनुपतेद्वा "देवाः कपोत" इति प्रत्यृचं जुहुयाजपेद्वा । ७ ।

If a dove dashes against his house, or flies towards it, he should sacrifice with the hymn (RV. X. 165) verse by verse or should mutter that hymn.

The Sarvānukramaṇī describes the hymn RV. X. 165 as 'Kapoto-pahatau prāyaścittam' i.e. an expiatory hymn to be recited when a kapota dashes against (the house etc.) ; Kapota, son of Nirṛti is the Ṛṣi. The BṛhD. (VIII. 67cd, 68 and 69ab) narrates that once upon a time, when a Kapota set foot upon the Fire-receptacle of the sage Kapota—he praised Kapota with this Sūkta ; it has therefore, an expiatory value on similar occasions. This account is quite in keeping with the trend of the verses which refer to the kapota who has alighted on the fire-place and contain prayers that no harm may come from that envoy of Nirṛti.

For these reasons, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

AV. VI. 27 (1-3), 28 and 29 (both one-verse hymns) make up our hymn. (RV. X. 165.)

AG. III. 8. 9 :— शीतोष्णाभिरग्निः क्वात्वा "युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाये" इत्यहते वाससी आच्छाद्य..... । ९ ।

(In the ceremony of Samāvartana), having bathed with (a mixture of) hot and cold waters, he (the student) puts on two new ('ahate'¹ lit. unused) garments with the verse RV. I. 152. 1. etc.—

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG's rendering of this word as 'which have not yet been washed' is rather awkward though meaning the same thing ultimately.

Trans. Ye two (Mitra and Varuṇa) clothe yourselves in gleaming (pīvasā) garments (i.e. the clouds) ; your designs, your creations are inviolate. You overcome all iniquities ; with righteousness, do ye proceed.

The citation belongs to the class of citations that possess 'Superficial applicability' as there is a superficial resemblance between 'Vastrāni' of the verse and 'Vāsasī' of the sūtra and between 'acchidraḥ' (lit. without holes) of the RV. verse and 'ahate' (unused or intact) of the sūtra. Besides early texts give no clue to this employment.

In KB. 18. 13, the verse is the yājyā (offering verse) of the omentum of the animal-victim sacred to Mitra and Varuṇa, the word 'pīvasā' being symbolic of the omentum. TB. 2. 8. 6. 6. and ĀŚ. 3. 8. 1. have similar contexts for the verse.

AG. III. 8. 21 :— 'आयुष्यमिति सूक्तेन मणिं कंठे प्रतिमुच्य उष्णीषं कृत्वा...। २१

(In the Samāvartana ceremony), he (i.e. the Snātaka) puts a maṇi¹ (a strung-up bead of gold) round his neck with the hymn 'Āyuṣyam' (and having arranged his head dress etc.).

From the manner of its reference, our text indicates that 'āyuṣyam' is the very opening word of the sūkta, whatever it was. Prof. STENZLER (p. 104) remarks that the whole hymn as such is not found in any of the Saṁhitās and he refers us to the Saṁskāra-kāustubha and Prayogaratna for this hymn of 11 verses. Prof. OLDENBERG however (p. 228) notes that the whole of it occurs among the Rigveda Khilas (Vol. VI. p. 25, verses 2-12) of MAX MÜLLER. But in MÜLLER'S (first) edition referred to above, as also in AUFRECHT'S Khilas, the khila hymn after X. 128, commences with "arvāṇcam Indram" etc., and 'Āyuṣyam' is the first word of its second verse, whereas our text as shown above looks upon that word as the first word of its *first verse* cited as a pratika !

The problem however is solved in the second edition of MÜLLER'S Rigveda Saṁhitā Vol. IV (1892) where on page 536 'arvāṇcam indram' is printed as a *Khila consisting of a single verse* coming after X. 128, followed by another khila hymn, the opening word of the first verse of which is, 'āyuṣyam' which agrees with the manner of its reference in our text.

A confirmation of this change in the printing of the Khilas after X. 128 made in MÜLLER'S second edition as representing more correctly the proper division of Khilas is found in the BṛhD. VIII. 44-45 where 'the hymn beginning with 'āyuṣyam' is counted as a separate khila hymn among those that come after X. 128 and described as 'in praise of gold' and Prof. MACDONNEL (p. 304 HOS. vol. 6th) notes that after

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG'S rendering 'a jewel' is inadmissible as the first verse of the accompanying Khila speaks of 'idam hiranyam' (this piece of gold).

RV. X. 128 comes a khila which consists of a single stanza beginning with 'arvāñcam indram'.

As the verses (1, 2, 3) of the khila all refer to 'to the wearing of 'gold' which it is hoped, will bring success, prosperity of all kinds and long life (v. 9), the citation of it belongs to the 'Sacramental' class, the influence probably being VS. 34. 50 seqq. as shown below.

The first and many of the following verses of this khila are found in VS. 34. 50 seqq. in a section constituting the Śivasarṅkalpa upaniṣad. In a chapter dealing with Brahmayajña (or Vedic study), the verses accompany the investiture of the student with a gold ornament—a context so closely similar to our context.

AG. III. 9. 2 :—"ममाग्ने वर्च" इति प्रत्युचं समिधोऽभ्यादध्यात् । २ ।

He should [then (i.e. after trying the maṇi, putting on the head-dress and placing a piece of wood on the fire standing (sūtra III. 8. 21), with the mantras (given in III. 9. 1)] put (more) fuel-sticks on the fire with the hymn RV. X. 128 verse by verse.

Both Profs. STENZLER (p. 106) and OLDENBERG (p. 229) mention Nārāyaṇa's view that as ten pieces of wood are offered and as the hymn X. 128 has nine verses, a verse from the following Khila must be recited along with the hymn. This (*as we know from MÜLLER's second edition* p. 536) is the first and only verse of the Khila that follows X. 128 and begins with 'arvāñcam indram' etc. But here the puzzle is : why should ten fuel sticks be offered and not nine (which is the number of verses in the hymn X. 128) ? Nārāyaṇa gives no reasons at all ! In my opinion the explanation is as follows :—Prof. MÜLLER (in a footnote on p. 536, second edition) notes that the verse 'arvāñcam indram' (constituting a khila by itself after X. 128) is found in some MSS. of his, at the end of the preceding hymn which would in that case consist of ten verses. We find this same arrangement of the verses (i.e. the ten verses going together) in TS. 4. 7. 14, in which section, they all appear together. These same ten verses are found expanded into 11 verses constituting the hymn V. 3 of AV. *There was thus current a ritual version of the hymn RV. X. 128, according to which it consisted of 10 verses which accompanied the offering of ten pieces of wood on the fire.* Nārāyaṇa seems to remember the ritual part of the tradition viz. the offering of ten pieces of wood and as the version of X. 128 known to him consisted of 9 verses, he suggests the supplementing of them by the Khila verse, which ultimately comes to the same thing.

As the hymn is sacred to the Viśvedevas including Agni and contains prayers for victory and other blessings, the citation of it may be said to belong to the 'Invocational' class.

TS. 3. 1. 7. 3 tells us that this hymn (called 'Vihavya' because of the word 'vihaveshu' i.e. "in conflicts", in the first verse) was revealed to Jamadagni who thereby appropriated the power of his rival. Possibly this story-setting of the hymn may bear some relation

to the offering of fuel-sticks by the Snātaka, who after completing his studies at the preceptor's house is now about to enter the struggles of worldly life which is full of rivals and competitors.

AG. III. 10. 5 :— “आ मन्द्रैरिन्द्र हरिमि” इति च ५ ।

[The Snātaka¹ about to take leave of the teacher for his journey home (III. 10. 1), repeats along with other formulas mentioned in Sūtras III. 10. 2 to 4] the verse RV. III. 45. 1.

The verse is a prayer to Indra to make a journey to the worshipper with his steeds unhindered by any detention on the way. This superficial resemblance to the situation in the sūtra (the journey of the Snātaka which is about to be undertaken) makes the citation one of ‘superficial applicability’.

This single verse constitutes the hymn VII. 117 of the AV. In VS. 20. 53 it is employed in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice. There is thus no clue to its employment in our text.

ĀG. III. 10. 7 :— समार्योप्राक्स्वस्तीति जपित्वा “महि त्रीणाभि” त्यनुमन्त्र्य । ७ ।

(The preceptor repeats certain formulas in response to other formulas addressed to him by the student and) when he has finished (the last verse), he mutters ‘OM ! Forwards ! Blessing !’ and recites over the student, the hymn RV. X. 185 (and then dismisses him).

The hymn RV. X. 185 consisting of three verses is described in the Anukramaṇī as a ‘svastyayana’ hymn sacred to Aditi.

The BrhD. VIII. 87 says about this hymn “Yātāmapi svastyayane dr̥ṣṭam tadānumantraṇam” (it is recited also over people about to make a journey, to ensure their safety). This exactly agrees with our context. The second verse of the hymn is also very suggestive of such employment. It runs :—“Against these whether at home or (journeying) on dangerous path-ways, the sinful foe prevails not”. The citation therefore belongs to the Invocational class.

AG. III. 10. 9 :— वयसाममनोज्ञा वाचः श्रुत्वा “कनिकदज्जनुषं प्रब्रुवाण” इति सूक्ते जपे “देवीं वाचमजनयंत देवा” इति च । ९ ।

If (on the way) he hears unpleasant voices of birds, he should mutter the two hymns RV. II. 42 and 43 and the verse RV. VIII. 100. 11.

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 230) thinks that this section (III. 10) describes the way in which a student (rather than a Snātaka) should take leave of his teacher when about to make a short journey. As against this, it may be pointed out that it is the common practice of Sūtra-texts to state general rules (e.g. leave-taking of the teacher in a general way) in connection with a particular case (e.g. here the homeward journey of a Snātaka). A comparison of our Section with the parallel one in ŚG. II. 18 which inclined OLDENBERG to his view, shows, however, that our text has deliberately made certain changes (e.g. the omission of ‘एष ते ब्रह्मचारी’ in ŚG. II. 18. 3 corresponding to AG. III. 10. 6) to make the rules applicable to a Snātaka. Our section moreover, follows immediately of the description of the Samāvartana.

RV. II. 42 & 43. The deity of the two hymns II. 42 and 43 is Indra in the form of the Kapiñjala bird, the Ṛṣi being Ṛṣamada. The BṛhD. IV. 93 tells us that Indra assumed this form as he wanted to receive praise from the sage Ṛṣamada who offered it in these two hymns.

Translation of RV. VIII. 100. 11 : The gods brought forth speech divine and that do creatures of all forms speak ; may speech, like unto a pleasing cow milking out for us power and strength, well praised, come unto us.

The citation of the two hymns RV. II. 42 & 43 possesses Sacramental applicability because their deity is Indra in the form of the Kapiñjala bird and because II. 42. 1 and II. 43. 3 are prayers to that bird to be auspicious while crying or singing *which admirably suits the context*.

The citation of RV. VIII. 100. 11 in the same context, however possesses 'mythological applicability' as it is through its deity 'Vāk' or 'divine speech' that the verse becomes appropriate to the context. The voices of birds may be looked upon as a manifestation of this divine speech according to the second pāda of the verse.

The two hymns II. 42 & 43, are not employed in any Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa. As regards the verse, RV. VIII. 100. 11, ĀŚ. 3. 8. 1 employs it in an animal sacrifice as the Yājyā (or offering verse) of the oblation—to Vāk—which only shows that the deity (divine speech) of the verse is its most predominant aspect.

AG. III. 10. 10 :— “ स्तुहि श्रुतं गर्तसदं युवानमि” ति मृगस्य । १० ।

If (he hears the unpleasant voices) of a mṛga (wild animal)¹ he repeats the verse RV. II. 33. 11.

RV. II. 33. 11. Trans. (a) Praise the famous one sitting on his chariot-seat, the youthful one, (b) like unto a terrible animal, slaying, fierce ; (c) be gracious, O Rudra, when thou art praised, to the singer (d) and let thy arrows smite another than us.

The deity of the verse is Rudra who is the lord of Paśus (which term includes mṛgas) and a prayer to this deity is appropriate in appeasing the evil effects of the voices of a mṛga. The citation therefore possesses mythological applicability. Perhaps the word 'Mṛga' in the second pāda of the verse was also a factor in the selection of the verse for the occasion.

In TS. 4. 5. 10. 3, the verse is employed in 'offerings' to Rudra. In TB. 2. 8. 6. 9 it is employed in the sacrifice of an animal sacred to Rudra. The BṛhD. IV. 90 narrates the story (about this verse), viz. that the sage Ṛṣamada (the Ṛṣi of the verse), seeing a mṛga on his left was afraid and appeased him with his verse. Our text evidently relied on some such tradition regarding the employment of the verse.

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG's rendering of 'mṛga' as 'deer' unnecessarily restricts the scope of the word as well as of the ritual act ; besides it is the voices of wolves, foxes and such other animals that are unpleasant and not those of deer.

AG. III. 10. 12 :— “ संसृष्टं धनमुभयं समाकृतमि”ति मन्थं न्यंचं करोति । १२ ।

[Sūtra III. 10. 11 :—From whichever direction or from whomsoever he apprehends danger, in that direction, he should throw a fire-brand burning at both ends or having tossed about a churning stick from right to left with appropriate mantras* (given in sūtra 11th)] he lowers the churning stick, repeating the verse RV. X. 84. 7.

RV. X. 84. 7. Trans. (a) & (b) : May Varuṇa and Manyu assign unto us that wealth of both kinds brought together and placed ready for us ; (c) & (d) : and may our foes, harbouring fear in their hearts, all conquered, retreat into hiding.

As the last two Pādas of the verse pray for the rout of foes, the employment of the verse, when danger is feared from some direction or person becomes very appropriate. The citation therefore belongs to the ‘Sacramental’ class.

The verse occurs as AV. IV. 31. 7 in a hymn of praise and prayer to Manyu (fury) and is employed by Kauś 14. 26 in rites for success in battle etc.

AG. III. 11. 2 :— अथापराजितायां दिश्यवस्थाय “स्वस्त्यात्रेयं” जपति “यत इन्द्र भयामहे” इति च सूक्तशेषम् । २ ।

[Sūtra III. 11. 1. When an unknown danger threatens him from all sides, he offers eight ājya oblations with appropriate mantras (given in sūtra III. 11. 1)] and taking his position in the north-eastern direction, he mutters (a) the ‘*Svastyātreya*’ and (b) that part of the hymn RV. VIII. 61. which begins with “यत इन्द्र भयामहे” i.e. from the 13th verse to the end (or VIII. 61. 13-18).

(a) *The ‘Svastyātreya’?* Prof. STENZLER points out (p. 109) that both the RV. hymns V. 50 and 51 have ‘*Svastyātreya*’ as their Ṛṣi and may well be designated by that name but Nārāyaṇa says “*Svasti no mimitām ’iti sūktam sakhilam*” i.e. to say, it indicates RV. V. 51. 11-15 and the following khila (consisting of two verses as given in MÜLLER’s second edition 1892 Vol. IV. p. 523).

Nārāyaṇa has, I think, made some confusion ; (1) in the first place, he himself mentions (under AG. II. 3. 13) this same group of five verses V. 51. 11-15 as constituting one of the ‘*Svastyayana*’ hymns—which means, he gives two different (though somewhat allied) designations to the same group of five verses. (2) Secondly as noted under AG. II. 3. 13, he looks upon a part of the hymn V. 51, as a separate hymn. (3) Thirdly in his comment on ĀŚ. 6. 9. 6 where the word ‘*Svastyātreya*’ occurs, he says that only the ṛca V. 51. 11-13 is indicated by that word and that the same group of three verses constitutes a sūkta for purposes of the Vaiśvadeva rite in ĀŚ. 8. 1. 23 and is one of the ṛcas of the hotrakas in ĀŚ. 9. 5. 5 !

My explanation is this : for ritual purposes this group of five verses RV. V. 51. 11-15 with *Svastyātreya* as the Ṛṣi of the whole hymn V. 51 constituted an independent unit (a hymn) because each of

these five verses contains the word 'Svasti' which distinguishes them from the remaining verses of the hymn and *because they constitute one whole varga, the 7th of the 3rd adhyāya of the 4th aṣṭaka* and thus have been marked as a separate unit in that more modern division of the RV. Saṁhitā. As regards this same group being called 'Svastyayana' by Nārāyaṇa, I have shown under ĀG. II. 3. 13 that his view of what the 'Svastyayana' hymns are, is not borne out by tradition. So the proper name of this group is the 'Svastyātreya' because that is the name of the Ṛṣi. Lastly the fact that this name is given to a 'ṛca' in the ĀŚ. for the strictly technical requirements of a particular rite only, shows that it was usual to designate a group of verses (3 or 5) by a special Ṛṣi-name.

The citation of the 'Svastyātreya' belongs to the 'Sacramental' class as the verses are prayers for protection and welfare in general to the various deities which suits the context of 'protection from danger.' Each of the two verses of the khila after RV. V. 51 which also must be recited according to Nārāyaṇa is a prayer for protection to Svastyāyana Tārksya (v. 1) and Svastyātreya Tārksya, which perhaps accounts for Nārāyaṇa's inclusion of them under the Svastyātreya group !

To show how appropriate the group of verses :—RV. VIII. 61. 13-18, are, to this same context (in which they are to be recited along with the Svastyātreya), I translate the following three out of them : (13) O Indra, make for us freedom from fear of that of which we are afraid ; O Bounteous One, make that (blessing) of thine possible for us ; with thy aids do thou dispel our enemies and our foes. (16) Do thou protect us on all sides, from behind, below, above, in front, O Indra ! Banish far from us fear from the gods ; far, the weapons of the ungodly. (17) Day by day, morrow by morrow and on the third day, O Indra, do thou protect us ; and do thou, O Lord of the good, protect us thy praisers, through all days, by day and by night.

The citation of these verses therefore belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

These six verses constitute an independent hymn XIX. 15 of the AV. This shows that in the ritual tradition this group was important enough to be an independent unit and throws light on the selection of just these verses 13-18 from the RV. VIII. 61 in our context. So the AV. is the influence here.

ĀG. III. 12. 2 :—“ अत्वाहर्षमंतरेधी ”ति पश्चाद्रथस्यावस्थाय । २ ।

(when a battle is imminent, the Purohita makes the King equip himself in the following manner) he takes his stand to the west of the (King's) chariot with the verse beginning with 'Ātvā hārṣam antaredhi' (i.e. of RV. X. 173. 1).

Both Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG point out that, as a whole first pāda is given as the pratīka, the verse (X. 173. 1) alone should

be indicated for citation but that according to Nārāyaṇa, a whole hymn is signified. I however think that Nārāyaṇa is wrong as the survey of the early liturgical employment of the verse in the last para shows. The first verse is :— (a) “Here have I brought thee, remain inside ; (b) stand thou firm, unshakeable ; (c) let all the people want thee ; (d) may not thy kingdom slip away from thee.” According to the Anukramaṇī (and Sāyaṇa), praise of the (anointed) king is the deity or subject of the hymn. The BṛhD. VIII. 73 gives the same description.

Though the verse thus belongs to a ‘Coronation’ context the words of the verse apply so appropriately to our context [the speaker (Purohita) and the person addressed (the King) being the same in both the contexts] that the citation is of the ‘Sacramental’ Class.

TS. 4. 2. 1. 4 employs the first verse only (for taking up the fire-pan) as one of the mantras for placing the fire on an āsandī (throne)--- a ceremony exactly parallel to that of the establishment of a king on the throne. Exactly similar to this (TS.) employment is that in VS. 12. 11 and ŚB. 6. 7. 3. 7. where the verse occurs. *All these texts as well as the parallel text PG. 1. 10. 2 employ only the first verse which shows that Nārāyaṇa’s view that the whole hymn is cited had no basis* and is besides unnecessary. A surprising fact is that neither in the RV. nor in these early texts (referred to above) nor in AV. VI. 87-88 (= RV X. 173. 1-5) do we find the battle-context for the first verse or the other verses of the hymn—the establishment of some one in sovereignty being the subject throughout. The transfer to that context however was easy as the situation was so parallel.

ĀG. III. 12. 3-11 :— “जीमूतस्येव भवति प्रतीकमि”ति कवचं प्रयच्छेत् । ३ ।
उत्तरया धनुः । ४ । उत्तरां वाचयेत् । ५ । स्वयं चतुर्थीं
जपेत् । ६ । पंचम्येषुधिं प्रयच्छेत् । ७ । अभिप्रवर्तमाने
षष्ठीम् । ८ । सप्तम्याश्चान् । ९ । अष्टमीमिषूनवेक्षमाणं
वाचयति । १० । “अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुमि”ति तळं
नह्यमानम् । ११ ।

(3rd Sūtra) He (the Purohita) gives (to the king) his armour with the verse RV. VI. 75. 1 ; (4th Sūtra:) the bow with the next verse (i.e. RV. VI. 75. 2) ; (S. 5th) the next verse (75. 3) he should make him repeat ; (S. 6th) the 4th verse (of RV. VI. 75) he should mutter himself ; (S. 7th) with the fifth verse he should give him the quiver ; (S. 8th) the sixth (he should mutter) when (the chariot) gets going ; (S. 9th) with the 7th (he consecrates) the horses ; (S. 10th) the eighth he should make the king repeat while looking at the arrows ; (S. 11th) [he makes the king repeat (‘vācayīta’ of S. 10th being understood)] the verse RV VI. 75. 14 while he (the king) is tying the hand-guard (to his arm).

Trans. RV. VI. 75. (1). He has, as it were, the appearance of a cloud when clad in his armour ; he goes into the midst of the foes ; do tkou conquer with body unwounded, may the greatness of thine armour save thee. (2) With our bow, may we conquer kine, with our bow the battle and with our bow may we conquer the bitter enemies. The bow takes away the desire of the foes ; by the bow may we conquer all the quarters. (3) As a woman embracing a dear friend approaches his ear desirous of speaking, so does this bowstring twang stretched on the bow as it conquers in the battle. (4) Moving together like two women of one mind, may they (the two bow-ends) support (the arrow) as a woman her son in her bosom ; with one accord, may they, the two bow-ends smite away the foes, flashing off the enemies ; (5) The father (i.e. the quiver) of many daughters, many are his sons (i.e. arrows) ; he maketh a hissing sound as he plunges into the flight ; the quiver having abundant progeny, bound on the back, conquers all the (opposing) hosts and armies. (6) Standing on the chariot, the good charioteer directs his steeds, whithersoever he wishes. Sing ye the mighty power of the reigns ; from behind, do the reins direct his (the charioteer's) mind ; (7) These steeds with their mighty hoofs (lit. hands), with the chariots winning spoil, make terrible sounds overcoming the enemies with their forefeet ; they destroy the foes, untiring ; (8) 'Chariot-bearer' is how his oblation is named, on which is placed his weapon and his armour ; there may we sit within the strong chariot, tranquil for all days. (9) Like unto a snake, it encircles his arm with its coils, keeping off the strokes of the bowstring ; this hand-guard knowing all devices like a man—may it protect the man on all sides.

Early liturgical employment :— All the first 14 verses of this hymn occur in order in TS. 4. 6. 6. 1-3 (treating of the Aśvamedha sacrifice) in a section describing the putting on of the armour and the getting ready of the chariot etc. as a defensive battle has always to be provided for, in the Aśvamedha sacrifice for guarding the horse wherever he wanders when let loose. *So the context here is very similar to ours.* On comparing the ritual employment of each single verse in TS. with that of the same verse in our text, we find that TS. employs verses 3rd and 4th, at the stroking of the bowstring and the bringing together of the two ends of the bowstring respectively and this is in keeping with the bowstring and bow-ends being the deities of the verses in the RV. In our text, the Purohita makes the king recite the 3rd verse and himself mutters the 4th. *As this is prescribed after the king has taken up the bow these very acts viz., the stroking of the bowstring etc. are probably intended* in our text though they are not expressly mentioned because the 5th verse is employed at the handing of the quiver in sūtra 7th exactly as in the TS. (and RV. also). Again in the RV., the charioteer and the reins are the joint deities of the 6th verse and in TS. the verse is addressed to the chari-

oteer. Our text uses it for 'abhipravartamāne' (when the chariot gets going). This is virtually the same as the charioteer getting busy with the reins (*as only then, can the chariot move*). It is in the employment of the 8th verse that our text differs from the RV. (where a chariot is the deity of the verse) as well as from TS. where it is employed for placing the chariot on its stand. In VS. 19. 38 seqq. also these 14 verses occur, the context being praise of the weapons of war in connection with the Aśvamedha Horse.

Classification. As thus the employment of all the verses (except the 8th) is in keeping with the original context (i.e. the deities of the verses) in the RV. the citation of them belongs to the 'Sacramental' class. The citation of the 8th verse belongs to the 'superficial class' as the 2nd pāda describing the chariot as 'one on which is placed his weapon and his armour' is availed of for employment at the 'looking at the arrows'.

AG. III. 12. 17 :— "उपश्वासय पृथिवीमुत ग्रामि"ति तृचेन दुन्दुभिर्मभिमृशेत् । १७ । 'He (i.e. the Purohita)¹ should touch the drum reciting the verses RV. VI. 47. 29-31.

As the 'Dundubhi' or 'war-drum' itself is the deity of these verses, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

TS. 4. 6. 6. 1-5 (as noted above) contains the first 14 verses of RV. VI. 75 (cited in our text in III. 12. 3-11). Immediately after that i.e. in TS. 4. 6. 6. 6-7, follow RV. VI. 47. 26-31 in the same context. These same groups of RV. verses (VI. 75. 1-14 and VI. 47. 26-31) are found in VS. 29. 38-57 exactly in the same context as in TS. 4. 6. 6. 1-7. *This is an illustration of the fact that the verses of the RV. Samhitā are found better arranged and better grouped in the other Samhitās from the point of view of subject-matter because just this group of verses 26-31 is out of place in the RV. hymn VI, 47. 1-31 which is sacred to Soma and Indra.* Our text has extracted verses 29-31 from this group as they form a unity—being addressed to the 'Dundubhi,' the preceding three (26-28) being addressed to the 'war-chariot.' A similar separation and regrouping is found in AV. VI. 125-126 where these six verses have been arranged in two independent hymns.

AG. III. 12. 18-19 :— "अवसृष्ट्य परापते"तीषून् विसर्जयेत् । १८ । "यत्र बाणाः संपतन्ती"ति युध्यमानेषु जपेत् । १९ ।

(s. 18) : He makes the (king) discharge the arrows (visarjayet²) with

¹ According to Nārāyaṇa the subject is the king but it is always the Purohita who recites the verses unless otherwise specified. Besides, according to the wording of the Sūtra, he who recites the verses touches the drum.

² For reasons given below I do not agree with Nārāyaṇa (whom Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG follow in their translations) that the subject in Sūtras 17th & 18th is the king which would mean that the king himself recites the verses (in the two sūtras) while shooting off arrows and when the fight has commenced :—(1) It is the Purohita who recites the verses throughout unless it is otherwise stated as

the verse RV. VI. 75. 16. (s. 19) : He (the Purohita) repeats the verse RV. VI. 75. 17 when they (the opposing forces) are fighting.

RV. VI. 75. 16-17. Trans. (16) O Flight of arrows, sharpened by prayer, do thou, discharged, fly away. Go forth, against the foes and do not spare any one of them ; (17) where the arrows fall together, like youths adorned with their locks, there, may Brahmanaspati and Aditi grant us their protection for all days.

The citation of the two verses belongs to the 'Sacramental' class because 'arrows' and 'the battlefield' are the deities of the two verses respectively which exactly suits the context.

TS. 4. 6. 4. 4. contains both these verses (in the context of the preparation of the fire) *in close proximity*¹ to the 'apratiratha' hymn cited in our sūtra 13th.

AG. IV. 2. 10 :— प्रायैवं भूमिभागं कर्तोदकेन शमीशाखया त्रिः प्रसव्यमायतनं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षति "अपेत वीत वि च सर्पतात" इति । १० ।

When (the funeral procession) has arrived at the spot (made ready for the burning of the dead body), the performer (of the funeral rites) while going round the place from left to right three times, sprinkles it with water by means of a Śamī branch repeating the verse RV. X. 14. 9.

RV. X. 14. 9. Trans. Depart, go away, crawl hence from this place ; for him the Fathers have made this world. Yama giveth unto him a resting-place furnished with days, waters and nights ('aktubhiḥ').

As the verse is one of the well-known funeral verses of the RV. and practically refers to the very situation or context in which it is employed, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

In TS. 4. 3. 4. 1 (and VS. 12. 45) the Adhvaryu sweeps the grounds (of the Gārhapatya altar) with a palāśa branch, reciting the four pādas of this verse while sweeping the four sides ; water is afterwards sprinkled on the ground thus swept. *Here then we see the reverse process—a RV. verse, funeral (i.e. gṛhya) in origin, employed in a sacrificial (or Śrauta) context—whereas usually the gṛhya employment develops out of the original Śrauta setting of the verse in the RV and the other Samhitās!*

AG. IV. 3. 20 :— अनुस्तरण्या वपामुत्खिद्य शिरोमुखं प्रच्छादयेत् 'अग्नेर्वर्मे परि गोभिर्व्ययस्वे'ति । २० ।

[After the sacrificial implements have been laid, limb by limb, on the dead body of the Āhitāgni (sūtras IV. 3. 1-19)] he carves out the caul of the anustaraṇī (a cow or she-goat killed for the purpose) and covers with it, the head and face (of the dead body) with verse RV. X. 16. 7.

in sūtras 5, 10, 11 & 12 ; (2) Sūtra 20th says 'or he should teach the king which implies that the Purohita recited the verses himself. (3) 'Visarjayet' is a causal form.

¹ The significance of this proximity is discussed by me in a paper on 'RV. Mantras quoted in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra but not included in the 'Āśvalāyana Mantra-Samhitā' mentioned already.

Trans. Wrap about thee (as a protection) from the fire an armour (made) with kine (i.e. consisting of the fat and marrow of the cow) and cover (thyself) with fat and marrow, lest the bold one, Agni exulting in his violence, should, seizing thee, embrace thee in order to consume thee.

As the RV. practically describes the ritual act it accompanies, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

The verse occurs in AV. 18. 2. 58 and TA. 6. 1. 4 in a funeral context.

ĀG. IV. 3. 21 :— वृक्का उद्धृत्य पाण्योरादध्यात् “अतिद्रव सारमेयौ श्वानावि”ति दक्षिणे दक्षिणं सव्ये सव्यम् ।

Having (next) extracted the kidneys (of the anustaraṇī) he puts them into the hands (of the dead body) with the verse (RV. X. 14. 10), the right (kidney) into the right (hand), the left into the left (hand).

RV. X. 141. 10. Trans. (a) Run past the two dogs—sons of Saramā (b) four-eyed, brindled, by the good path (c) and then come unto the blessed Fathers (d) who rejoice with Yama in a common joy.

As the verse is a funeral verse in the RV., the general 'Sacramental' applicability of the citation is evident but there is also a specific applicability of the verse to the ritual act of putting the two kidneys into the hands of the dead person viz. that the two kidneys are meant for the two watch-dogs of Yama who must be appeased before they allow the dead man to pass on to the world of the Pitṛs (pāda c).

The verse occurs in AV. XVIII. 2. 11 and TA. 6. 3. 1 in a funeral context in both the texts.

ĀG. IV. 3. 25 :— सर्वा यथाङ्गं विनिक्षिप्य चर्मणा प्रच्छाद्य “इममग्ने चमसं मा विजिह्वर” इति प्रणीताप्रणयनमनुमन्त्रयते ।

Having deposited the whole (anustaraṇī) limb by limb (on the corresponding limbs of the deceased) and having covered (the dead body) with its hide, the performer consecrates the carrying forward (praṇayanam) of the praṇītā (i.e. the vessel¹—a camasa containing the 'praṇītā' waters) with the verse RV. X. 16. 8.

Trans. O Agni! upset not this cup (camasa) which is dear to the gods who rejoice in the Soma. This cup which is the drinking-cup of the gods, in it, do the immortal gods rejoice.

The RV. verse has not only general 'Sacramental' applicability as a funeral verse but also a specific one, as the prayer to Agni not to upset the camasa is almost a reference to the ritual act of carrying forward the camasa or praṇītā containing the praṇītā waters to the fire.

The verse occurs in TA. 6. 1. 4 where the commentator explains it as accompanying the placing of the camasa on the head of the corpse

¹ The accompanying RV. verse referring to the 'camasa' points to this meaning of 'praṇītā' which also means 'the praṇītā waters'.

and thus makes the RV. verse even more appropriate than in our sūtra where the word 'camasa' is not used. Similar is the employment of AV. 18. 3. 53 (this same verse) by Kauś. 81. 9.

ĀG. IV. 4. 6 :— तं दह्यमानमनुमन्त्रयते "प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभिः पूर्व्येभिः"रिति समानम् । ६ ।

He consecrates the (dead body) while it is burning with the *same* texts [i.e. the same texts that are employed in ĀŚ. VI. 10. 19] beginning with the verse RV. X. 14. 7.

'Samānam' (lit. the same as before) is a reference to ĀŚ. VI. 10. 19 (as stated by Nārāyaṇa and Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG). The section ĀŚ. VI. 10 treats of the funeral ceremonies on the death of a Dikṣita (One who has been initiated into the performance of a sacrifice) in the middle of a sattra (or sacrificial session). On the day following the burning of the body (ĀŚ. VI. 10. 12-13), the priests ('Hotṛ' and others) first sit in a circle round the 'Śmaśāna,' chanting Stotras. The Hotṛ then goes round the śmaśāna, reciting over the 'Preta', the following texts (enumerated in sūtras ĀŚ. VI. 10. 19-20) in a particular order : RV. X. 14. 7, 8, 10, 11 ; X. 16. 1-6 ; X. 17. 3-6 ; X. 18. 10-13 ; the hymn X. 154 and finally X. 14. 12.

The citation of all these verses belongs to the 'the Sacramental' class in a general way as all the verses are funeral verses in the RV. Some of them are even specifically appropriate as e.g. X. 16. 1-6 which actually refer to the burning of the body and X. 14. 7 seqq. which refer to the journey of the 'preta' to the world of Yama and the Pitṛs after the burning. One group of verses RV. X. 18. 10-13 however, is rather out of place in these texts as it is suited to the context of the gathering and burial of the bones and *have been so employed* even in our *text verse by verse* in ĀG. IV. 5. 7. 10 :—

A survey of the position of these 24 verses (which occur so far apart from each other in the RV.) in the AV., gives us an *insight into the scheme of rearrangement to which RV. verses were subjected for purposes of the ritual*. All of them are found in the first three hymns of the XVIIIth book of the AV., which contain funeral verses. The verses corresponding to RV. X. 154 (a hymn that deals with the state of the dead) occur in AV. XVIII. 2 very near the verses corresponding to those cited here from RV. X. 14 and 16—which incidentally explains how RV. X. 154 came to be cited along with verses from RV. X. 14 etc. in ĀŚ. VI. 10. 19-20.

ĀG. IV. 4. 9 :— "इमे जीवा वि मृतैराववृत्रन्नि"ति सव्यावृतो व्रजंत्यनवेक्षमाणाः । ९ । (After the cremation) he recites the verse RV. X. 18. 3 and then they (he and other members of the funeral party) turn round from *right to left* and go away without looking back.

Trans. These living ones have now turned away from the dead ; auspicious to-day has our invocation to the gods been. We have gone

forth to dancing, to laughter, choosing for ourselves prolonged life to come.

The citation of the verse belongs to the 'Sacramental' class, being even specifically applicable as it refers to the parting of ways between the living and the dead which is the very context in the sūtra.

ĀG. IV. 5. 4 :—क्षीरोदकेन शमीशाखया त्रिः प्रसव्यं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षति “शीतिके शीतिकावतीति” । ४ ।

(In the ceremony of gathering the bones), the performer of the ceremony while walking round (the Śmaśāna) *with his left side turned towards it*, three times, sprinkles it with a mixture of milk and water by means of a śamī branch (dipped into it) repeating the verse—RV. X. 16. 14.

RV. X. 16. 4. Trans :—O Cool One (i.e. earth) ! possessing coolness, O Glad one, possessing gladness (i.e. gladdening fruit), do thou be associated with the frog ; do thou cause Agni to rejoice.

Being a funeral verse in RV. the citation of it possesses 'Sacramental' applicability of a general type. It is, however, even specially applicable to the ritual act it accompanies. The spot (i.e. earth) where the burning took place is cooled by the sprinkling of milk and water and is addressed when thus cooled, with this verse which expresses the hope that the earth thus cooled may soon be so well-watered as to abound in frogs and thus please (i.e. appease or extinguish) the Agni that burnt the dead body. The preceding RV. verse X. 16. 13 actually explains as it were this significance of the ritual act in this sūtra.

The verse occurs in AV. XVIII. 3.60 and TA. 6.4.1.3. *The sixth prapāṭhaka of the TA. describes funeral rites in much the same way as the Grhya Sūtras do.*

ĀG. IV. 5. 7 :—सुसंचितं संचित्य पवनेन संपूय यत्र सर्वत आपो नाभिस्यन्देरन्नया वर्षाभ्यस्तत्र गर्तेवदध्युः “उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामि”ति । ७ ।

Having carefully arranged (lit. gathered) the bones (in the urn) and cleaned them with a winnowing-basket, he should lower (the urn) in a pit (dug into a selected spot) where water other than rain-water does not flow in, from all sides, with the verse RV. X. 18. 10.

RV. X. 18. 10. Trans. Approach thy mother earth, wide-extended, broad, very auspicious ; may she, a maiden soft as wood, for a pious worshipper, protect thee from destruction.

What could be more appropriate than this verse as an address to the urn that is approaching the earth while it is being lowered into the pit ?

ĀG. IV. 5. 8 :—उत्तरया पांसूनवकिरेत् । ८ ।

He throws earth (into the pit, to fill it up) with the *following verse* i.e. RV. X. 18. 11.

RV. X. 18. 11. Trans. Open thine arms, O earth, oppress him not ;

lying close to him be thou for him a good refuge. Do thou cover him, O earth, even as a mother covers her son with her skirt.

The earth gradually filling up the pit, is prayed not to press down the urn too heavily.

AG. IV. 5. 9 :—अवकीर्योत्तराम् । ९ ।

Having finished throwing the earth (i.e. when the pit is filled up), he should recite the next verse i.e. RV. X. 18. 12.

RV. X. 18. 12. Trans. May the earth remain, opening her arms (to him) and may a thousand supports sustain him. May there be, for him, abodes flowing with ghee and ever for him, may the protecting powers be here.

AG. IV. 5. 10 :—“उत्ते स्तभ्रामि ” इति कपालेनापिधाय..... । १० ।

He should cover (the urn) with a lid repeating the verse RV. X. 18. 3.

RV. X. 18. 3. Trans. Around thee, do I make firm the earth ; placing on thee, this clod of earth, may I incur no harm. May the Fathers sustain this post ; may Yama for thee fix here thine abodes.

No comment is necessary to show how perfectly appropriate these four verses RV. X. 18. 10-13 are, to the contexts in Sūtras IV. 5. 7-10. The citation of all these then belongs to the ‘Sacramental’ class.

The four verses occur in AV. as XVIII. 3. 49-52 in the same order and in TA. 6. 7. 1 in the order 13, 10, 11 and 12. The context in both places is nearly the same as in our text.

AG. IV. 6. 2 :—पुरोदयादग्निं सहभस्मानं सहायतनं दक्षिणा हरेयुः “ कव्यादमग्निं प्रहिणोमि दूरमि ”त्यर्धर्चेन । २ ।

[In the ‘Śānti-karma’, a ceremony of appeasement which is performed by persons who are rendered impure by the death of their Guru (‘guruṇābhimṛtāḥ’) or who are declining in some other way and which consists of a renewal of the Gṛhya fire as the old one has thus proved unlucky]¹ they should before sunrise carry away the fire with its ashes and its receptacle to the South with the half-verse RV. X. 16. 9^{ab}.

RV. X. 16. 9^{ab} :—(a) I send away to a distance the flesh-eating Agni ; (b) bearing his taint, let him go to those whose king is Yama.

The verse practically refers to the ritual act of removing the old fire mentioned in the sūtra and the citation is thus ‘Sacramental’. It need not be objected that the RV. verse is a funeral verse whereas the ritual act described in the sūtra belongs to the śāntikarma because the śāntikarma and the funeral were allied ceremonies and shared some common features. For example, in a funeral ceremony, the Gṛhya fire (or the Śrauta fires in the case of an āhitāgni) maintained by

¹ In support of this view of Prof. OLDENBERG p. 246-7, regarding the Śānti-karma, I may refer to TS. 6. 4. 10. 4-5 which says that he who does not prosper through the Agnyādheya performs the Punarādhāna (or re-establishment of the Fire).

the deceased during his life-time was disposed of, at the burning of the dead body and a new fire was then kindled by his nearest surviving relative and in a Śāntikarma, *the disposal of the old fire* (consequent on the death of a Guru or similar misfortune,) *was very much like its funeral*. Citations of the same mantras were therefore possible in both the contexts with equal appropriateness. *An evidence of this interchangeability of citations is the fact that this RV. verse occurs as AV. XII. 2. 8 in a hymn treating of 'the Flesh-eating Agni and the (new) domestic fire'*. So the AV. seems to be the influence on our text.

AG. IV. 6. 5 :—अग्निवेलायामग्निं जनयेत् “इहैवायमितरो जातवेदाः” इत्यर्घर्चेन । ५ ।
[(After having disposed of the old fire, they come back home and provide themselves with the requisite materials for the establishment of a new fire). (And then)] he (the performer of the ceremony) should at the time of (the daily) fire-kindling generate the (new) fire with the (second) hemistich of the (same) verse (i.e. X. 16. 9^{cd}).

RV. X. 16. 9^{cd} :—Trans. Here let the other Jātavedas (knower of mortals), the wise One, bear the oblations to the gods.

Here the words '*the other Jātavedas*' etc. practically refer to the *new fire kindled*. Therefore and for reasons mentioned (under Sūtra IV. 6. 2 where the first hemistich of this very verse is cited), the citation belongs to the 'sacramental' class.

AG. IV. 6. 8 :—अथामिमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानङ्गुहं चर्मोस्तीर्य प्राग्ग्रीवमुत्तरलोमं, तस्मिन्नात्मानारोहयेत् “आरोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना” इति । ८ ।
Having then put fuel upon the (new) fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck to the east and the hair outside, he makes the members of his household mount (i.e. step) on it with the verse RV. X. 18. 6.

RV. X. 18. 6. Trans. Mount to life, choosing for yourselves old age, pressing on, one behind the other, as many as you are. Here may Tvaṣṭṛ the well-born, with good will, make for you long life to come.

As the verse is one of the funeral verses in the RV. its citation in the Śāntikarma is of the 'Sacramental' type for reasons stated under AG. IV. 6. 2. This particular verse has however been chosen for the word 'ārohata' which is used figuratively in the verse ('mount to life') but which in its ordinary sense of 'stepping upon' suits the context admirably.

AG. IV. 6. 9 :—‘इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामी’ति परिधिं परिदध्यात् । ९ ।
He should lay the enclosing sticks round (i.e. on the *three sides*—northern, southern and western¹ of) the fire with the verse RV. X. 18. 4.

¹ This implied technicality of the fire-ritual has been noticed neither by Prof. STENZLER nor Prof. OLDENBERG. There was to be no paridhi or enclosing-stick on the eastern side.

RV. X. 18. 4. Trans. (a) I fix this boundary (paridhim) for the living ; (b) let none other of them now go to this goal. (c) May they live a full hundred autumns ; (d) may they hide death with this mound.

For reasons already stated, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class—a *deliberate pun being intended in the verse on the word 'paridhi'* in the double sense of 'an enclosing stick for the fire' and 'a protecting boundary' for the living.

The verse is the 23rd. of AV. 12. 2, the same hymn referred to under sūtra IV. 6. 5. as treating of the flesh-eating and the new domestic fires as in our text.

AG. IV. 6. 10 :— “ अंतर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन ” इत्युत्तरतोऽस्मानमग्नेः कृत्वा...। १०।

He then places the aśman (the stone mentioned as one of the requisites of the new fire in sūtra 5), to the north of the fire with the last pāda (d) of X. 18. 4.

The translation of this pāda has been given under the preceding sūtra.

The citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class because the word 'parvata' of the RV. verse refers to the 'aśman' of the sūtra.

AG. IV. 6. 10 (contd.)“ परं मृत्योः अनु परेहि पन्थामि”ति
चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा.....। १०।

(The same sūtra as above) : he (next) sacrifices with the four verses RV. X. 18. 1-4 verse by verse.

RV. X. 18. 1-4. Trans. X. 18. (1) Do thou pass beyond, O Death, along the path which is thine own, the other than that which leads to the gods. I speak unto thee who hast eyes and who hearest. Mayest thou not injure our folk nor our heroes. (2) When ye go screening the footprints of death and choosing for yourselves, a prolonged life to come, being filled with offspring, with ghee, be ye pure and purified, O ye worshipful ones ! [Verse 3rd has been already translated under AG. IV. 4. 9 and the fourth under AG. IV. 6. 9.]

The second verse is a direct address to the 'amātyas' or relatives who are standing near (when the oblations are offered) as stated in the closing part of this very sūtra. For this reason and for reasons mentioned already, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

AG. IV. 6. 10 (concluded)“ यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्ती”त्यमात्यानी-
क्षेत । १०।

(The same sūtra continued) :—He should next look at his relatives with the verse RV. X. 18. 5.

RV. X. 18. 5. Trans. So that the days may follow in due succession, so that the seasons go well with the seasons, so that the latter fail not the former, so, O Creator, mayest thou fashion the lives of *these* (eṣām).

As the verse invokes long life for these (eṣām), it is very appropriate to the context where the performer of the ceremony recites the verse while looking at his relatives (to whom the 'eṣām' might as well refer). The citation belongs to the 'Invocational Class'.

AG. IV. 6. 12 :— “इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीः” इत्यज्ञाना ईक्षेत । १२ ।

He looks at the young ladies (of the house) while they are salving (their eyes as described in sūtra 11) reciting the verse RV. X. 18. 7.

RV. X. 18. 7. Trans. Let these women who are not widows, who have good husbands, enter with ointment and with ghee. May these wives, tearless, free from sickness, having good blessings, ascend, O Agni, first to the house.

As the verse practically describes the very ritual act its recitation accompanies, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

AG. IV. 6. 14 :— अथापराजितायां दिश्यवस्थायाग्निनानडुहेन गोमयेन चाविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया “आपो हि घ्रा मयोभुव” इति तृचेन “परीमे गामनेषते” इति परिक्रामत्सु जपेत् । १४ ।

(The performer) taking up his position in the north-east mutters the verse (RV. X. 155. 5), while (the other members of his household) go round (the new fire), with the (common) fire, with a bull, with cow-dung, pouring an uninterrupted stream of water while repeating the three verses RV. X. 9. 1-3. [In this translation of the sūtra, I have adopted the reading of the Trivandrum edition '*anaḍuhā gomayena* (with a bull and cow-dung) instead of STENZLER'S '*ānaḍuhena gomayena* (with a bull's cow-dung) for the following reasons: (1) the next sūtra specifies the kind of bull that should be led round. This would be meaningless if this sūtra did not refer to a bull led round the fire. (2) The RV. verse X. 155. 5. (translated below) refers to 'a cow led around'; (3) the expression 'bull's cow-dung' is besides awkward !]

RV. X. 9. 1-3 :—These verses have been discussed already under AG. II. 8. 12.

RV. X. 155. 5 :—Now, have they led around the cow; now have they carried the fire round; now have they brought fame for the gods; who shall restrain them?

As the RV. verse refers to the leading round of the cow and the fire, the citation belongs to the 'Sacramental' class.

This same RV. verse is AV. VI. 28. 2 which is employed while a cow and a fire are led around the house—which is a context very similar to our context. VS. 35. 18 is the same verse. The commentator Mahīdhara says that this mantra recited by the adhvaryu is a protective spell for the relatives of the Yajamāna.

AG. IV. 6. 18 :— उदित आदित्ये सौर्याणि स्वस्त्ययनानि च जपित्वात्रं संस्कृत्य “अप नः शोशुबद्धम्” इति प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा..... । १८ ।

(At the end of the *Sāntikarma* the performer of the ceremony and his relations keep awake during the night and) at sunrise having muttered the *Saurya* and *Svastyayana* hymns, cook some food and offer oblations with the hymn RV. I. 97 verse by verse....etc.

RV. I. 97 is a hymn to Agni containing in addition to the usual prayers, a special one “ *apa naḥ śośucad agham* ” (May he flash away our sin) which is not only the opening of the first verse but also the refrain of each of the 8 verses of the hymn !

As the hymn to Agni becomes appropriate mainly through the oblations to Agni which its verses accompany the citation belongs to the *Oblational class* but a survey of its earlier liturgical employment in the next paragraph *shows how the way was paved for its employment in the Sāntikarma*.

Sāyaṇa in his commentary on this RV. hymn quotes the *Tāṇḍya Mahā-Brahmaṇa* (13. 16. 9), where the story is narrated that the sage Kutsa praised Agni by means of this hymn, to get over his remorse at having killed *Dīghajivhī*—(a female, though a demoness) at the instance of Indra. Sāyaṇa adds that this *sūkta* found also in the *Yajurveda* is always employed for the removal of remorse or grief. But important for our purposes is the fact that the verses of the hymn occur in VS. 35. 21 seqq., and are employed in the *Pitryajña*. AV. IV. 33 (which is this very hymn) is employed by Kauś. 82. 4. in funeral ceremonies. These two funeral contexts of the hymn in VS. and AV. prepared the way for its employment in the *Sāntikarma*.

ĀG. IV. 7. 11 :— “ *शं नो देवीरभिष्टये* ” इत्यनुमंत्रितासु तिलानावपति.....। ११ । [(In the *Śrāddha* ceremony, water is poured into three vessels over which *darbha* grass has been laid (*sūtra* 10th) and] when these waters are consecrated with the verse RV. X. 9. 4 he pours *sesamum* seeds into it... etc.

RV. X. 9. 4. Trans. May the divine waters be weal for us, for our help and for our drink ; weal and health may they bring unto us.

As the consecration of waters is the context and the verse is addressed to the divine Waters (the deity of the verse) the citation is of the ‘ *Sacramental* ’ type.

This verse is the first verse of the hymn AV. 1. 6 addressed to the Waters for blessings. A feature of the rearrangement of RV. verses for ritual purposes that we notice in the other *Samhitās* is that verses that appear in the middle of a hymn in the RV. are separated and begin a separate hymn as here or form an independent hymn which marks their importance for ritual employment.

ĀG. IV. 7. 26. तृप्तान् ज्ञात्वा “ *मधुमतीः* ” श्रावयेत् “ *अक्षन् अमीमदंते* ” ति च । २६ । (Towards the close of the *Śrāddha* ceremony) the performer of the ceremony having seen that the *Brāhmaṇas* are satiated (with their dinner), recites (lit. makes them hear) the ‘ *madhumatī* ’ verses and the verse RV. I. 82. 2.

RV. I. 82. 2. Trans. These friends have now shaken off from themselves (evil) for they have eaten and have delighted themselves. The sages who are their own brilliance have now sung their praises with the newest hymn of devotion: "now, O Indra, do thou yoke thy two bay-steeds".

Evidently the first pāda of the verse 'akṣann amīmadanta hi' (They have eaten and delighted themselves) is responsible for its being employed to address Brāhmaṇas who are satiated with food. The citation therefore possesses 'superficial' applicability, as there is nothing else applicable to the context in the verse which is sacred to Indra but *our text has been guided by earlier texts which employ it in connection with the Pitṛs* e.g. in TS. 1. 8. 5. 2. (a section treating of the Piṇḍapitṛyajña), the Gārhapatya fire is worshipped with this verse. In VS. 3. 51 the verse is one of the formulas in the Sākamedha sacrifice addressed to Indra when food is offered to the Fathers. The verse occurs AV. 18. 4. 61 and is employed by Kauś. 88. 27 in a Piṇḍapitṛyajña.

The 'Madhumatī' verses (= RV. I. 90. 6-8) have been discussed already under ĀG. I. 24. 15.

ĀG. IV. 8. 23 :— चतुर्भिः सूक्तैश्चतस्रो दिश उपतिष्ठेत् "कद्रुद्राय", "इमा रुद्राय",
"आ ते पितर", "इमा रुद्राय स्थिरधन्वने" इति ॥ २३ ॥

[In the Sūlgava (a sacrifice to Rudra) after offerings of Balis to the hosts of Rudra in the four quarters] he should worship the four quarters with the four hymns RV. I. 43, 114 ; II. 33 ; VII. 46.

All the four are hymns sacred to Rudra. The citation of them all here, possesses therefore 'mythological applicability' as through their deity Rudra, they become applicable in the 'Sūlagava' which is a sacrifice to Rudra who is the centre of the whole ritual.

This whole Kaṇḍikā (IV. 8) is modelled on the section IV. 20 of the ŚŚ. Quite a number of mantras, Ṛgvedic and non-Ṛgvedic, employed in this kaṇḍikā are found in the section IV. 20 of ŚŚ. and sūtras are also similarly worded e.g. *this sūtra is nearly identical with ŚŚ. IV. 20. 19 to 20 where these very four hymns are cited by pratikas in exactly the same context.* Some points about the earlier liturgical employment of each hymn are noted below.

RV. I. 43.

All the verses of this hymn are addressed to Rudra except the last three 7-9 which are addressed to Soma. According to Nārāyaṇa, these last verses should, therefore, be omitted but the commentator on ŚŚ. IV. 20. 17-20 (Bibliotheca Indica edition) says that the whole sūkta must be repeated. In TA. 10. 17. 1 the verses of this hymn are employed as prayers to Rudra.

RV. I. 114. ~

This hymn occurs in TS. IV. 5. 10. 1 seqq. and in VS. 16. 48 as part of the Śatarudriya litany.

RV. II. 33. and VII. 46.

These are not employed in any text other than ŚŚ. IV. 20. 17-20 where (as mentioned above) they are employed in the Sūlagava rite, exactly as in our text.

My main proposition, then, that the rubrication of ṚgVeda mantras in the literature of ritual is not as arbitrary as is often supposed, nay, that there are certain well-defined principles underlying the citation and liturgical employment of ṚgVeda mantras in the Gṛhya-Sūtras, that the connecting link between a ṚgVeda mantra and the ceremony its recitation accompanies, is in the majority of cases, not just of a homonymous or superficial type, that, in short, there is *method* in the apparent *madness* of splashing RV. mantras all over a ritual performance—this proposition, I have tried to establish by restricting myself to the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra. But this restriction was only dictated by lack of space. I have already completed a detailed examination of every single RV. citation in nearly all the extant Gṛhya-Sūtras (about fifteen in number)—an examination that has convinced me of the truth of the proposition advanced in these pages on the strength of citations in one Gṛhya-Sūtra only. As opportunity offers, I propose to place before scholars, the entire material which is ready. I have now planned and have begun working at an investigation of the Śrauta Sūtras from this very point of view.

This investigation, incidentally, raises the following interesting problems :—

1. How many ṚgVeda mantras had a genuinely ritual origin—Śrauta or Gṛhya?
2. A ritual re-edition or rearrangement of the ṚgVeda Saṁhitā. It has been pointed out in more places than one, in the course of the above investigation that *such a rearrangement is often better from the point of view* of the subject-matter or deity of the Rg. Verses.
3. A list of the chapters or sections in the various early (i.e. Pre-Gṛhya-Sūtra) texts that have influenced the formulation and development of the Gṛhya-Sūtras into their present form.

INDO-ARICA—I

By

S. M. KATRE

1. OLD INDO-ARYAN *úrñā-vābhi-*

In his very suggestive paper 'Exegetische Beiträge zum Awesta' ¹ Otto PAUL connects Avestic *vaw-za-ko-* with Indo-European **uebh-* 'to weave', mod. German *weben*, quoting the Indo-Aryan form *úrñā-vābhi-* m. from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa for the existence of this root in I-A. ² Further on he gives the following words with *úrñā-* ³ : *úrñā f.*, *úrñā-maya-*, *úrñāyú-*, *úrñā-vant-*, *úrñā-valá-*, *úrñā-nābha-*, *úrñā-nābhi-*, *úrñā-ṣaṭa-*, *úrñā-mradas-*, *úrñā-vābhi-*, *úrñā-deśa-*, etc. Of importance is the word *úrñā-vābhi-* which is a *hapax legomenon* in OI-A. not noticed in either of the Petersburg Dictionaries, but mentioned in a footnote in Viśvabandhu ŚĀSTRĪ'S Dictionary ⁴ as a variant occurring in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa i. 1. 2. 5 ; *té 'vākīryanta, yè 'vākīryanta tá úrñā-vābhayo 'bhavan*—'They fell down ; those who fell down became spiders (*úrñā-vābhayaḥ*).'

Sāyaṇa, in his scholium, remarks : *úrñā-vābhayaḥ iti padadvayam militvaikam nāmadheyam*—'the two words *úrñā* and *vābhi-* together form one name,' while Bhāskara observes : *asamastam eva padadvayam kiṭa-viśeṣasya* 'the two independent words together denote a particular type of insect'. Sāyaṇa further divides this expression into *úrñau* and *abhayaḥ* meaning : *tasminn ūrñe abhayaḥ* (i.e. *bhaya-rahitāḥ*). But he is unconcerned with the discrepancy between the singular *abhayaḥ* and the plural *bhaya-rahitāḥ* of his commentary.

We have in this word two striking features not noticed hitherto : the form *vābhi-* from the root *vabh-* through the primary suffix *-i-* (e.g. *cā-kr-i-*, *śúc-i-*, *ákṣ-i-*, *ásth-i-*, *dádḥ-i-*, etc.) generally giving action or agent nouns ; secondly this is an instance of a double accented compound word. Double accented words are generally dependent determinative compounds such as *bṛhas-pāti-*, *apām-nápāt-*, etc. where the syntactical relationship is of genitive origin. We have thus to construe this word like *tánū-nápāt* 'son of himself', *nṛ-śāmsa-* 'praise of men', *úrñā-vābhi-* 'weaver of wool or web, (i.e. spider).' This double accent evidently misled the medieval scholiast Sāyaṇa and others who preceded or followed him.

¹ *Wörter und Sachen*, Neue Folge II 1-65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁴ *Vaidika Padāmukrama-Kośa* II i, p. 300.

As this word has not been recorded anywhere, either in Dictionaries or in Grammars, with the exception of Viśvabandhu SASTRI'S *Vaidika-padānukrama-kośa*, it has not so far been utilized for a discussion of the Indo-European root, *uebh-. The two words *ūrṇa-nābhi* and *ūrṇa-vābhi* form a pair or rhyming words, separated from this hapax legomenon *ūrṇā-vābhi*.

2. ARDHAMĀGADHĪ caḍagara-

The *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo* gives under this word two meanings : (1) group, caravan and (2) great display. On the other hand the *Illustrated Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* gives four meanings : (1) A group, an assemblage ; (2) a servant, an attendant ; (3) a principal warrior, a chief fighter and (4) anything which bites, e.g. a mosquito ; in combination with *-paha-kara-* it means 'an assemblage of heroic men'.

On fol. 46^a of *Nāyādharmakahāṇ*⁵ we read as follows : 'tae ṇaṃ se Mehe ṇhāe ... mahayā bhaḍa-caḍagara-vimda-pariyāla-saṃparivude Rāyagihassa nayarassa majjhaṃ majjheṇaṃ niggacchai' — 'Then Megha, having bathed, ... surrounded by a large group of Bhaṭas, Caḍagaras, etc. proceeded along through the centre of Rājagṛha'.

On fol. 209^a of the same work we read : 'tae ṇaṃ te Vāsudeva-pāmokkhā bahave rāyasahassā patteyaṃ patteyaṃ ṇhāyā sannaddha-hatthi-khandha-vara-gayā ... mahayā bhaḍa-caḍagara-pahakara-sae-hiṃ nagarehiṃto abhiniggacchanti— 'Then the many thousands of kings chief of whom were Vāsudeva, etc., having bathed and mounted on the backs of excellently armoured elephants... in the company of hundreds of Bhaṭas, Caḍagaras, Pahakaras, etc. went out of the city.'

Other references to the occurrence of this word may be found out from the two Dictionaries quoted above. What is the origin of this word and what is its chief significance? The first thing to be noted in the two passages quoted above is the parallelism existing between the repeated elements *bhaḍa-*, *caḍagara-* and *pahakara-* on the one hand, and *vimda-* and *pariyāla-* on the other. It is a well-known fact that Jain Prakrit is fond of using synonyms in a string of compounds.

Pahakara- is in reality *pahayara-* found in Hemacandra's *Deśinā-mamālā* 6, 15 meaning 'a group, collection'. The word *pariyāla-* is from Sanskrit *parivāra-* meaning 'retinue, attendants', while *vimda-* is from Sk. *viṇḍa-* 'a group or collection'. Leaving for the moment the etymology of *pahayara-*, we notice that all the three words in the compound at the end mean either a group or collection in general or retinue or attendants in particular. It is particularly interesting to observe that though singular in form the meaning is a collective plural.

⁵ Agamodaya Samiti Series, 1919.

Taking the first two words *bhaḍa-* and *caḍagara-* their identity can be established in the general Ardha-Māgadhī context and we find as a first result 'servant, attendant, soldier' as the primary significance of the word. Now the general assemblage of all the words suggest that the meaning of *caḍagara-* is not singular as 'servant, attendant, soldier' but a collective plural despite its Prakrit singular form meaning 'attendants, soldier, retinue.' Hence the meaning 'group, caravan, assemblage' derived in the two Prakrit Dictionaries quoted at the beginning.

The word *caḍa-gara-* in reality consists of two elements: *caḍa-* and *-gara-*, and for determining the etymology of the word we shall have to consider these two elements separately.

In his very interesting and suggestive paper 'Some Etymological Notes' Prof. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI discusses the translation-compound *tunḍi-cela* 'a kind of garment'. He connects the second element *cela-* 'cloth, clothes, garment' with Sk. *cīra-* 'a strip, long narrow piece of bark or cloth, rag, tatter, clothes', Sk. *cīvara-* 'the dress or rags of a religious (especially Buddhist or Jain) monk'. The word *cela-* also signifies as a second element of a compound the pejorative sense. A second word *cela-* 'servant, slave' is compared with Sk. *ceṭa-*, *ceḍa-*, all of which are connected by Prof. CHATTERJI with OI-A, **cṛta* < Sk. *car-*, **cṛ-* 'to go or wander'. He remarks⁷: 'A hypothetical **cṛta-* can give us not only *ceṭa-*, *ceḍa-*, *cela-*, but also *caṭa-* (further extended to *cāṭa-* and *caṭṭa-*) and this *caṭa-cāṭa-caṭṭa-* occurs in late Sanskrit Inscriptions, particularly in North-Eastern India, in the expression *a-caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-* or *a-cāṭa-bhāṭa-praveśa-* meaning 'where *cāṭas* and *bhāṭas*, i.e. soldiers or spies (*cāṭa*-< *caṭa*-< **cṛta-*) and king's servants (*bhāṭa*-< *bhaṭa*-< *bhṛta-*) shall have no access.' Now from the root *car-* or **cṛ-* we get Sk. *cāra*-⁸ a servant, spy, soldier whence we get the general meaning of 'attendant'. Thus the root **cṛ-* explains Amg. *caḍa-* as a servant, attendant or soldier, guard.

Jules BLOCH, in his *Formation de la langue marathe*, pp. 331-32, connects Mar. *celā* 'pupil, student' with Deśī *cilla-*, *ceḍa-*, Sk. *ceṭa-* and observes: 'le mot marathe se rattache à une racine dravidienne: canara *cillaṛa*, *cillu*, *ciru* < petitesse >, tamoul *čila-* < un peu > etc.' Now the *Tamil Lexicon* of the Madras University, p. 1432 gives under *cillaraṭi* the cognates Tel. *cillara*, Kan. *cillare*, Tu. *cillare* meaning 'sundries', Tel. *cillara*, Kan. *cillara*, Tu. *cillare* meaning 'surplus, balance', 'old quantity', 'change as of a rupee', 'trifles', 'woman's small ear-ornament', 'petty annoying business', 'trouble from thieves', and 'death from malignant disease', connecting the whole group with Sk. *chidra-*. Similarly Tamil *cila* (p. 1434^b) means 'some, few' with cognates in Kan. *kela*, Mal. *cila*.

⁶ NIA 2, 421-27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁸ Cf. Amg. *cāra-bhaḍa*—"Valiant soldier."

Kanarese *cillara*, *cillu*, *cira* are all connected with Kan. *cir* whence we have forms like *cikka*-, etc. again this *cir* is connected with Kan. *kir* meaning small. In the case of Mar. *celā* with the dento-alveolar-*l*- we may see the influence of Deśi *cilla*- and Kan. *cillu*-, but Sk. *cela*-, *ceṭa*- and Prakrit *caḍa*- may very easily be derived from an OI-A. **cṛta*-. Parallel forms may be compared here : *gṛha*- (Pk. *giha*-) : : *ceṭa* : **cṛta*-.

Turning to the second element *-gara* we observe at once the parallelism existing between this and the plural-forming suffix of Dravidian which is *-kal* in Tamil,⁹ *-lu* in Telugu,¹⁰ *-ru* or *-gaḷu* in Kanarese, *-ru*, *-lu* or *-kuḷu* in Tulu¹¹ showing an original **-kar*- as the basis of all these forms. Comparison of this **kar*- with Sk. *-kara*- as a plural forming suffix with a variant *-kera*- as found in Bengali dialects¹² may be made. The result then is to get the word *caḍa-gara*- from an OI-A. **cṛta-kara*- > MI-A. *caṭa-kara*- in the definite sense of 'retinue, a body of attendants, etc.'

⁹ ARDEN, *Prog. Gram. of Tamil* (1934), p. 81, 112.

¹⁰ ARDEN, *Prof. Gram. of Telugu* (1927), p. 33 ; cf. pp. 50-51, 103, 109.

¹¹ Rev. J. BRIGEL, *Gram. of Tulu Language* (1872), pp. 10, 29.

¹² BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 155.

JAINA YAKṢAS AND YAKṢINĪS

By

H. D. SANKALIA

Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs have been described and theoretically illustrated by BURGESS¹, and FERRU THAKURRA.² But so far no attempt is made to study them archæologically.³ The following paper is only a step in that direction including figures from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the Jaina temple at Aihole, Jaina Cave at Bādāmi (No. V), those reported from a temple at Deogarh in Central India, and one from Patan in Northern Gujarāt.⁴

The figures from the Prince of Wales Museum were found while I was examining its Brahmanical gallery for selecting specimens for plaster casts for the Museum of the Institute. There the figures were called Śākta, but, owing to certain features, they appeared to be Jaina, a view which was strengthened by further study.

The first sculpture is of a male figure about 3' in height and 1½' in breadth carved from grey, fine grained, compact basic rock. The figure is seated in *lalitāsana* (with the right leg dangling down and the left folded in) on a tortoise which is shown on the left of the sculpture, just below the folded left leg of the figure. It has four arms. The upper two hands hold a single-headed serpent; the lower right hand is in *varadamudrā* while the lower left carries a *nāgapāśa*. Behind, just over the figure's head, is a three-headed cobra.⁵

These characteristics of the figure correspond exactly with the description of Dharaṇa or Dharaṇendra Yakṣa, attendant of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha of the Digambaras.⁶ In a few respects it also resembles Pārśva Yakṣa of the Śvetāmbaras, who has a three-headed serpent

¹ *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, 1904.

² *Sīri-Vaṭhusāra-Payaraṇam*, Tr. by Pandit Bhagwandas JAIN, *Jaina Vividha Granthamālā*, Jaipur, 1936.

³ Cf. SANKALIA, "Jaina Iconography", *New Indian Antiquary*, November, 1939, pp. 497-520; *Ross Volume*, pp. 335-358.

⁴ I would have here liked to include figures in other mediums also, particularly wooden images and paintings, but the subject being too vast is reserved for a monograph.

⁵ Here I must thank Mr. R. G. GYANI, Curator, Arch. Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing me to photograph the sculptures for study.

⁶ Cf. Ferru THAKURRA, *o. c.*, pp. 168-21 and 23; BURGESS, *o. c.*

canopy over his head, a tortoise as a *vāhana* and serpent in the two upper hands.⁷

Figure II^{7a} is about 3' in height, 2' in breadth, and 9" in depth (maximum, minimum 4") carved perhaps from the same kind of rock as Figure I. It is seated in *lalitāsana* on a round seat, (right foot dangling down) and has four arms. The upper right hand carries a very thin, ornamented mace (*gadā*), the lower right a lotus with lotus-stalk; the upper left carries a (*nāga*?) *pāśa*, and the lower is in *varada mudrā*. The figure is richly decorated with a long *mukuṭa* rising in four tiers, *hāras*, a long *mālā*, *kuṇḍalas*, *kaṅkanas*, and *hastavalayas*. Over the head is a three-hooded cobra. Behind the figure is an oval *toraṇa*⁸, its crest decorated with a *kīrtimukha*, its arches with scroll-pattern, and the square pilasters with square capitals.

The sitting posture of the figure, absence of attendants on either side, the form of *toraṇa*, indicate that the figure is a Jaina Yakṣa, though, till now, it has passed off as Kubera principally because of its little big belly.⁹ What Yakṣa it is, is, however, difficult to ascertain in absence of the *vāhana*. The three-headed cobra behind the figure is found in the case of Pātala, Yakṣa of the 14th Jina Dharmanātha of the Digambaras and Pārśva, Yakṣa of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha of the Śvetāmbaras. Our figure differs from these in certain respects. But since it has a *nāga-pāśa* in one of its hands and also a three-headed cobra over its head we may identify it as a variety of Dharāṇa Yakṣa, not necessarily incomplete or wrong iconographically but representing a distinct regional school, for which no *sāhjanas* are available, or known.¹⁰

Figure III is that of a female and is identical in all other respects with the figure just described, except in one feature *viz.*, that it has a single-headed cobra over its head, while the position of the legs is just the reverse of Fig. II.

This last feature definitely indicates that both these figures were originally placed on either side of a Jina as his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī respectively.¹¹ For the reasons mentioned above it is not possible to

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

^{7a} See Figs. 4-5.

⁸ See SANKALIA, *o. c.*

⁹ Gopinath RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, ii, pl. cliv. Since RAO does not describe it in the text, he does not seem to have noticed the cobra-head. Moreover the findspot given by him, Dohad, Panch Mahals, is wrong, for on looking up the Register of Antiquities, in the Prince of Wales Museum, no findspot was given for this image.

¹⁰ That Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were variously represented is apparent from a reading of Ferru THAKKURA'S *Vāhu-sāra-payaraṇa*. The translator himself has noted a few variants under Padmāvati. What is essential for identifying is either the *vāhana* or some other mark, as in the present case the cobra-head, or symbols.

¹¹ The symbols in two of her hands *viz.* a *padma*, and a *pāśa*, and also *aṅkuśa* remind us of her description given by Bhāvadēvasūri (A.D. 1266) and Maṇḍana, cited by SASTRI, *Annual Report, Arch., Dept., Baroda State*, 1939, p. 9. Cf. for



FIG. 1. SUPĀRŚVA OR PĀRŚVANĀTHA
FROM
BĀDĀMI CAVE V.



FIG. 3. A JAINA YAKṢIṆĪ
FROM
BĀDĀMI CAVE V.

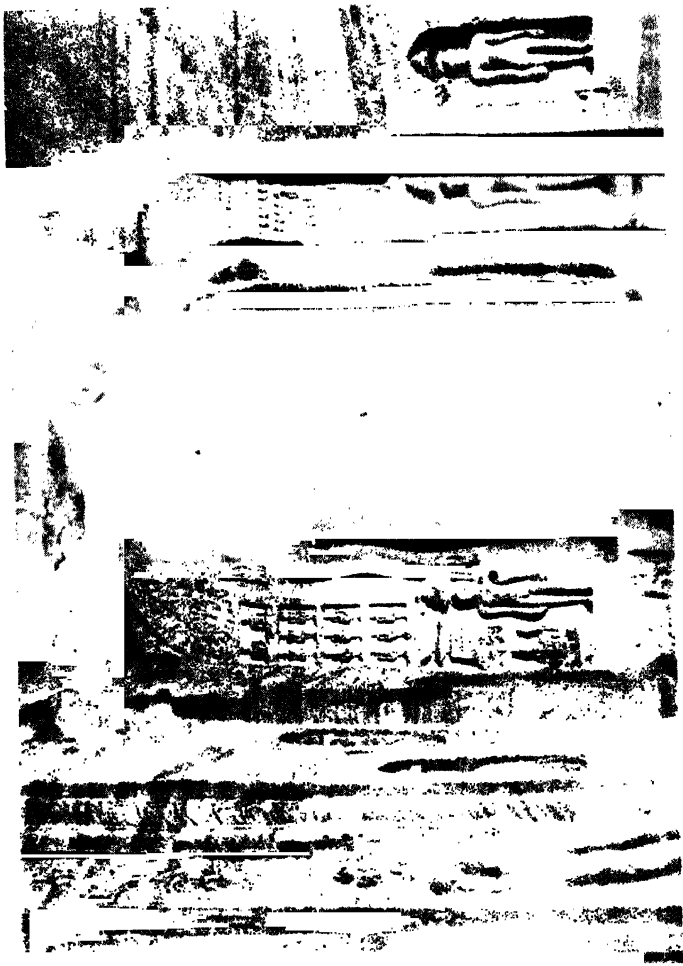


FIG. 2. MAHĀVĪRA, WITH A YAKṢA AND YAKṢINĪ TO HIS RIGHT AND LEFT RESPECTIVELY.

FROM
MĀ CA

definitely identify the figure, still the one-headed cobra over her head indicates that she may be Padmāvati¹² of the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha.

Figure IV is similar to figure III, but has *aṅkuśa* in the upper right hand, whereas other hands carrying symbols are broken. The *toraṇa* is also very simple, in the shape of an oval slab of stone.

Figure V is that of a female, who is about 3' in height and seated in *lalitāsana* with her right leg dangling down. She has four arms : the upper right hand carries an *aṅkuśa*, the lower is in *varadamudrā* ; the upper left hand holds a *pāśa*, the lower left a serpent. Below on the left is sculptured in low relief a bird, which looks a parrot, but may be a cock (*kukkuṭa*), probably the *vāhana* of the figure. Over her head is a single-hooded cobra.

In a few respects the figure resembles Tārāvati (Kālī), Yakṣiṇī of the 18th Jina Aranātha, who has a *vāhana* of a swan, and carries the symbols *vajra*, serpent, *varadamudrā* and a deer¹³ ; or Kālī, Yakṣiṇī of the 4th Jina Abhinandana (of the Śvetāmbaras), who sits on a *kamalāsana*, and bears the symbols *pāśa*, serpent, *varadamudrā* and *aṅkuśa*.

But the probability is that the figure presents once again Padmāvati of the Digambaras who has a *kukkuṭa* (crow¹⁴) as a *vāhana*, has sometimes 4, 6 or even 24 hands, and a three-headed cobra over her head¹⁵. It is further possible that the sculptor has endowed our figure with symbols belonging not to any particular school, (though it must be mentioned that in none of her forms Padmāvati carries a serpent).¹⁶

For fixing the approximate time and provenance of the sculptures the following things may be considered.

- i. The design over the *torāṇa* of Figs. II and III.
- ii. The shape of the *mukuta* of Figs. II and III.
- iii. The form of the symbols of Figs. II, III, IV and V.
- iv. The facial features of all the figures.

The first, the design over the *torāṇa* of Figs. II and III, is that of a volute-like, circular scroll, each scroll ornamented further with leaves. Similar scroll design is found on the *torāṇa* of a figure¹⁷ from the

instance, the Jina (Ādinātha) from a Jaina temple at Amīnabhāve, a place about 6 miles to the north by east of Dhārwar. COUSENS, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 151, fig. 43.

¹² Ferru THAKKURA, *o. c.*, p. 168, 17, 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 146, fig. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-23.

¹⁵ The texts above (n. 11) mention '*Kukkuṭoraga*', which some commentators translate as 'a serpent having the face of a crow', others, as understood by me, 'a crow or a serpent'.

¹⁶ In BURGESS' illustration, *o. c.*, pl. IV, she is shown with a five-hooded cobra over her head, and carrying in her 4 hands *pāśa* (?), *aṅkuśa*, (the lower left hand is without any symbol).

¹⁷ *Archæological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1931, pl. XI, 2 ; similar scroll work is also found on the *torāṇa* of Mahāvira, sculptured in the Jaina cave at Bādāmi, which is reproduced here. See Fig. 2.

Cha(e)nnakeśava temple, built by Viṣṇuvardhana Ballāla at Belur in A.D. 1117.

The second, the *mukuṭa* of Figs. II and III is richly decorated, but not as much as in those of the Hoysala figures.

The form of the symbols is thin and ornamental, but less than that found in Hoysala art.¹⁸

The facial features have not that fineness and sharpness visible in those of Hoysala figures. They resemble more those of the figure reproduced from the Jaina cave at Bādāmi.

Further the *kīrtimukha*—crest of the *torāṇa*—indicates that Figs. II and III are from South India, most probably from Karṇāṭaka.

Considering all the above points, it would appear, that the figures from the Prince of Wales Museum are from the ancient Karṇāṭaka region, and very probably of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period (c. 750-970 A.D.)

Further corroboration as to the provenance and probable age of the figure, is given by an image in a Jaina temple at Aihole. COUSENS,¹⁹ after describing it as "a fat squatting male figure with four arms": the u. r. h. bearing an axe, the l. r. h. a lotus bud; the u. l. h. a *pāśa* and the lower left, though now broken, being in *varadamudrā*, left it unidentified. The image, admittedly a later addition, is undoubtedly that of a Jaina Yakṣa, probably that of Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha, because his symbols are identical with those of the Yakṣa on the Jaina image at Amīnbhāvi mentioned on page 159. A doubt is, however, cast on this identification by the sculpture of a peacock (?) in low relief on the pedestal of the image. The sculpture is decidedly earlier than those in the Prince of Wales Museum.

The Jaina cave (No. V) at Bādāmi is important for the study of Jaina iconography, as it developed in Karṇāṭaka. In it are carved a few forms of Jaina images, such as *caturvīṃśatīpaṭa*, a number of Tīrthaṅkaras and some Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs.²⁰ BURGESS²¹ noticed and illustrated the Tīrthaṅkaras, whereas BANERJĪ²² in his otherwise excellent monograph completely ignored them. Thus neither the Tīrthaṅkaras nor their attendants have been studied so far.

The cave is dedicated to Ādinātha (or Rṣabhadeva), who is carved in the central cell behind the two verandahs. His *lāñchana*, bull, is shown on his *āsana* but not his Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī.

In the front verandah, to our right, as we enter, is carved Supārśva, the 7th Tīrthaṅkara of the Digambaras.²³ To his right is a

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1933, pl. xviii, figs. 2 and 3.

¹⁹ O. c., p. 49, fig. 114.

²⁰ See here Figs. 1-3.

²¹ *Report on the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts*, ASWI., I, 1874, pp. 25-26.

²² 'Bas reliefs of Badami', MASI., No. 25 (1928).

²³ If the hoods are 7, the figure will be that of Parśvanātha. BURGESS' (o.c., p. 25) statement is inconsistent. He describes the hoods as 'five' and the figure as Pārśvanātha.



Fig. 4
YAKSA
Courtesy : Prince of Wales Museum Bombay



Fig. 5
YAKSINI
Courtesy : Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

standing female figure,²⁴ with a serpent-hood, and having two arms only, holding in one hand a *cāmara*, in the other an umbrella²⁵. The *lāñchana* of the Tīrthaṅkara is not shown.

For the study of the secondary Jaina pantheon, the standing female figure is important. Unlike Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs she is standing and is holding no particular symbols in her two hands. It is not possible to decide therefore whether the figure is that of a Yakṣinī.

In the same varandah, to our left, is carved Pārśvanātha, but not his Yakṣa and Yakṣinī on his either side, as is usually the case.

The second or the inner verandah has in its either corner a figure of Mahāvīra,²⁶ whose *lāñchana*, lion, as well as the two lions of the lion-throne are also shown. In addition to these we also find his Yakṣa and Yakṣinī seated on either side of his feet. The Yakṣa of Mahāvīra, in the right hand niche, is seated to his right in the usual *lalitāsana*-pose under a tree. He has four arms, and holds in his u. r. h. a weapon which cannot be identified ; the l. r. h. is in *abhayamudrā* ; the u. l. h. carries a long weapon with an ovalish-hollow head. Below on his seat is carved his *vāhana*, elephant. The Yakṣinī is seated to the left of Mahāvīra.²⁷ Her sitting posture and the symbols held by her are identical with those of the Yakṣa. On her seat is carved in low relief a bird which must be identified with her *vāhana*, swan.

This representation of Mahāvīra's attendants, Mātāṅga and Siddhāyini, resembles that of the canons in certain respects, but differs in others. First both of them have 4 arms, and hold similar symbols in their hands ; whereas BURGESS' Yakṣa holds no symbol and his Yakṣinī has two hands only, and also does not carry any symbol.²⁸

Besides these a Yakṣinī is also carved on the left hand side of the front wall of the main cell.²⁹ She resembles Figures V from the Prince of Wales Museum. She is seated in *lalitāsana*, and has four arms. In the u. r. h. she carries an *aṅkuśa* ; the l. r. h. exhibits *abhayamudrā* ; the u. l. h. holds a *pāśa* and lower a fruit, perhaps a *bijapūraka*. Below her, is carved in low relief a bird, which looks like a swan, but may be a crow. There is no distinct sign of a serpent-hood over her head, otherwise the figure could have been definitely identified with that of Padmāvati.

On the right hand side, on the same wall, is carved a female figure with children seated in her lap. She may be Kuśmāṇḍinī, Yakṣinī of the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha.

²⁴ See here Fig. 1.

²⁵ Attendants with similar features are also found in a Jaina temple at Lak-kundi. Cf. COUSENS, o. c., pl. Lxii.

²⁶ See Fig. 2.

²⁷ BURGESS, *ASWI*, I, p. 25 called her 'Lakṣmī'.

²⁸ BURGESS, "Digambara Jaina Iconography," *IA*, XXXII (1903), pl. IV. I have not been able to consult Ferru THAKKURA's book, as it was not available in Poona.

²⁹ Here Fig. 3.

What strikes us most is the repetition of Mahāvīra's figures with his attendants and the absence of the attendants of other Tīrthaṅkaras. Is it due to the fact that the secondary Jaina pantheon had not then fully evolved? Only further study of the early Jaina sculptures from Kaṇṇāṭaka could answer this question.

Stylistically, considering the details discussed previously³¹, the sculptures are much earlier than those mentioned before from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Some of them, especially those of the Tīrthaṅkaras might be coeval or earlier than those in caves I-III. For a close resemblance is visible between, for instance, the manner of representing the hoods of Supārśva and those of Ananta in cave III,³² whereas the facial expression of the Yakṣiṇī³³ here reproduced and her position of the legs with those of Viṣṇu on the same Ananta. And though the epigraphical evidence is doubtful for an earlier date³⁴, there is no doubt that the principal Tīrthaṅkara figures mentioned above, are, at least, the product of the period of Pulakeśin II, who patronized Jainism. Other figures might be of subsequent period also, for Jainism was a flourishing religion under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

At Deogarh, in the Jhansi district, Daya Ram SAHNI, while clearing the Fort area discovered ruins of 31 Jaina temples.³⁵ A few pillars, porches, and sculptures on these temples bear short inscriptions. A number of them are dated between the 10th and the 12th centuries,³⁶ and mention names of donors, Jaina paṇḍits and ācāryas, whereas a pillar in front of temple No. 18 records that two *māna-stambhas* were erected in *Samvat* 1121 before the *maṭha* of Rājyapāla. This Rājyapāla, though unknown then, may now be identified with one of the last Gurjara-Pratihāra Kings of the same name³⁷. If this were accepted then it would mean that some Jaina temples already existed at Deogarh, before the 10th century³⁸. To this substantial addition was made by the succeeding dynasty, viz. the Candrātreyas (Candellas), a dynasty which is already famous for its magnificent Jaina and other temples at Khajurāho. An inscription of one of its rulers, Kirtivarman, is also found on a ghāt at Deogarh.³⁹

³⁰ Cf. BURGESS, o. c., pl. iv.

³¹ See page 159.

³² BANERJI, o. c., pl. xvii, a.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ For the alleged copperplates of Pulakeśin I. (*IA* VII, p. 211) are forgeries.

³⁵ *Annual Progress Report, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, 1918, pp. 8-9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 12-17.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 10.

³⁸ See *EL.*, XXIII, Appendix, p. 400; RAY, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 598.

³⁹ Proved conclusively by an inscription of (V). S. 919 (A.D. 863) found on a pillar of a porch to the west of Jaina temple No. 12. See above f. n. 36, and Ray, o. c., pp. 695-701.

FIG. 6.

CAKREŚVARĪ, YAKṢIṆĪ OF THE 1ST JINA RĀBHA.

From Temple No. 15, Deogarh.

The figure is noteworthy for the following :—

- (1) For the number of figures with which the Jina, as well as the Yakṣiṇī is surrounded with ; a feature which is rarely found in Jaina iconography.
- (2) For depicting a number of female attendants of the Yakṣiṇī, showing that she too held a high place in the Jaina pantheon.
- (3) For the pose of the Yakṣiṇī. Even though she is seated on Garuḍa, who is carved as in numerous figures of Viṣṇu, she is not sitting astride Garuḍa, but is seated in *lalitāsana*, which is usually found in the case of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs.
- (4) For the highly expressive faces of the Yakṣiṇīs and her attendants, as well as for the beautiful modelling of the belly of the Yakṣiṇī. These features remind us of the Candella art as found at Khajuraho and elsewhere.

(Cf. a similar figure SANKALIA, "Jaina Iconography" p. c.).

FIG. 7

MĀLINĪ OR SUMĀLINĪ, YAKṢIṆĪ OF THE 8TH JINA
CANDRAPRABHA.

From Temple No. 19, Deogarh, dated A.D. 1070.

The figure is remarkable for the following :—

- (1) For the number of arms : She had at least 8 arms, of which only the lower right is complete.
- (2) It is the only image known so far of this Yakṣiṇī.
- (3) For the highly expressive attitude of the *vāhana*.

For other features see comments on Fig. 6, Nos. 1-4.



FIG. 6.

Sculpture representing sixteen-armed Yakṣiṇī, Cakreśvaraī, sitting on her vehicle in lalitāsana. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi. Temple No. 15.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.



FIG. 7.

Sculpture (height 59") representing Yakṣiṇī, Mālīnī or Sumālīnī, dedicated by Tribhuvanakīrti. Circa 1070 A.D. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi. Temple No. 19.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.



FIG. 8.

Slab showing two-armed Yakṣiṇī, Śurakṣitā, and the Tirthaṅkara Dharmaṇātha. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.



FIG. 9.

Slab showing two-armed Yakṣiṇī, Tārādevī, and the Tirthaṅkara Aranātha. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.

FIG. 8

SURAKṢITĀ, YAKṢIṆĪ OF THE 15TH JINA DHARMAÑĀTHA.

The figure is to be noted for the following :--

- (1) For her unconventional but graceful pose.
- (2) For the fact that she is two-armed only.
- (3) For the facial features, and the pose of the left hand. These resemble those of the figures from the *stupa* at Mathura.

Stylistically the figure seems to be at least of the late Gupta period, c. 600 A.D.

FIG. 9

TĀRĀDEVĪ, YAKṢIṆĪ OF THE 18TH JINA ARANĀTHA.

The figure is noteworthy for the facts mentioned with regard to Fig. 8. Stylistically the figure, though not so refined as Fig. 6, nor so graceful as Fig. 8, still seems to be earlier than Fig. 6 ; does not seem to be a product of the Candella period.



FIG. 10.

Slab showing four-armed Yakṣiṇī, Arakarabhī (?) and the Tirthaṅkara Kumthu. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.



FIG. 11.

Slab showing two-armed Yakṣiṇī, Sulakṣaṇā, and the Tirthaṅkara Vimala. Deogarh Fort, Jhansi.

Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.

Temple No. 12 of the Deogarh group is by far the most important for an archæological study of Jaina iconography. Here are carved on upright slabs inserted in the intercolumniations of the verandah figures of 20 Jaina Yakṣinīs; the remaining four figures are unfortunately hidden behind a later porch. The value of these figures is increased by the fact that all of them are found together with their Tīrthaṅkaras and both of them are named. Some of them are dated also.

A study of these Yakṣinīs raises a number of problems. A comparison of their figures and names with those mentioned by BURGESS,⁴¹ and FERRU THAKURRA⁴² shows a striking difference not only in names but in the number of heads, arms, and even in posture. A majority of the Deogarh Yakṣinīs have two arms only, are standing, and perhaps not all have their *vāhanas*⁴³. We do not know whether these Yakṣinīs belong to the Digambara or to the Śvetāmbara school. Probably they represent the latter. Granting even then the difference that would obtain between the iconography of the two schools, we find that the Deogarh figures are very much different from those described by the canons of either school. Are they then anterior to the systematization of the canonical iconography? Or are these Yakṣinīs after a canon followed in Central India which is now lost or unknown to us? Investigation of both these questions is necessary.

In Gujarāt and its neighbouring areas, sufficient attention is not yet devoted towards seeking after dated images of Jaina Yakṣas and others, or images enshrined in definitely old temples, though there are a number of Jaina temples of the early medieval period in Northern Gujarāt, Rājputāna and Kāthiāwār. A search in these parts might bring to light a temple of the type at Deogarh. So far the only known image is that of the Yakṣinī published by NAWAB, which is already discussed elsewhere in this *Journal*. What is to be noted in the image is that she has two arms only and is shown without the *vāhana* associated with her, resembling thus in some respects the figures from Deogarh.

If the Bādāmi cave V probably points to the general development of the secondary Jaina pantheon in Kaṇṇāṭaka, the Deogarh figures confirm the view of the writer that a regional and dynastic study of Jaina Iconography might demonstrate its position and nature at different periods in different parts of India at the same time illustrate the iconographic variations in sculpture and text.

⁴⁰ See above f. n. 37.

⁴¹ See Appendix to this article.

⁴² As his book is not before me I cannot give the details in a tabular form as I have done from BURGESS.

⁴³ A detailed study of these figures with their photographs will be published in the next number of the *Bulletin*.

APPENDIX (to the article on *Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis*)

	BURGESS :	Digambara	Iconography	Svetāmbara (as given by BURGESS)	Jaina Iconography as found in the Temple at Deogarh
1	Tirthankara Rṣabha	Yakṣa Gomukha 4-armed Bull Mahāyakṣa 8-armed Elephant Trimukha 6-armed Peacock Yakṣeśvara 4-armed Elephant Tumbaru 4-armed Garuda	Yakṣiṇi Cakreśvari 16-armed Garuda Rohiṇi 4-armed Seat or a Stool Prañapati 6-armed Swan Vajraśmikhala 4-armed Swan Puruṣadattā 4-armed Elephant	Yakṣiṇi Yakṣa Ajitabalā Duritāri Śyāma	Yakṣiṇi Cakreśvari i 4-armed ii also 16-armed seated in <i>lalitāsana</i> on her vehicle <i>Garuda</i> i Bhagawati Saraswati 2-armed C.A.D. 1070.
2	Ajita				
3	Sambhava				
4	Abhinandana				
5	Sumati Wheel or Circle Śve: Red goose				

	Kusuma	Manovegī	Mātāṅga	Śāntā	Sulocanā
6	Padmaprabha Lotus-bud	4-armed Bull	4-armed Horse		
7	Supārśva Varanandi 4-armed (?) Lion	Kālī 4-armed Bull			
8	Candraprabha Śyāma or Vijaya	Jvālāmlīni 8-armed (Weapons and Snakes) Bull		Bhr̥kūṭī	i Sumālīni ii C.A.D. 1070.
9	Puṣpadanta Karkatā (crab) Śve. Makara	Mahākālī (or Ajitā) 4-armed None		Sutarkā	Bahurūpī 2-armed
10	Śītala Śrī-Vṛkṣa Śve: Śrīvatsa	None Mānavi 4-armed None		Aśokā	Śrīvadevī 4-armed
11	Śreyāṁsa Deer	Gaurī 4-armed	Yakṣat	Mānavi	Vahni 2-armed (standing)

APPENDIX (to the article on *Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs*)—continued.

	BURGESS :	<i>Digambara</i>	<i>Iconography</i>	Śvetāmbara (as given by BURGESS)	Jaina Iconography as found in the temple at Deogarh
12	Vāsupujya Bull Śve : Mahiṣa	Kumāra 3 heads 6-armed Peacock Sanmukha or Kārttikeya 12-armed Cock Pātāla 3-headed 6-armed Crocodile Kinnara 3 heads 6-armed Fish Kimpuraṣa	Gāndhāri 4-armed Snake Vairoṣi 4-armed Serpent Anantamati 4-armed Swan Mānasi 4-armed Lion Mahānānasi	Caṇḍā	Abhogarohini 2-armed Sulakṣaṇā 2-armed Anantaviryā 2-armed Surakṣitā 2-armed Śrīyadevī
13	Vimala				
14	Ananta			Aṅkaśā	
15	Dharma			Kandarpā	
16	Śānti			Nirvāṇi	

17	Tortoise Śve: Antelope Kunthu	4-armed Bull Gāndharva 4-armed	4-armed Peacock Vijayā or Jayā Peacock Ajitā			4-armed Anantavīryā 2-armed Arakarabhi (?) 4-armed Tārādevī 2-armed Bhīmadevī 2-armed Unnamed (standing on a lotus) 4-armed Unnamed (standing) 2-armed
18	Ara Deer Śve: Nandīvāvarta	Kendra 6 heads 12-armed Peacock Kubera 4 heads 8-armed Elephant Varuṇa 7-headed 4-armed None Bhṛkūṣi 4-headed 8-armed	Yakṣet Dhanā Dharana- priyā Naradattā Gāndhārī			
19	Malli Kalaśa		Aparājītā Hansa Bahurūpiṇi			
20	Munisuvrata					
21	Nimf or Nami Nilotpala					

APPENDIX (to the article on *Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs*).—(Continued)

	BURGESS :	Digambara	Iconography	Śvetāmbara (as given by BURGESS)	Jaina Iconography as found in the temple at Deogarh
22	Nemi	Bull Sarvāhna 3 headed 6-armed Turret or small temple	Crocodile Kusmāṇḍini 4-armed Lion	Ambikā	Ambayikā (standing) 4-armed
23	Pāśva	Dharendra or Pāśvayakṣa 4-armed Tortoise	Padmāvati 4-armed Swan		i Padmāvati 4-armed ii C. A. D. 1070.
24	Vardhamāna	Mātāṅga 4-armed Elephant	Siddhāyini 2-armed Swan		

THE AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE

By

H. D. SANKALIA & A. V. NAIK¹

The Ambarnāth temple which gives its name to a village near Kalyan is peculiarly situated. It is neither in the Deccan² nor in Gujarāt, but in Koṅkan which in the early mediaeval period was a half-way house, a meeting place, for various purposes between the dynasties of the 'north' and those of the Deccan. It was thus open to influences from both these directions. Does the Ambarnāth temple, perhaps the solitary witness of those times, give evidence of those influences? If it does, which power or cultural contact seems to have influenced it most? It is the object of this paper to inquire by

- 1 describing the most important aspects of the temple from a personal observation;
- 2 briefly reviewing the history of the period;
- 3 comparing the salient features of the temple with those of the neighbouring areas.

The village in which the Ambarnāth temple stands is situated four miles south-east of Kalyan in the Thana District.³ The temple is built of dark basalt which is the commonest form of rock among the Deccan trap-flows.⁴ Originally the temple was surrounded by a walled enclosure. It now consists of a *garbhagrha* and a *mandapa* with three porches on the north, south and west.

The *mandapa*⁵ consists of a central square which is surrounded by an aisle which again has lobbies on the four sides. The east lobby is the vestibule which leads to the *garbhagrha*.

The *garbhagrha* is a sunken, square chamber which is reached by a descent of few steps. This flight of steps occupies the whole depth of the usual antechamber which brings the shrine-door unusually forward. In the middle of this chamber is a '*svayambhu*' *linga* which is the cult image. The *garbhagrha* faces the west.

Taken as a whole, the plan of the temple is made up of two squares

¹ We must also acknowledge here the assistance given by Mr. PATIL, another student of the Department, in studying a part of the temple.

² COUSENS, (*Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*) includes it in temples of the Deccan.

³ For exact location of the village and the temple, see *Survey of India, Bombay Suburban, Kolaba & Thana Districts*, Map No. 47 E/4.

⁴ BG., XII, p. 3. We have verified this by referring to *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, xliii, I, p. 40.

⁵ For a detailed description of the temple see BG., XIV, p. 2 ff. and IA., III, p. 316 ff.

to which are added projections on all sides. It resembles those of the Northern style. The basement or the *piṭha* of the temple is a series of projecting and receding members. It has, beginning from the bottom, an inverted lotus-leaf, or cymarecta moulding (which may be called *padma* or *jāḍamba*), then a deep neck (*gala*), then a 'torus', a half-round moulding (which may be called *kumbhi*), again a deep neck, then a row of *kīrtimukhas*, followed by the *gajathara*, then a narrow neck, a band of scroll-work and lastly *narathara*, consisting of a number of figures—amorous couples—and having a niche on each face with a miniature canopy over the figures of deities in it. The next is a heavy torus with a sort of boss on each face over which, separated by a deep neck, is a plain projection and the next contains a single small figure of a deity on each face.

From this begin the walls proper or *maṇḍovara*, which have the ordinary mouldings and figure panels. This course is the deepest and is one series of male and female figures in various attitudes. These images consist of gods, goddesses and dancing girls. Outside the *garbhagṛha* has three principal niches—one in the centre of each side—each niche having a niche below in the basement.

The *śikhara*—quite the half of which has fallen—is in the 'Northern style'. It has four vertical bands ornamented with frets running up each of its four faces. The corners between these bands are filled with horizontal tiers of pillar-like ornaments, obviously a modification of miniature *śikhara* which on account of its being a decorative detail has become very difficult to recognize. At the bottom of each vertical band which runs from the topmost cornice of the *maṇḍovara* to the *amalaka*, is a *caitya*-window ornament in which is carved a figure of a Śaiva deity. Between the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and the *śikhara*, above the topmost cornice of the *maṇḍovara*, in the first and second row of horizontal tiers, on the north and south side of the shrine, are two pillared niches, one above the other, in which are carved figures of deities. The upper niche on each side is surmounted with a *caitya*-window ornament. A *caitya*-window is also found on the west side of the roof of the south porch in which is carved a human figure.

There are ten free standing pillars in the temple, four in the centre of the hall which support the main ceiling and two in each porch supporting the roof. Then each lobby has carved pilasters in the outer corners and a pair of richly carved half-detached pillars at the inner end. Each porch, besides the two free-standing pillars, has a pair of pilasters.

The four principal pillars in the centre of the *maṇḍapa* are alike and elaborately carved. They are nearly square at the base and change into octagons at a little one-third their height. Their capitals are circular under square abaci, which again are surmounted with dwarf columns terminating in the usual bracket capitals of the older Hindu

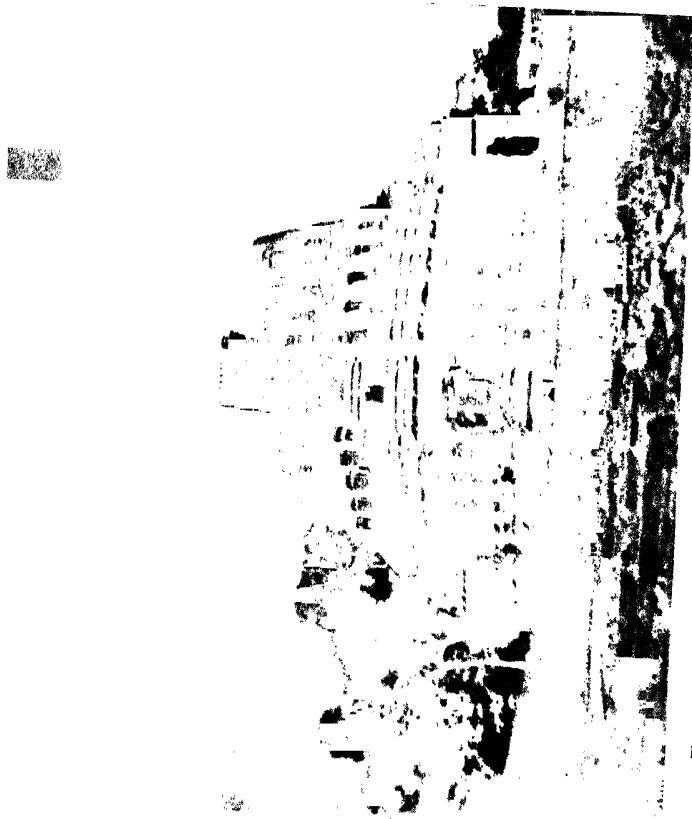


FIG 1. GARBHAGRHA (SHRINE-CHAMBER) OUTSIDE, EASTERN SIDE.
AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE.

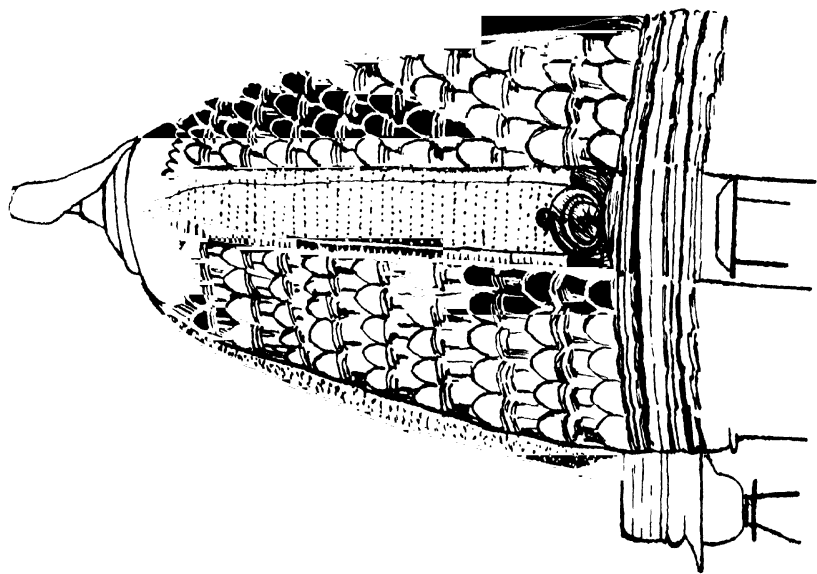


FIG. 3.
Sketch of the Śikhara of Siddhanāth Temple, Nemavar.

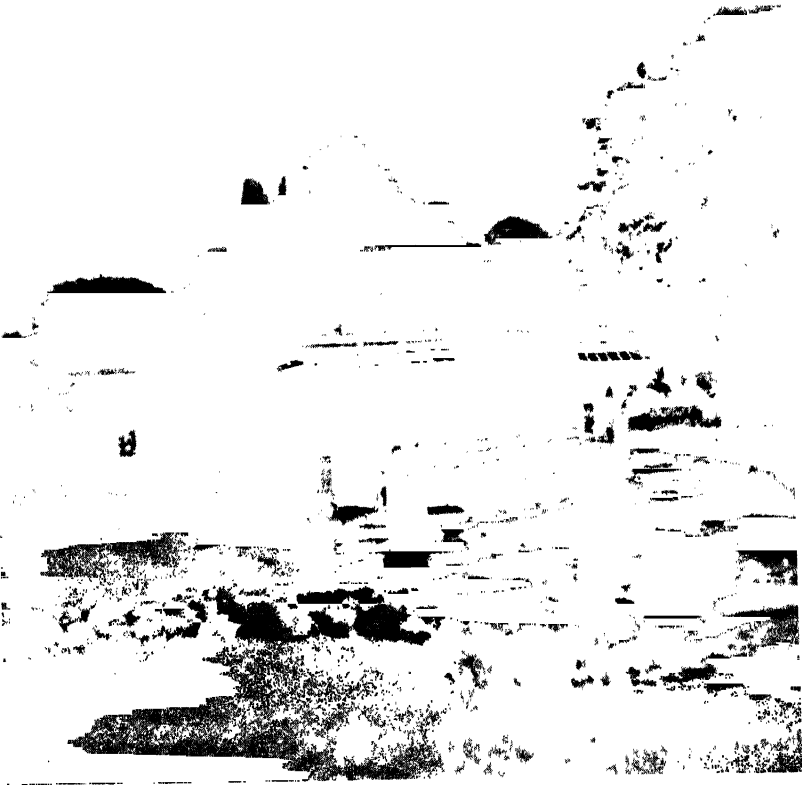


FIG 2. ENTRANCE AND MANDAPA, WEST SIDE AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE



FIG 5 PILLAR-WORSHIP, SOUTH EAST FACE, AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE

temples. These pillars differ considerably from those in the porches. The pillars in the main, or west, and the south porches are similar and differ from those in the north. The former rise from the square to round necks and round capitals while the latter continue the square plan all the way up.

The ceilings of the *maṇḍapa* have a variety of exquisite designs. The finest of these is the central dome which rests upon the heavy beams over the four central pillars. In the centre is a pendant, to which rises the dome in a series of concentric circles. The lowest circle is decorated with a running scroll whereas the remaining four are scooped out into what seem to be half-blossomed conventional lotuses which Cousens calls "half cup-shaped and cusped hollows." The triangular spaces in the corners between the angle of the beam and the edge of the circle are filled in with *kīrtimukhas* and scroll work.

The ceilings of the lobbies on the three sides, the west, north and south are covered with flat panels carved with vermiculated work in geometric designs. The ceilings of the porches are flat consisting of two panels each also carved with vermiculated work in geometric designs. Between the central dome and the shrine-door-way are two flat ceiling panels which are decorated with lotus rosettes and other flat ornament. The corners in all these ceiling panels are occupied by *kīrtimukhas*. The ceiling of the aisle is coved downwards from the inner square to the walls and this is decorated with two tiers of ribbing with lozenge-shaped rosettes between the ribs.

The outer side of the walls of the temple is adorned with images, half-life-size, many of which are damaged partially. Owing to this, identification has become very difficult, if not impossible. However, we have tried to identify them.

The number of images which occupy this band (*maṇḍovara*) is 70. Of these 30 are female and 40 male. The female figures represent goddesses which are in fact different aspects of *Pārvatī*. The male figures, with some exceptions, represent Śiva in various forms. Again of the 70 images only 4 are representations of *Viṣṇu* (excluding his *avatāras*) which fact undoubtedly indicates that the temple was Śaivite from the first. These are found on the south-west and north-west parts of the *maṇḍapa* wall, two on each face, and those on the former, face south while those on the latter face west. There are also images of Varāha and Narasimha on the north-west and north-east parts of the *maṇḍapa* wall respectively. The former faces north and the latter east. Of all these images 18 face east, 14 west, 19 south and 19 north.⁶

⁶ It is interesting to note the distribution of these sculptures, which is as follows :—

1. From the northern pilaster of the west porch i.e. main entrance, to the principal niche on the east :—35.
2. From the eastern niche to the southern pilaster of the main porch :—35.

Only those images which seem to be unique or important are described in some detail below :—

(1) *Mahiṣamarddini*. The image is noteworthy not so much for its iconography as for its artistic pose⁷. The Gupta art has given us an almost erect figure of hers standing over the buffalo demon⁸; the Pallava a life-like representation, the goddess sitting on a lion and attacking the demon as in actual battle⁹. In later sculptures (stone as well as bronze) both in the south and the north, she is usually found in a *tribhaṅga* pose. But here, at Ambarnāth, her *tribhaṅga* form is dancing, vibrant with spirited action, and graceful with beautiful curves of the neck, back, arms and legs. Of her numerous figures this seems to be unique.

(2) *Kāmadeva*. The next but one from Mahiṣamarddini, and sixteenth from the main porch is the image of Kāmadeva¹⁰. On each side of this figure is a pillar on which rests an exquisitely carved *torāṇa*. Each pillar has two *makaras* projecting from the abacus, one inside and the other outside. At the apex of the *torāṇa* is a *kīrtimukha* and below this hangs a pendant. On the abacus of each of these pillars is a miniature niche with triangular roof, ornamented with *caitya*-window which is supported with hands by a sitting human figure, which is placed in the niche. The 'S' shaped brackets which hold the pendant emerge from two conventional *makaras* which project inside from the abaci.

The image of Kāmadeva has eight hands, but forearms of the four right hands have disappeared and palms of the left hands lost. The god wears a plain upper garment. The waistband of the god is exactly similar to that of the Trimūrti (or is it Maheśa?) in the back wall niche. A parrot, the *vāhana* of the deity, whose head is lost stands on the right side of the figure.

(3) *Pillar worship*. Next to the niche on the south, on the south-east portion of the shrine wall is a panel which contains a singular but significant sculpture facing east¹¹. The panel contains two male figures facing each other, between whom is placed a circular shaft

3. From the main porch to the north porch :—10.

4. From the main porch to the south porch :—13.

5. From the north porch to the north niche :—13.

6. From the south porch to the south niche :—13.

7. From the north niche to the principal niche on the east 12.

8. From the south niche to the principal niche :—12.

In (4) above, curiously enough, there is not a single female figure!

⁷ Unfortunately our photograph of it is a little under-exposed; we have therefore published a drawing from it. See Fig.

⁸ See BANERJI, 'The Śiva Temple at Bhūmāra', *MAŚI*, No. 16, pl. xiv, (b).

⁹ RAO, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pla. cv., and xciv-civ.

¹⁰ See Fig. 4.

¹¹ See Fig. 5.

ROUGHLY CARVED HANUMAN. AMBARNATH.

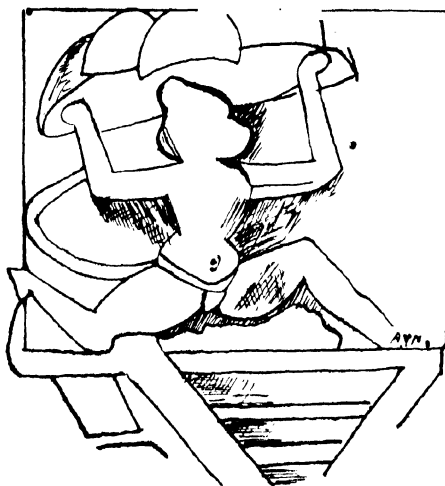


FIG. 6.



FIG. 4. KĀMADEVA, NORTH FACE,
AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE.



MAHISAMARDHINI. AMBARNATH.

tapering upwards. On this shaft are carved two seated human figures, one at the base and the other at the top, and an inverted human figure is seen in its middle. The male figures on each side of the shaft seem to be worshipping it. Each has four hands. The one to the left of the shaft holds a *triśūla* in his upper left hand while with the lower he touches the shaft. That on the right has suffered violence and his hands are lost. Two small flying figures holding something, which we think are bones, in their hands are seen over the heads of these male figures.

(4) *Gajahāmūrti*. The central niche on the south side has Śiva represented in his terrific aspect as killing an elephant demon (*asura*) and hence is known as Gajahāmūrti or Gajāsurasamhāramūrti. COUSENS mistook this for Śiva dancing the *tāṇḍava* as *Naṭeśvara*¹². The image faces south and its left leg is completely lost and the right broken from knee downwards. The figure had sixteen hands almost all of which are lost now. Śiva wears a loose *hāra* and an *udarabandha* and stands in a beautiful *tribhaṅga* pose. Surrounding his figure is the skin of the elephant in the form of a *prabhāmaṇḍala*, and the elephant's head is lying on the left side of Śiva.

(5) *Hanumān*. On the south side of the right of the central niche in the recess of a projecting corner is a quaint image of Hanumān roughly carved and a little disfigured¹³. It is quite surprising to find a figure of Hanumān on this temple. On examining the slab on which it is carved we found that it forms an integral part of the wall.

Hanumān is shown carrying the Droṇagiri over his head supported by his hands. His legs are wide apart indicating that he is flying. His left leg is slightly damaged near the thigh. On his right is seen his tail. The mountain is sculptured in the form of a canopy which resembles a *chatra*. The whole figure is disproportionate and very primitive, and hence raises the problem whether it is coeval with the temple. Firstly, because the figures of Rāmāyaṇa mythology are rarely found as iconographical figures in early mediæval temples of the north as well as south, though bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are known from cave-temples and the temple of Virupākṣa at Paṭṭadakal, or Deogarh in Central India. Particularly rare is the figure of Hanumān, and since it is poorly carved at Ambarnāth, it is possible that it is a later work, carried out directly on the wall¹⁴.

The tenth century was a fateful period in the history of early medi-

¹² For in the *Tāṇḍava* Śiva does not wear an elephant's skin. Cf. RAO, o. c., II, i, p. 235; cf. p. 150.

¹³ See Fig. 6.

¹⁴ Unlike the practice of the Indian sculptors who first carved a figure of a design of the required shape and size and inserted it in the building. It must however be very difficult to work on the wall, as we experienced considerable hardship in photographing the figure.

æval dynasties. The supremacy over Deccan and Karnāṭaka passed once again to the Western Cālukyas (of Kalyana), from that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had held it for over 200 years (c. 750-970 A.D.). This change, however, did not affect the governors of the Koṅkan, viz. the Śilāhāras (and later Yādavas of Devagiri) who continued to rule the province first as vassals, and later as independent kings till the 13th century.

The north of Koṅkan, Lāṭa, was still, at least about 970 A.D., under the Paramāras of Mālwa, who a little while ago were semi-independent governors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but shook off even this nominal allegiance under Siyaka II in about 960 A.D.

Further north, the Caulukyias had established themselves in Northern Gujarāt at Anhilvād.

To the north-east of Koṅkan, the Central Provinces, Central India and the Gangetic Doab, which were once included in the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire had each of them an independent ruler in the Haihayas, the Paramāras and the Candrātreyas (Candella) by the end of the 10th century, though the descendants of the Gurjara-Pratihāras held nominal power in the Gangetic Doab till about 1020.

All these early mediæval dynasties built magnificent temples in their respective kingdoms, though all are not equally well-known and none so far studied in detail¹⁵.

The builder of the Ambarnāth temple, the Śilāhāra, Mummuni, had thus enough material around him to choose from, for the style of the temple he proposed to construct in Koṅkan in about 1060 A.D. And we have to suppose that he followed this course, for even a glance at the photograph of the temple will show that the temple is not a development of the Drāvidian model followed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (whose structural temples have not yet been discovered, because they are not looked for), nor that of the types built by the earlier Cālukyas at Aihole, Paṭṭadkal and other places in Karnāṭaka. But the Ambarnāth temple will appear to be a harmonious blending of the fashions prevalent to its north, and those already existing in the country. Our study may therefore show how much of the northern elements the temple seems to have had and enable us to trace them to their sources.

With the earlier Cālukyan temples there are a few affinities, for instance, beginning with the earliest northern type *śikhara* temple at Aihole, viz., that of Huchchimalliguḍi, we find a central vertical band of *caitya*-windows on four sides of the *śikhara*, having almost a circular *caitya*-window inset a Śaiva deity at its base, running right through

¹⁵ Those of the Caulukyias have been studied by Dr. SANKALIA and his book on them will be published in a couple of months. Others are being studied by him.

the temples No. 9, 24, and of Durgā at Aihole¹⁷, and those of the 8th century temples of Mallikārjuna, Pāpanātha, and Galaganātha at Paṭṭadkal¹⁸. And this band, possessing small *caitya*-windows, but now numerous, and having a *caitya*-window with an inset Śaiva figure forms a prominent feature of the Ambarnāth temple. The Cālukyan temples cited above also contain *amalakas* of a *śikhara* but they never seem to develop into miniature *śikharas*, rising vertically one above the other as at Ambarnāth.

The pillar form as it evolved in Cālukyan temples, noticed, for example, in the temple of Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadkal¹⁹, and characterized by a lathe-turned round capitals, may have also influenced the pillar form as found at Ambarnāth²⁰ and other temples in the Deccan.

The *śikhara*-form of the temples of the Caulukyās of Northern Gujarāt, as has been already pointed out by COUSENS²¹, differs from that of Ambarnāth.

The temples of the Haihayas, at Amarkantak for instance²², though characterized by a vertical central band on four sides of the *śikhara* as at Ambarnāth are dissimilar from it in other respects.

The Candella temples at Khajurāho have a few things in common with those of the temple at Ambarnāth. The plan, for example, of the Kandarya Mahādeva at Khajurāho resembles to a certain extent that of Ambarnāth as well as the niched projections round the shrine, and those between three porches of the *maṇḍapa*. But its *śikhara* is that of the clustered variety type of north Indian *śikharas*.

Two of the Paramāra temples in Mālwa, however, closely resemble that of Ambarnāth. The temple of Siddhanāth at Nemawar²³, and of Nīlakaṇṭheśwar at Un²⁴ have *śikharas* with vertically running bands of *caitya*-windows, and an almost round *caitya*-window (it is not clear from the photograph whether there is an inset figure), and miniature *śikharas* filling up the four sections of the main *śikhara*, a feature, though not fully manifest at Ambarnāth, is clearly developed at Balsane²⁵ and Sinnar²⁶. Moreover the numerous niches on the outside walls of the shrine as well as on those of the *maṇḍapa*, with figures of deities and dancers recall a similar feature at Ambarnāth and it might be pos-

¹⁷ Cf. COUSENS, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pl. xii, xiv, xv, xvi, ix respectively.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix, l. lii respectively.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, page 49, figure 15.

²⁰ COUSENS, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 15, fig. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.* The specific instance which COUSENS cites, namely the *śikhara* of the temple at Ruhāvi, is not so typical as that found at Saṇḍera, where another form is also found. See BURGESS, *Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, ASWI., IX, pl. xciv.

²² ASIWC., 1921, pl. 19.

²³ *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1919, pl. 19.

²⁵ COUSENS, *Dakhan*, pl. xvi and xxii.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. xlii.

sible to show a further relation by analysing the sculptures on this temple as we have done in the case of Ambarnāth²⁷. The formation of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Siddhanāth with a small porch on its three sides, resting on small pillars may well be compared with that of Ambarnāth. Its roof, however, has not those cupola-shaped decorations which the Ambarnāth temple has and because of which BURGESS²⁸ compared the Ambarnāth temple with that of Sūnak in Northern Gujarāt.

This close resemblance between the mediæval temples of the Deccan and those of Mālwa is no doubt significant. But does it show any evidence of borrowing or cultural influence on either side? It is possible that the temples in both these places may have been influenced by a third or a common source or developed independently. But the common source is not known so far, nor are found the intermediate steps leading to the style in the Deccan or in Central India. We may therefore examine the remaining possibility, *viz.*, of mutual influence, the grounds for which were there. The Deccan, since the time of Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, was constantly in touch with Central India and the Gangetic plains, and portions of Central India formed, at times, a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. It was thus that the earlier Paramāra rulers became vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the 9th century and ruled in this capacity over Lāṭa till 950 or 960 A.D., becoming independent in 970 A.D. The Deccan therefore had contact with Central India through the Paramāras which must have continued even after the Deccan passed into the hands of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, for the possession of Lāṭa was always a bone of contention between the dynasties of the 'North' and those of Deccan.

Now the Ambarnāth temple, as mentioned above, is dated A.D. 1060, where as the Siddhanāth temple at Nemawar, on stylistic con-

²⁷ For the present from BANERJI's description, the following classification is possible.

There are in all 99 figures, and the temple being a Śaivite one, all the images also belong to the same pantheon. Here, unlike Ambarnāth, female figures outnumber those of male. Of the 99 images 57 are female and 42 male. But these again can be sub-divided as follows:—

I *Female figures*—57

- (i) Dancing girls—10
- (ii) Attendants—31
- (iii) Śiva gaṇas—12
- (iv) Goddesses—4

II *Male figures*—42

- (1) Śiva gaṇas—33
- (2) Gods—9

The principal niches of the *garbhagrha*-wall are occupied by usual Śaiva deities, such as, Bhairava, Chāmūṇḍā, Śiva, dancing the Tāṇḍava, Andhakāsuravadhamūrti, and Mahiṣamarddini. The peculiarity about all these images is that none of them, including attendants, is shown seated.

²⁸ ASWI., IX, p. 105, pl. lxxxiii.

siderations, is placed in the 10th century A.D.²⁹ (probably one of the earliest monuments of the rising Paramāras), i.e., at least a century older than the temple of Ambarnāth. It is not quite unlikely therefore that this temple, which is regarded as 'one of the most important ancient monuments in India', with its new type of *śikhara*, and its *garbhagṛha* setting out on its *maṇḍovara* the whole Śaiva pantheon as it were, might have been an immediate source of inspiration to the Śīlāhāras and the Yādavas whose temples have survived at Ambarnāth in the Koṅkan and Sinnar, Balsane and other places in the Deccan.

²⁹ BANERJI, ASIWC., 1921, p. 98.

MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS NEAR POONA

By

H. D. SANKALIA

While searching old records for finding out prospective sites for exploration in the Deccan on behalf of the Institute, it appeared that Bhosari or Bhavsari near Poona had a number of primitive monuments¹, which though awaited a study, had not been studied. Subsequent investigation showed that not only was this true of the period till 1885 but of the later period also. Even the author of the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* had not noticed the monuments or if he had noticed them, had not thought it necessary to include them in the *List*. Thereupon the two students of the Department were instructed to visit the site and see if it still contained the things it had had some 55 years ago. Their report was encouraging. In the preliminary visit the writer was able to identify remains of two Dolmens, a number of stone circles and find a few ruins of mediaeval temples and memorial stones. Since Dolmens and other primitive monuments were found all over South India and Hyderabad (Deccan), their discovery further north-west in the Deccan was important from the cultural point of view. A detailed survey of the site was therefore recommended, the result of which is here published².

Bhavsari is situated about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Poona on the left side of the Poona-Nasik road. As we draw near the village from Poona we suddenly see huge grey boulders on our left. The level of the ground thus rises higher as we arrive at the village.

The boulder-strewn upland and lowland is not without significance to the villagers. They point it out as the site of the old city of Bhojapura, Bhavsari itself now being regarded as a remnant of it, and called Bhojpur.

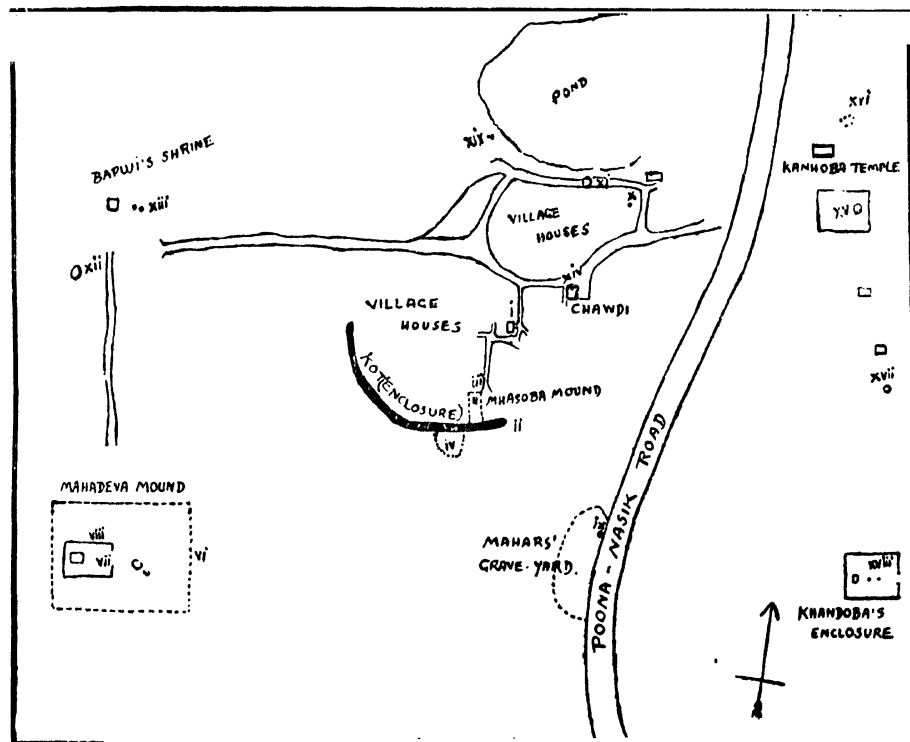
The villagers' belief has some foundation to rest on. The village even now contains a few ruins of the earlier period. First, to the south or south-west is a part of the high mud wall, which formerly enclosed the village forming what is still known as the *Kot*³; secondly, a number

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVIII (Poona), iii, p. 118.

² I would here thank the Principal of the Engineering College for lending instruments for measurements etc., the Govt. Photo. Zinco Office for kindly developing and printing the photographs and the two students of the Department Mr. NAIK and Mr. PATIL for assisting me in the work.

³ A small piece of it is also on the east or north-east and is visible as we enter the village on our right. See Pl. I, Fig. 1.

of Śiva temples now almost in ruins and perched on mounds ; thirdly, a few pieces of mediæval architecture—lintels, and pillars, now lying aimlessly or used very often in building modern structures ; fourthly shrines of Khaṇḍobā, Kānhobā, Mhasobā, Ṣatvaī and Marīāī ; fifthly



MAP OF BHAVSARI

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| i KALUBAI'S TEMPLE. | xi DOLMEN-LIKE SHRINE OF MUNJABA. |
| ii KOTE (MUD ENCLOSURE). | xii DOLMEN (CHEDOBA). |
| iii MHASOBA SHRINE. | xiii ERECT STONES. |
| iv STONE ENCLOSURE. | xiv HUGE STANDING STONE. |
| v DOLMEN. | xv DOLMEN. |
| vi MAHADEVA MOUND. | xvi STONE CIRCLE. |
| vii NANDI. | xvii DOLMEN (MODERN). |
| viii BASE OF A PILLAR. | xviii STONE GATEWAY ON THE EAST. |
| ix HERO STONE. | (KHANDOBA'S ENCLOSURE). |
| x HERO STONE. | xix TWO HERO STONES. |

megalithic structures such as Dolmens, Menhirs and stone-circles⁴. Only the last are important for our purpose, the rest being the work of the mediæval period.

Remains of megalithic structures which can be definitely identified as Dolmens are now found at three places : the first on the Mahādeva mound, the second on the dry bed of the rivulet, immediately behind the village, and in a straight line due north from the Mahādeva mound ; and the third in the compound of a modern agriculturist's hut, and to the south or south-east of Kānhobā's white-washed shrine, across on the right of the Poona-Nasik road. There is also a fourth one, along the field, on the way to Khaṇḍobā's shrine. But this is a modern structure, as admitted by the villagers themselves, whereas the three mentioned above are vouchsafed by them as 'very ancient' and absolutely 'untouched' as the tradition goes. This we could see for ourselves, for the fourth Dolmen was constructed with the ruins of another(?) and stones dug out from the ground.

The Dolmen on the Mahādeva temple mound, called a "quaint shrine"⁵, is the largest and the best preserved⁶. It consists of four principal stones ; the cap-stone, two side stones, and back stones. It is open on the front which faces the east. The cap-stone measures 3'2" × 4'7", whereas the entire structure is 2'9" broad, 2'6" high and 1'10" deep.

The Dolmen is said to be a "tomb". And it appears that the ground in front of it was even in recent times used as a burial ground, for a tomb-like masonry work alevel with a ground, running north-west to south-east, is visible.

The second Dolmen⁷, also called a "quaint shrine"⁸, is now used as a shrine of Cheḍobā. For inside the four-stoned chamber there is the cult image of Cheḍobā, a cylindrical stone 12" high⁹ and 15" in circumference, painted with red-lead (*sindura*). The cap-stone which is irregular has its maximum length 4'5", (the front 3'9" and the back-side 3'6"), and breadth 2'7" (minimum 2') ; the north side stone measures 1'10" by 1'7" and that on the south side 2'10" x 1'10". From the inside the Dolmen is 2'10" × 2'6" × 2'. The Dolmen faces the east.

The third Dolmen¹⁰, situated a few paces south of Kānhobā's shrine, looks a small structure, as its side stones are buried in ground. The cap-stone is 5'5" by 3'1".

⁴ Detailed description and measurements and photographs of many of the above mentioned objects have been taken by us, and we hope to publish them in the next number of the *Bulletin*.

⁵ B.G., XVIII, iii, p. 118.

⁶ See Plate I, Fig. 2.

⁷ See Plate I, Fig. 3.

⁸ B.G., o. c, p. 118.

⁹ In *Ibid.* the height given is 18", which seems to include the height of the pedestal-stone also.

¹⁰ See Plate I, Fig. 4.



Fig. 1. Remains of the Kot,
BHAVSARI.

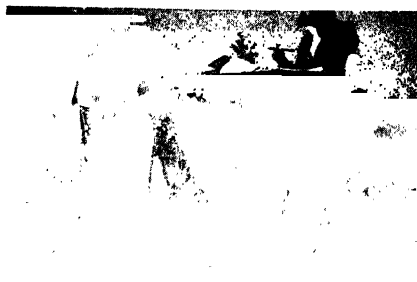


Fig. 2. Dolmen, Mahādeva Mound,
BHAVSARI.



Fig. 3. Dolmen, a shrine of Cheḍobā,
BHAVSARI.



Fig. 4. Dolmen, near Kānhobā's Shrine,
BHAVSARI.



Fig. 5. Menhir, near Bāpujboa Shrine,
BHAVSARI.



Fig. 6. Menhir, near CHAVDI,
BHAVSARI.

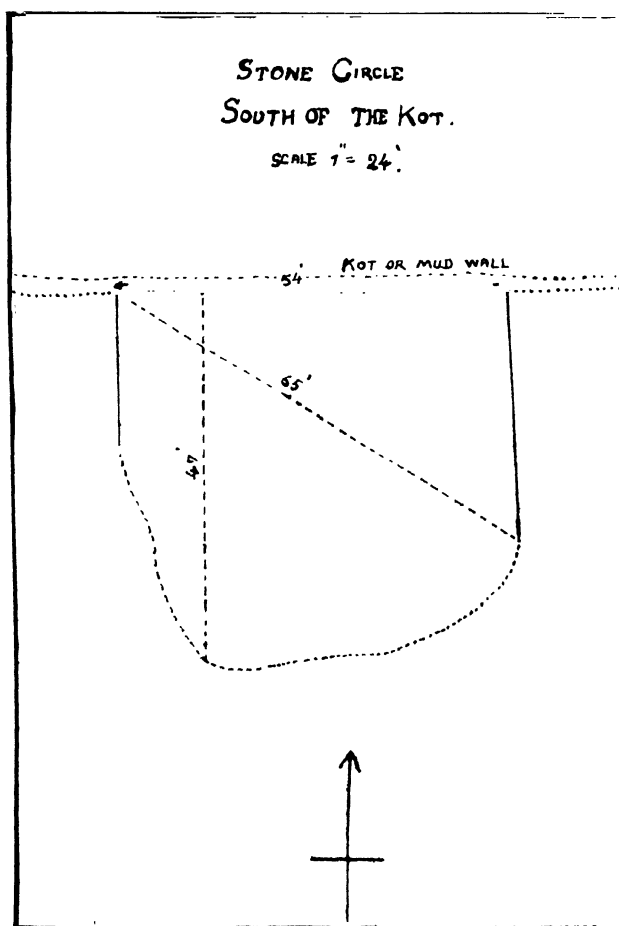


Fig. 7 A.



Fig. 7. Menhir Stones (?)
forming the gate of Kanhobā's Shrine,
BHAVSARI.



Fig. 8. Stone circle near
Kanhobā's Shrine,
BHAVSARI.

Besides these Dolmens one finds long stones, Menhirs, standing erect near a primitive shrine, or among stone enclosures or at some prominent place in the village *Koṭ*. Of these three deserve notice.

The first Menhir¹¹ is a few paces to the north east of the second Dolmen, erected in front of the Bāpujibōā's shrine. The stone is 4'8" in height and roundish at the top, having a circumference of 4' (in the middle 4'3" and the base 4'8"). It is covered with red-lead, and believed to be the *vīr* or *daivata* of Bāpujibōā.

The second Menhir¹² now stands against the south-west corner of the back-wall of a building known as Chāvḍī, which is situated on the main road in the *Koṭ* area. It is a huge stone measuring 8'8" in height, with an irregular breadth becoming lesser at the top : top 2'8", middle 2'9" and base 3'2". This is a characteristic feature of many of the huge stones here, and on examining one of them we found that the breadth was purposely reduced at the top by chipping off from the sides.

Two such stones now form the gateway of Khanḍobā's enclosure¹³, which is on the east across the Poona-Nasik road. Each stone is 6'4" high ; in breadth the stone of the north is 1'9" and that on the south 1'7".

Originally there must have been a number of stone enclosures at the place. Even now we notice some on the south and south-west, immediately behind the *Koṭ* wall and some on the east across the road, whereas those further west, north-west, and north of the village are nothing but irregular natural circles, though from a distance they appear as if artificially made¹⁴.

Two stone enclosures are here described. The first¹⁵ enclosure is found immediately behind the *Koṭ* wall on the south. It is polygonal in shape, the northern, western and eastern sides being almost straight, measuring about 54', 17' and 32' respectively, whereas the diagonal, running north-west to south-east, measures 65'¹⁶.

The second enclosure¹⁷ is situated near Kānhobā's shrine, across the road, on the east. It is small, 7' in diameter, but fairly intact, consisting of 7 small roundish stones. The space enclosed is on a level with that outside, thus the stones make what is known as 'stone circle'.

The monuments mentioned above were all sepulture buildings erected as usual on rocky upland area, for every one of them is associated, according to the village tradition, with the dead, either as a tomb, or a memorial stone in the form of a *Vīr*, or a circle made round a grave.

But who made these monuments and when? Inquiries at the village elicited only one reply that all these buildings were very old ;

¹¹ See Plate, Fig. 5.

¹² See Plate, Fig. 7.

¹³ See Plate Fig. 7A.

¹⁴ See *Ibid.*, Fig. 8.

¹⁵ See Plate, Fig. 6.

¹⁶ See Plate III, Fig. 9.

¹⁷ See *Ibid.*

that nobody buried the dead except the Mahārs¹⁸ (who are given a ground for it now to the south-east of the village on the Poona road). But though the Mahārs practice a complete burial, they do not erect such monuments over, near or round their tombs.

Two practices in the village are, however, interesting. The first is that like some aboriginal (?) tribes of the Central Provinces¹⁹, Orissa²⁰, and the Nilgiris²¹, some people here put a small stone, often cylindrical inside the Dolmen, dab it with *sindura* and worship it as a Cheḍobā, Mhasobā and the like²². A few of the Menhirs also receive similar treatment.

Secondly, Dolmen-like building is even now constructed, but with a different motive. On finding a Dolmen-like building, (across the Poona-Nasik road, on the way to Khaṇḍobā's shrine) having a newly made memorial stone placed over it, we asked the person residing near it, as to when it was built. He said that the man and the woman carved on the memorial stone were an old couple of the village, and died only 2 or 3 years ago. In order to give their figures some prominence, a Dolmen-like structure was constructed, and the stone placed over it, whereas the hollow part of the Dolmen could be used for taking rest when visiting the figures !!

Here then is a modern explanation of the blind imitation of an old practice, the time when it prevailed we cannot settle even approximately in absence of other evidence²³. Nevertheless the discovery of its traces, namely the monuments near Poona, points to the existence once, may it be prehistoric, proto-historic, or early historic period²⁴, of a megalithic culture, numerous remains of which are found so far in South India, (Madras Presidency²⁵, Mysore²⁶, Coorg²⁷, Travancore²⁸),

¹⁸ One villager told us that Lamāṇas, (a people who are found wandering about the Deccan and northern Kāṇṭāka, Bijāpur, Dhārwar etc., and whose women wear a multi-coloured petticoat, (though a little shorter), and a thin *sāri* over it, wear bone-made bangles completely covering the forearm, and long earrings resembling thus in many respects the Mārwarī women) bury their dead, but not one was a resident of the village now.

¹⁹ *IA.*, VI, p. 41-42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, and *Annual Report, Arch. Survey, Southern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 37.

²² See Plate, Fig. 10.

²³ For from the excavation at a few sites, the writer in the *Bombay Gazetteer* found nothing of importance. We too did not come across a mound which would repay digging.

²⁴ What is of special value is that 'these instances show a connection of sepulture rites with monuments of prehistoric type amongst living tribes who most nearly represent prehistoric peoples in their customs.'

²⁵ *IA.*, II, p. 87, 275; IV, p. 305; V, p. 256; VII, p. 26-27; VIII, p. 207; X, pp. 99-100; and *Arch. Sur., Southern Circle*, 1912-13, p. 58, 1913-14, p. 36; pl. i-vii; 1914-15, p. 40; pls. xvi-xix; 1915-16, p. 28, pls. i-v; 1920-21, p. 33.

²⁶ *IA.*, II, pp. 7-10; 49; 86-87; X, pp. 1-12.

²⁷ *IA.*, II, p. 88.

²⁸ *IA.*, VII, p. 180.

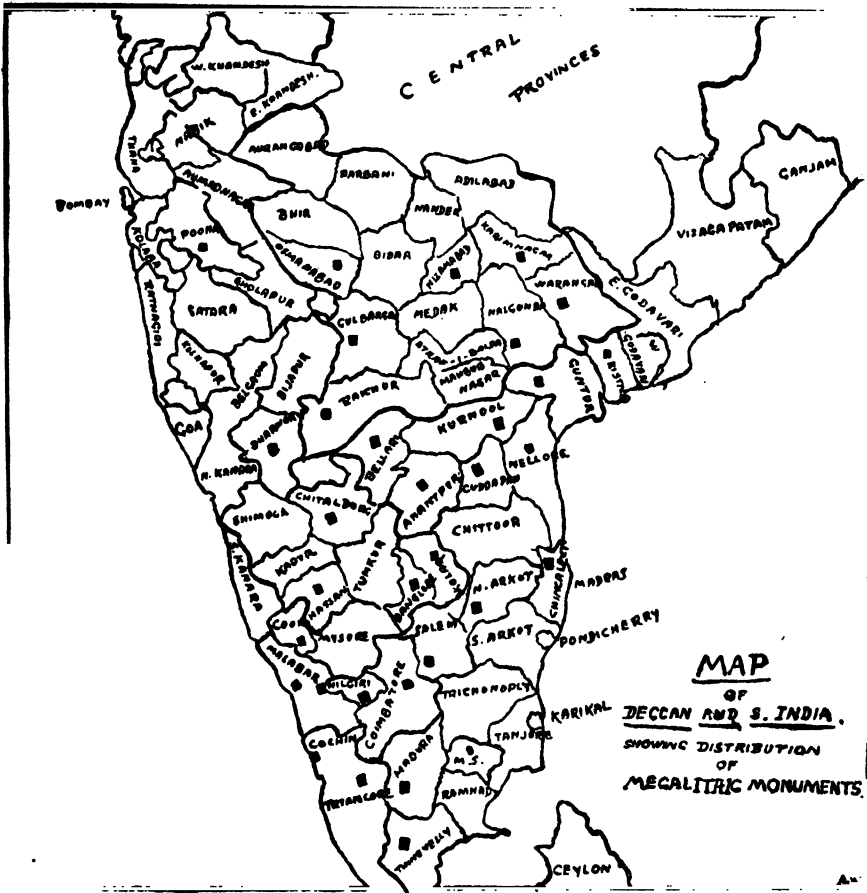


FIG. 9. NATURAL STONE ENCLOSURES TO THE
WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF BHAVSARI.



FIG. 10. DOLMEN-SHRINE CALLED MUNJĀBĀ,
BHAVSARI.

Hyderabad Deccan²⁹, Central Provinces³⁰, Assam³¹ and Orissa³² but not in the north-west Deccan³³. In order to establish proper links with the cultures in these parts of India, to decide, for instance, whether the



Poona Megalithic culture was independent or an extension of the South Indian culture, the Poona district as well as districts on its east, south-

²⁹ *Annual Report Arch. Dept., Nizam's Dominions*, 1930, p. 25 ; 1938, p. 2, 10, 30, 31 ; *JASB.*, 1868 and *ASIWC.*, 1894-95, para 38.

³⁰ IA, VII, p. 46 referring to Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*. Neither this book nor Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments in all countries* was available to me.

81 *Ibid.*

82 *Ibid.*

⁸³ For the distribution of Megalithic culture see Richards, *IA*, LXII, pl. 6, fig. 13, and the sketch map published here which shows the same by districts in the Deccan and South India only.

east and south *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur and Bijāpur³⁴ remain to be explored. Further evidence from these areas might throw light on the builders of the monument at Bhavsari and their time.

³⁴ It is said that no ancient Dolmens are known in the Northern part of the district, whereas even today Kurubhars, a shepherd caste bury their dead in a Dolmen-like tomb, inside which are placed round stones painted with *Sindūra*. Cf. *IA.*, VI, p. 230.

In other districts the *Gazetteers* etc. might have referred to such monuments but they are not yet studied. See, however, *ASIWC.*, 1909, p. 35.

THE SO-CALLED BUDDHIST IMAGES FROM THE BARODA STATE

By

H. D. SANKALIA

The Archæological Department of the Baroda State found last year a number of sculptures from Mahuḍī, a village in the Vijāpur taluka¹. Among them were four metal images, discovered from the Koṭyarka temple². Dr. SASTRI, after discussing them at some length, declared them to be images of Buddha, a conclusion which does not seem to be correct as shown below.

The figures under discussion are those published on Plates IV, V (a), (b) and VI (a) of the *Report* and here called Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

All the principal figures are of males and seated on a lotus-seat in *padmāsana*, and *dhyānamudrā*. They have *uṣṇīṣa*, long ear-lobes, and staring eyes (particularly Fig. 1). Figs. 1 and 2 have behind them an oval *prabhā*, whereas behind Fig. 3 the *prabhā* is formed by a seven-hooded serpent. Figs 2, 3 and 4 have to their proper right and left, a male and a female, seated in *lalitāsana*, and have an oval *prabhā* behind them. All the figures are seated on high pedestals, each of which is differently carved ; on that of Fig. 1 is a *dharmacakra* and deer on its either side ; on that of Fig. 2 eight standing figures. The pedestal of Fig. 3 has an elaborate decoration : interlocking serpent coils supporting the *kamalāsana* of the central figure, and projecting a worshipping Nāga-figure in each corner. This serpent motive itself rests on a four-footed pedestal, having 9 busts of human beings, on its front face. The pedestal of Fig. 4 seems to be partly broken, only the lions of the *śimhāsana*, and an attendant figure in *lalitāsana* in the right hand corner remain.

For the identification of the main figures, as Dr. SASTRI has rightly pointed out, it is necessary to identify correctly the attendant figures mentioned above. He has rightly identified them as Yakṣa and Yakṣī, but further thinks that they are Jambhala and Hārītī and not Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. He consequently concludes that the central figures are those of Buddha and not of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras.

The writer after a very minute study of all the figures thinks that Dr. SASTRI is wrong in his identification and that the figures are Jaina.

¹ *Annual Report*, 1939, pp. 6-11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

In order to prove this it is necessary to discuss the two images (Figs. 2 and 3) and their attendant figures separately, for they are distinct in many respects except a few.

For the identification of Fig. 2, we have to consider the following points in the case of the Yakṣa and Yakṣī :—

- 1 Their position in the entire sculpture.
- 2 Their sitting posture.
- 3 The gestures of and symbols in their hands.
- 4 Their *prabhās*.

Nos. 1 and 2 are those which are usually found in the case of Jaina Yakṣa and Yakṣī³ and not in those of all such attendants of Buddhist or Hindu deities.

With regard to point No. 3, the symbols in the hands of the Yakṣa are not 'distinct' as Dr. SASTRI has already remarked. They look like the *bijapūṇaka* (r.h.) and a *nakulīśa* (l.h.). However, the recognition of the symbols does not help us materially, for even if they are as they look to be, these symbols are common to both Jambhala and Dharāṇa Yakṣa ; hence we cannot decide on this score alone.

The Yakṣī is supporting with her left hand a child, which is sitting on her lap, while the object in her right hand is not distinct.

Both the figures have got a *prabhā* indicating thereby that they are some divinities.

This purely objective (or 'internal') evidence seems to show that the side figures may be Jaina Yakṣa and Yakṣī.

Further corroboration of this inference is found from :—

- 1 The study of the pedestal-figures of the image.
- 2 The inscription found on the back of the *prabhā* of Fig. 1.
- 3 External evidence.

The eight standing figures on the pedestal of Fig. 2 may be the *Aṣṭadīpālās*, as Dr. SASTRI thinks ; whereas the nine busts (of which Nos. 4, 5, and 6 seem to be effaced, but the strokes indicating their heads are seen) on the pedestal of Fig. 3 must be the *Navagrahas*.

Now Jaina iconography recognises both these secondary divinities, and the *Navagrahas* are found sculptured on the pedestals of the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras—usually brass, from about the tenth century onwards⁴ ; whereas in Buddhist iconography *Aṣṭadīpālās* may be found represented in early sculptures but rarely, if ever, in later bronze images, while, so far as the writer is aware of, the *Navagrahas* are not found at all.

According to Dr. SASTRI himself our figures are late, and so on the evidence of pedestal-figures again, the central figures are Jaina and not Buddhist.

³ SANKALIA, "Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis," in this *Journal*, pp. 157-62.

⁴ See SANKALIA, "Jaina Iconography," *NIA*, 2, 497-520 ; *Ross Volume*, pp. 335-358.



FIG. 1 PĀRSVANĀTHA with a YAKṢA AND YAKṢIṆĪ TO HIS RIGHT AND LEFT
FROM BARODA STATE

Courtesy Arch. Sur. Baroda State



FIG. 2 PADMAVATĪ
FROM PATAN IN GUJARAT

Further, the fragmentary inscription on the *prabhāvali* of Fig. 1 mentions the word *Śrāvaka* which is not usually found in Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions but is common in Jaina inscriptions.

In the external evidence the following facts have to be noted. So far bronzes—including brass and copper images—have come principally from three regions in India : from N. E. and E. India (Bihar, Bengal, Nepal and Tibet) ; from Gujarāt-Rājputāna ; and from the temples of S. India. The bronzes from the first area are mostly Buddhist (often of the Tāntric School) and to a certain extent Hindu, but very few of them are Jaina ; those from the second are mostly Jaina and Hindu, Buddhist none at all ; those from the last are mostly Hindu and slightly Jaina (Digambara) and hardly any Buddhist.

On this ground alone, it would be surprising to find Buddhist—and that too late—images from N. Gujarāt, for Buddhism was a spent force in these parts by the 8th century A.D.

Moreover Jambhala and Hāritī are not found associated with Buddha in the manner depicted here in late Buddhist bronzes. Only a few early Buddhist sculptures may have done so. In the later Buddhist iconography Jambhala is usually found alone, whereas Hāritī's figures are scarce.

Both the objective ('internal') and external evidence thus prove that the attendant figures are Jaina Yakṣa and Yakṣī and the central figure a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

Likewise the central image in Fig. 3 must be Pārśvanātha and the attendant figures the Yakṣa Dharaṇa and Yakṣī Padmāvatī.

Further confirmation of the identification of this image is to be found in an image of Padmāvatī (from the temple of Śīṭalanātha in Khetarpāla's Pādā at Patan) published by NAWAB⁶. The goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *kamala* (lotus) supported by serpent coils and a worshipping Nāga or Nāginī in its either corner. Similar figures are also shown on either side of the shoulder of the goddess. This serpent-motif is *exactly identical with that represented on the pedestal of our figure* [Pl. V, (b)], *with this difference that in our figure the Nāga figures are not exactly below the goddess' seat, as in the Padmāvatī figure*⁷.

Another point to be noted is that (the Yakṣiṇī) Padmāvatī is two armed only and seated exactly as the Yakṣiṇī in our figure.

As a matter of fact as I have shown elsewhere in this Journal, before the Jaina iconography came to be canonized there was no fixed

⁵ *Report*, Appendix (d), p. 28. Mr. GADRE thinks that the script is late Brāhmī of c. 200 A.D., whereas Dr. SASTRI thinks (p. 7) and rightly that the figures are late.

⁶ NAWAB, *Jania Citrakalpadruma* (in Gujarati v.s. 1936, Ahmedabad), pl. II, Fig. 6.

⁷ With a view to observing the similarity both these figures are here reproduced. See Figs. 1-2.

rule as to the number of arms the different Yakṣiṇīs should have. This varied to a certain extent, according to the region where the image was made.

Figs. I (Pl. IV) and 4 [Pl. VI, (a)] which have no other characteristic features must also be Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and not Buddhas. The *dharmacakra* and a deer on its either side on the pedestal of Fig. 1 is not necessarily a Buddhist symbol, for a number of early Jaina images from Mathura have it.

ṬĀKKĪ OR ḌHAKKĪ

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

Prthvīdhara in the introduction to his commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* classifies the Prakrit dialects used in the play. He has referred to therein to a dialect *Ḍhakkabhāṣā* or *Ḍhakkavibhāṣā*. This is the Ṭākkī of Puruṣottama¹ and other Prakrit grammarians.² According to Prthvīdhara this dialect is spoken by Māthura and Dyūtakara in the second act of *Mṛcchakaṭika*. He also mentions some phonetic characteristics of this dialect. The semi-vowel *v* is found, according to him, many a time in this dialect, and on account of the presence of Sanskrit words it has both the dental and palatal sibilants, *s* and *ś*.³ But Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* and Puruṣottama in his *Prākṛtānuśāsana* treat this dialect at some length. A summary of what they have to say about this dialect may be given as follows. They consider the genesis of this dialect to be in the mixture of Sanskrit and Saurasenī.

Morphology :—The termination *-u* appears very often ; the termination of the instrumental singular is also *-em*. Mārkaṇḍeya gives it without anusvāra i.e. *-e* ; the terminations for the dative and ablative plurals are *-ham* and *-hum* also ; the same terminations can be optionally used for genitive plurals ; Mārkaṇḍeya suggests that the same terminations can be used for pronouns and then the penultimate vowel is lengthened. Thus *kāham*, of whom ? *tāham*, of them, etc. ; then, *tuṅga* may be employed for *tvam*. Puruṣottama alone says that *hamam* may be used for *aham*. Mārkaṇḍeya on the contrary gives three forms of the first personal pronoun *ammi*, *hum*, *mama*. The genitive of this pronoun is given by the same author as *mahum* or *mama*.

Phonology :—Sanskrit *yathā* and *tathā* become *jidha* and *tidhā* in Ṭākkī according to Puruṣottama. Mārkaṇḍeya admits of these two forms and in addition gives the two regular ones *jahā* and *tahā*.

This is only to indicate the general character of the dialect. The authors clearly say that the rest is to be learnt from the usage in the writings of *śiṣṭas*.

¹ NITTI-DOLCI, *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama*, p. 22.

² For the acceptance of the reading Ṭākkī in favour of Ḍhakkī, cf. *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 882-3. Cf. also PISCHEL, *Gram. d. Pk-Sprachen*.

³ *Vakāraprāyā Ḍhakkavibhāṣā. Saṃskṛtaprāyātve dantyātālavayaśakāradvaya yuktā ca*.

⁴ Cf. PĀ. *idha* for Sk. *iha*. The Pk. forms quoted above bear the same relation to the pronominal bases *ya-*, *ta-* as *idha* bears to *i-*. On these forms see PISCHEL, §§ 103, 266.

The name of the dialect :—PISCHEL calls it Dhakkī and considers that it was spoken in Dhakka country in Eastern Bengal.⁵ This view of PISCHEL is criticised and controverted by GRIERSON in *JRAS.* 1913, p. 882.⁶ GRIERSON thinks that the dialect was spoken in the Ṭakka country of the Northern Punjab. But even this is difficult to accept at present in view of the fact that the languages spoken there now share none of its special characteristics. It is indeed very difficult to identify all the different varieties of Prakrit dialects mentioned by the grammarians inasmuch as sufficient literature representing them is not found. Only the three main Prakrit dialects, viz. Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī can be easily distinguished from one another. The sub-varieties of these share some of their characteristics and thus lie in the periphery of these main dialects. The most important characteristic of Ṭakkī is the preservation of the distinction of two sibilants out of the original three, Sk. ś > ṣ and Sk. ṣ, s > s. This feature may be compared with European Romani s < ś, s < ṣ and ṣ, and Syrian Romani s < ś and

⁵ PISCHEL, § 25.

⁶ "Ṭakka or Ṭakkī is the Prakrit dialect which PISCHEL (*Pr. Gr.* § 25) calls Dhakkī, and which he accordingly erroneously states to be the dialect of Dhakka (Dacca) in Eastern Bengal. His sources of information were RT. quoted above, the India Office MS. of Mārkaṇḍeya, and Pṛthvidhara on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (STENZLER, p. v, and GODABOLE, p. 493). RT. names the dialect "Ṭakkī." The I. O. MS., which is very corrupt, has "śakka" (i, 4), "śakkī" (xvi, 1), and "Pāka," "Ṭaka" and "Takka" in xviii, 12. Pṛthvidhara, as read by STENZLER and GODABOLE, has "Dhakka," but GODABOLE gives "Takka" as a variant reading. The printed edition of MK. gives "Ṭakkī Vibhāṣā" or "Ṭakka Apabhraṁśa." The confusion with Dhakkī and Śakki is easily explained by the form which the letters take in Nāgarī ढाक्की, शक्की, and टाक्की. The correctness of the form Ṭakkī is vouched for by Mk.'s description of it as a mixture of the speech of the Ṭakka country with the three varieties of Apabhraṁśa, all of which belong to the North-West and West, while Dhakka is far away in Eastern India. The name is given, not only by the printed edition of Mk., but also by RT., and by the v. l. of Pṛthvidhara quoted by GODABOLE. Pṛthvidhara's account of it is *la-* (or *va-*) *kāraprāyā Ṭakkavibhāṣā saṁskṛtaprāyātve dantyatālavyasaśkāradvaya-yuktā ca*. PISCHEL, under the impression that it was an Eastern language, explained this as meaning that, as in Māgadhī Prakrit, *ra* becomes *la*, and that *sa* and *śa* remain as in Sanskrit. He adds that *śa* becomes *sa*, but, though the statement is probably correct, the fact is not mentioned by Pṛthvidhara. That Mk.'s Ṭakkī is the same as Pṛthvidhara's Dhakka or Takka is shown by the fact that both authors state that it is the language of gamblers (and, adds Mk. xvi, 1, of merchants, etc.). Mk. considers it to be a vibhāṣā, and therefore describes it at some length in his 16th *pāda*; but (xvi, 2) he states that another authority, named Hariścandra, classes it as an Apabhraṁśa, and he accordingly again refers to it under that head (xviii, 12, comm.), as quoted above. Mk. nowhere describes its phonetic peculiarities, but his examples contain both *sa* and *śa*, thus agreeing with Pṛthvidhara. On the other hand he retains *r* and does not change it to *l*. Finally, as we have seen above, the Ṭakka and Gaurjara Apabhraṁśas were closely connected. Gaurjara was the language of Gurjara, who were a Western, not an Eastern people. Taking the evidence as a whole, I think that it is safe to assume that PISCHEL's Dhakkī should be "Ṭakkī," and that it was spoken, not in the Dhakka country, but in the Ṭakka country of the Northern Punjab."

ś, s < ṣ.⁷ Considering the parallelism existing between these we may presume that Ṭākkī is a Romani or Gypsy dialect spoken somewhere in India, either in North-West Punjab or in Orissa.⁸

As admitted by the two Prakrit grammarians the reading of their texts cannot give us a complete idea about the nature of Ṭākkī. To gain that end one must look up to the texts making use of this dialect. Hence here is an attempt to study the dialect as it is spoken by the two characters Māthura and Dyūtakara in the second act of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

A.—PHONOLOGY.

(a) Vowels : The simple vowels to be met with are *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ū*. The diphthongs are *e* and *o*.

The vowel *a* comes from Sk. *a*, cf. *aha* < *atha* ; *jaśam* < *yaśas*. The vowel *ā* comes from Sk. *ī*, cf. *aikasaṇam* < *atikiṣṇam* ; *gahidosi* < *grhīto'si*. Sk. *ā* is shortened to *a* in Ṭākkī, as in other Prākṛit dialects, when it precedes a conjunct consonant. This conjunct consonant in Sk. is either simplified or assimilated in Ṭākkī, cf. *sampadam* < *sāmpratam* ; *kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa*.

The vowel *ā* comes from Sk. *ā*, cf. *micchā* < *mithyā* ; *pāḷam* < *pātālam*. The vowel *ā* also appears when a consonant or visarga following *a* in Sk. disappears in Ṭākkī, cf. *tā* < *tat*.

The vowel *i* comes from Sk. *i*, cf. *Indam* < *Indram* ; *nāsikā* < *nāsikyā*. The vowel *i* comes from Sk. *u*, cf. *puliso* < *puṛuṣaḥ*. This is rather to be explained in a different fashion. It comes from the OIA form **pūrṣa-* (< Sk. *pūṛuṣa-* or *purūṣa-* or *puruṣa-* and Pāli *poṣa*) with the insertion of the vowel *i* according to the process of epenthesis, svarabhakti). The vowel *i* also comes from Sk. *ī*, cf. *paḍiṭṭhosi* < *praḍiṣṭo'si*.

The vowel *u* comes from Sk. *u*, cf. *juttam* < *yuktam*. The vowel *u* comes from Sk. *ī*, cf. *-ppāvudo* < *-prāvrtaḥ* ; *-vutta* < *-vṛttaḥ*. As noted in the case of the vowel *a*, Sk. *ū* is also shortened to *u* in similar circumstances, cf. *dhuttu* < *dhūrtaḥ* ; *-sunṇu* < *sūnyaḥ*.

The vowel *ū* comes from Sk. *ū*, cf. *jūdam* < *dyūtam*.

The vowel *ē* comes from Sk. *e*, cf.⁹ *ēvvaṃ* < *evam* ; *dēulaṃ* < *devakulaṃ*. The vowel *ē* comes from Sk. *ī*, cf. *genha* < *grh-nā-*. The vowel *e* comes from Sk. *ay*, cf. *dhāledi* < *dhārayati*. The vowel *e* comes from Sk. *ai*, cf. *śela-* < *śaila-*.

The vowel *o* comes from Sk. *o*, cf. *dosu* < *doṣaḥ*. The vowel *o* comes from Sk. *av*, cf. *bhodu* < *bhavatu*. The preceding *a* becomes *o* when the following visarga in Sk. is dropped, cf. *puno* < *puṇaḥ*.

(b) Consonants : The consonants, initially, are generally preserved. A complete list of all the consonants to be found initially in Ṭākkī is given below.

⁷ R. L. TURNER, *The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, § 34, (p. 19).

⁸ S. M. KATRE, *Prakrit Goha*, *Sardesai Comm. Vol.*, p. 174.

⁹ Doubling of the following consonant *v* shows that the preceding *e* must have been pronounced as a short vowel.

- k-* cf. *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī*.
kh- cf. *khaṇḍiavutto* < *khaṇḍitavṛttah*.
g- cf. *ganṭhu* < *granthah*.
c- cf. *ca* < *ca*.
c- < Sk. *t-* cf. *ciṭṭha*¹⁰ < *tiṣṭha*.
ch- cf. *chinnālāputta* < **chinnālīkā-putra*.¹¹
j- cf. *jajjara* < *jarjara*.
j- < Sk. *y-* cf. *jaśam* < *yaśas*; *juttam* < *yuktam*.
t- cf. *taṇumajjhe* < *taṇumadhye*.
d- cf. *deulu* < *devakulam*.
dh- cf. *dhuttā* < *dhūrta*.
p- cf. *pāda* < *pāda*.
ph- cf. *phalaṃpi* < *phalamapi*.
bh- cf. *bhaṭṭā* < *bhaṭṭ-*.
m- cf. *māḍaram* < *mātarām*.
r- cf. *ruhirapaham* < *rudhirapatham*.
l- < Sk. *r-* cf. *lāulam* < *rājakulam*.
v- cf. *vihavu* < *vibhavaḥ*.
s- cf. *suham* < *sukham*.
s- < Sk. *ś-* cf. *śaṇam* < *śaraṇam*.
ś- cf. *śelappaḍimā* < *śailapratimā*.

Medially the consonants are more often preserved and at times lost. They are preserved in the following examples.

- k-* cf. *ṇāsikā* < **ṇāsikkā* < *ṇāsikyā*.
-j- cf. *vaja* < *vraja*.
-th- cf. *Māthura*.
-d- cf. *padavī* < *padavī*.

Intervocatic *-t-* is at times sonantised and changed to *-d-* cf. *māḍaram* < *mātarām*; *vippaḍiva* < *vipratīpa*.

- dh-* cf. *uorodho* < *uparodhaḥ*.

As noted above intervocatic *-th-* is changed to *-dh-* cf. *kadham* < *katham*.

- n-* cf. *Vasantasenāgeham*.
-p- cf. *ruhirapaham* < *rudhirapatham*.
-bh- cf. *pratyabhivādaye*.
-m- cf. *paḍimā* < *pratimā*.
-y- cf. *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī*.
-v- cf. *suvaṇṇām* < *suvarṇāni*.

Very often intervocatic *-p-* is changed to *-v-* cf. *vippaḍiva* < *vipratīpa*; *kulavutta*¹² < *kulaputta*.

- r-* cf. *māḍaram* < *mātarām*; *ruhira* < *rudhira*.

- l-* < Sk. *-r-* cf. *śaṇam* < *śaraṇam*; *puliso* < *puruṣaḥ*.

¹⁰ This is according to GODABOLE's edn. STENZLER has *tiṣṭha*.

¹¹ Cf. PAUL THIEME, Über einige persische Wörter in Sanskrit, ZDMG 91, 121.

¹² STENZLER gives *kulaputta* instead.

In the following examples we get *-l-* in GODABOLE's edition, whereas STENZLER gives *-r-*. The reading as found in the latter edition is given in the brackets.

jūdiāla (*jūdiāra*) < *dyūtākara* ; *dūlāt* (*dūrāt*) < *dūrāt* ; *ale* (*are*) < *are*. But at many other places even STENZLER gives *ale*, cf. as corresponding to GODABOLE's edition 87.1 ; 88.5 ; 89.4 ; 90.3 ; 106.1 ; 102.6 ; 103.1 ; 116.1.

-l- cf. *maṇḍālīe* < *maṇḍlyā* ; *śela* < *śaila* etc.

-s- cf. *ṇāsikā* < *nāsikyā*.

The other two sibilants *-ś-* and *-ṣ-* are reduced to the dental one, cf. *jaśam* < *yaśas* ; *dosu* < *doṣaḥ* ; *samaviśamam* < *samaviśamam*.¹³

-ś- cf. *paḍimāśunṇu* < *pratimāśūnyam* ; *daśa* < *daśa*.

It is only at one place that the dental sibilant *-s-* is changed to the palatal one, cf. *paśaru* < *prasara*. STENZLER, however, gives the reading with dental sibilant, cf. *pasaru*.

-h- cf. *maṇahara* < *manohara*.

In the following examples the consonants are lost intervocally.

-k- cf. *jūdiāra* < *dyūtākara* ; *sahiam* < *sabhikam*.

-g- cf. *āccha* < *āgaccha*.

-c- cf. *maṇaharavacanam* < *manoharavacanam*.

-t- cf. *aikasaṇam* < *atikṣṇam* ; *pāḷam* < *pātālam* ; *khaṇḍia* < *khaṇḍita*.

This seems to be universal. There is no example where *-t-* is preserved.

-d- cf. *jai* < *yadi*.

-n- cf. *bhūdāim* < *bhūtāni*.

-p- cf. *uṛodha* < *uṇarodha* ; *niṇṇu* < *nīṇṇaḥ*.

-y- cf. *bhaa* < *bhaya* ; *iam* < *iyam*. This, too, seems to be followed everywhere.

In the case of intervocal aspirates, with the characteristic loss of occlusion, only the aspiration remains.

-kh- > *-h-* cf. *sukham* > *suham*.

-th- > *-h-* cf. *-patham* > *-paham* ; *atha* > *cha*.

-dh- > *-h-* cf. *rudhira* > *ruhira* ; *adhareṇa* > *adhareṇa*.

In one case even initially *bh-* is changed to *h-* cf. *bhavatu* < *hodu*. But the importance of this singular example is marred by the numerous places where *bhodu* occurs.

Cerebrals : There are indeed few examples where a Ṭākkī cerebral corresponds to a Sanskrit cerebral ; otherwise it corresponds to a Sanskrit dental.

-ḍ- < *Sk. -ṭ-* *kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa* ; *-paḍa-* < *paṭa-*.

-ṇ- *salanām* < *śaranām*.

-ṇ- < *-n-* cf. *ṇāma* < *nāma* ; *niṇṇu* < *nīṇṇaḥ*, etc. *tanumajjhe* < *tanumadhye* ; *ahunā* < *adhunā*.

The process of assimilation found in the pre-Prākṛit period is carried further in all the Prākṛits including Ṭākkī. A dental is palatalised or cerebra-

¹³ STENZLER gives *samaviśamam*,

lised when it comes into contact with a palatal semi-vowel or a cerebral one respectively.

Palatalization :

dyūta > *jūda* (through **gyūta*).

mīthyā > *micchā* (through **michyā*).

-madhye > *-majjhe* (through **majhye*).

Cerebralisation :

pratimā > *paḍimā*.

This tendency to cerebralise a dental after *r* is not widely noticed in *Ṭākkī*. There are many examples where the dental following *r* is kept in tact. Cf. *-ppāvudo* < *-prāvṛtaḥ* ; *-vutto* < *-vṛttaḥ* ; *vippaḍīva* < *vipratīpa*.

Conjunct consonants : like the single consonants, these also can be treated in two ways, initially and medially. These two again divide themselves in homorganic and heterorganic groups. According to the general principle of MIA assimilation, in homorganic groups the second prevails and in heterorganic groups the stronger of the two prevails. There are no examples where homorganic conjuncts come initially. The examples for heterorganic are :

Sk. *skhalan* > *khalantaā*.

Sk. *pratimā* > *paḍimā* ; *prasara* > *paśaru*, etc.

MEDIAL CONJUNCTS : (a) HOMORGANIC GROUPS :

Sk. *-cch-* > *-chh-* cf. *gacchasi*.

Sk. *-tt-* > *-tt-* cf. *-vuttosi* < *vṛttoṣi*.

Sk. *-kt-* > *-tt-* cf. *juttam* < *yuktam*.

Sk. *-bdh-* > *-ddh-* cf. *laddhu* < *labdhaḥ*.

(b) HETERORGANIC GROUPS :

1. Consonant groups with a semi-vowel.

Sk. *-thy-* > *-cch-* cf. *micchā* < *mīthyā*.

Sk. *-dhy-* > *-jjh-* cf. *taṇumajjhe* < *taṇumadhye*.

Sk. *-kr-* > *-kk-* cf. *vikkīṇia* < *vi + krī-*.

Sk. *-rj-* > *-jj-* cf. *jajjara* < *jarjara*.

Sk. *-tr-* > *-tt-* cf. *-putta* < *-putra* ; *aṇṇatta* < *anytra*.

Sk. *-rt-* > *-tt-* cf. *dhutta* < *dhūrta*.

Sk. *-dr-* > *-dd-* cf. *ruddo* < *rudraḥ*.

Sk. *-rd-* > *-dd-* *Daddura* < *Dardura*.

Sk. *-pr-* > *-pp-* *vippaḍīva* < *vipratīpa* ; *ppaḍimā* < *-pratimā*.

In all these examples one fact clearly stands out, that the semivowel is dropped. In the first two examples the dentals *th* and *dh* have changed to corresponding palatals *ch* and *jh* (cf. the assimilation of dentals to palatals and cerebrals above).

2. Consonant groups with a sibilant.

Sk. *-kṣ-* > *-kkh-* *kaḍakkha* < *kaṭākṣa*.

Sk. *-ṣṭh-* > *-tṭh-* *kaṭṭhamayī* < *kāṣṭhamayī*.

Sk. *-ṣṭ-* > *-tṭh-* *duṭṭha* < *duṣṭa* ; *muṭṭhi* < *muṣṭi*.

Sk. *-st-* > *-tth-* *ṇatthi* < *nāsti*.

As in the case of semi-vowels, the sibilants too are dropped in such conjuncts. But here the outgoing sibilant leaves its trace by aspirating the simple consonant in the cluster.

3. Consonant groups with a nasal.

Sk. -ṇḍ- > -ṇḍ- *maṇḍalīe* < *maṇḍalyā*.

Sk. -ṁv- < *ṁv- saṁvāhaā* < *saṁvāhaka*.

Sk. -ṅg- > -ṅg- *aṅgaā* < *aṅga*.

Sk. -mbh- > -mbh- *viṣṭalambhaā* < *viṣṭalambhaka*.

Sk. -nt- > -nt- *Vasantasenā* < *Vasantasenā*.

In all these cases the conjunct is kept in tact. But in a case where, unlike the examples cited above, a consonant precedes and a nasal follows the latter is assimilated to the former. Cf. Sk. -gn- > -gg- *bhaggā* < *bhagnā*. Sk. -kn- > -kk- *mukke* < **muk-na*.¹⁴

4. Groups of nasals and semi-vowels.

Sk. -ny- > -ṇṇ- cf. -*śuṇṇu* < -*śūnya* ; *aṇṇsya* > *aṇṇassa*.

Sk. -rṇ- > -ṇṇ- cf. *suvaṇṇa* < *suvarṇa*.

In both¹⁵ the cases the semi-vowel is dropped, the remaining nasal is uttered with force, and as noted above the dental *n* is changed to cerebral *ṇ*.

5. Groups of two semi-vowels.

Sk. -ly- > -ll- *kallavattam* < *kalyavartam*.

Sk. -rv- > -vv- *savvam* < *sarvam*.

6. Groups of sibilant and semi-vowel.

Sk. -ṣy- > -ss- *gamiṣṣadi* < *gamiṣyati*.

Sk. -sy- > -ss- *aṇṇassa* < *aṇṇasya*.

The semi-vowel being weaker of the two is lost.

7. Groups of more than two elements.

Sk. -ṣkr- > -kk- *ṇikkamīa* < *nis* + *√kram*.

Sk. -ndr- > -nd- *Indam* < *Indram*.

Sk. -mṣr- > -mṣ- *sampadam* < *sāṁpradam*.

8. There is a single example where the conjunct is retained initially and medially. The word is bodily incorporated from Sanskrit. Cf. *pratyabhivādaye*.

9. Nasalisation. There are two examples where the conjunct is first simplified and then a nasal is added to it. Cf. *jaṁpasi* < Sk. *jalpasi* ; *ādaṁsāmi* < *ā-daśayāmi*.

B.—MORPHOLOGY.

(a) Nouns :

1. Masculine nouns ending in -a.

Terminations.

Sing.

nom. -u ; -o ; -e.

acc. -am.

inst. -eṇa.

Plu.

-ā.

-ehiṇ.

¹⁴ See PISCHEL, § 566.

¹⁵ For *maṇahara* in GODABOLE, STENZLER gives *mammaṇa* < *marmaṇa*.

Sing.

gen. *-assa*.
 loc. *-e*.
 voc. *-ā ; -a*.

Plu.

Examples.

Sing.

nom. *dhuttu, niunū, dosu ; goho,*
dhutto, ruddo ; gohe, laddhe.
 acc. *kulavuttam, sahiām.*
 inst. *kaḍakkheṇa, ahareṇa.*
 gen. *jūdiarassa.*
 loc. *pade.*
 voc. *dhuttā or dhuttaā, duṭṭha.*

Plu.

kalahāvidā.
pādehim, vippaḍivehim.

2. Neuter nouns ending in *-a*.

Terminations.

Sing.

nom. *-am ; -u ; -e.*
 acc. *-am.*
 gen. *-āha.*

Plu.

-im.

Examples.

Sing.

nom. *sukham, jūdam ; deulu ;*
suvanṇu ; mukke (addham).
 acc. *deulam, -vaṇṇam, pāālam.*
 gen. *daśasuvanṇāha.*

Plu.

*bhūdāim, suvaṇṇāim.*3. Feminine nouns ending in *-ā*.

Terminations.

Sing.

nom. *-ā.*
 voc. *-e.*

Plu.

Examples.

Sing.

nom. *paḍimā, nāsikā.*
 voc. *taṇṇumajjhe.*

Plu.

4. Feminine nouns ending in *-ī*.

Terminations.

Sing.

nom. *-ī.*
 inst. *-īe.*

Plu.

Examples.

Sing.

nom. *padavī, kaṭṭhamayī.*
 inst. *-maṇḍaṭṭe.*

Plu.

5. Nouns ending in *ṛ*.

All such nouns are modified to *-a* base and are then declined like those ending in *-a*. Cf. acc. sing. *māḍaram*, *ḑidarām*. voc. sing. *bhaṭṭā*.

6. Present participles.

The present participle in *-a* has the endings of a noun in *-a*, cf. nom. sing. *akkhanto* ; voc. sing. *kalantaā*.

The present participle in *-ī* is declined like the corresponding noun. Cf. *āloanti*.

(b) The Pronouns :

(1) The first personal pronoun has the following forms :—

Sing.	Plu.
nom. <i>aḥam</i> .	<i>amhe</i> .
inst. <i>mae</i> (found in STENZLER's edn. only).	
gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mae</i> , <i>me</i> .	

(2) The second personal pronoun has the following forms :—

Sing.	Plu.
nom. <i>tumam</i> , <i>tuhām</i> .	
inst. <i>tue</i> .	
gen. <i>tuha</i> , <i>tue</i> .	

(3) The third personal pron. has the following forms.

Sing.	Plu.
nom. <i>so</i> .	
acc. <i>taṁ</i> .	
gen. <i>tassa</i> .	

(4) The demonstrative pronouns : *etad*, *idam*.

- i. *etad*—nom. sing. masc. *esu*, *esa*, *eso*.
- ii. *idam*—nom. sing. mac. *aam*. nom. sing. fem. *īam*.

(5) The interrogative pronoun : *kim*.

- nom. sing. masc. *ko*.
- gen. sing. masc. *kaśśa*, *kassa*.
- nom. sing. neut. *kim*.

(6) Numerals : *eka*.

- acc. sing. mas. *ekkam*.

(7) Ordinary pronouns.

- acc. sing. *savvam*.

(c) The Verb :

(1) *Present tense*.

	Terminations.
Sing.	Plu.
1 per. <i>-mi</i> (parasmaipada).	<i>-mha</i> .
<i>-e</i> (atmanepada).	
2 per. <i>-si</i> .	
3 per. <i>-di</i> , <i>-i</i> .	

Examples.

Sing.	Plu.
1 per <i>bibhēmi</i> , <i>ādaṃsāmi</i> (par.) <i>pratyaḥvivādayē</i> (atm.)	<i>aṇusare-mha</i> , <i>kile-mha</i> .
2 per. <i>gacchāsi</i> , <i>jampa-si</i> , <i>vajja-si</i> .	
3 per. <i>vajja-di</i> , <i>ṇṇā-di</i> , <i>dhāle-di</i> ; <i>tara-i</i> .	

The third person singular of the root √ *as* is derived directly from the Sk. Thus *asti* > *atthi*.

(2) *Imperfect.*

There is only one example *āsi* (< *āsīt*) third sing.

(3) *Future.*

First per. sing. atm. -*ssam*, cf. *pekkhi-ssam*.

Sec. per. sing. par. -*hasi*, cf. *pāvi-hasi*.

Third per. sing. par. -*ssadi*, cf. *gami-ssadi*.

(4) *Imperative mood.*

The terminations for the sec. per. sing.—i. nil, cf. *paaccha*, *āaccha*, *geṇha*.
ii. -*hi*, cf. *de-hi*, *e-hi*.

The termination for the sec. per. plu. -*ta* (par.), cf. *paśśata*.

The termination for the sec. per. plu. -*ha* (atm.), cf. *ramaha*.

The termination for the third per. sing. -*du*, cf. *bhodu*.

(5) *Present participle.*

The distinction between Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada is lost in the formation of Present Participles. The termination for their formation is -*nta*, cf. *khalantaā*, *kalanlaā*, *akkhanta*.

The feminine form is made by the addition of the vowel -*ī* in the end. Cf. *āloanti*.

(6) *Past Passive Participle.*

These are the assimilated forms of Sanskrit Past Passive Participles. Cf. *paḍiṭṭha* < *pradīṣṭa*; *paṇaṭṭā* < *pranaṣṭā*; *avakkanta* < *apakrānta*; *ghāda* < *grhīta*; *laddha* < *labdha*.

There are two forms *mukka*¹⁶ and *papalīmu*¹⁷ which do not come directly from their Sanskrit corresponding forms *mukta* and *prapalāyita*. The *Ṭākkī* forms are made by the addition of the termination -*na* and not -*ta*.

(7) *Infinitives.*

The termination for their formation is -*dum*, cf. *rakkhi-dum*, *pampi-dum*, *jampi-dum*.

(8) *Absolutives.*

There are two terminations for the formation of Absolutives. These are -*ua* < Sk. -*tvā* and -*ia* < Sk. -*ya* or -*tya*. Cf. *gadua*; *nikkamia*, *vikkīṇia*, *vajjia*.

¹⁶ PISCHEL § 566.

¹⁷ PISCHEL § 567.

(d) *Indeclinables.*

- i. Conjunction : *ca*.
- ii. Interrogation : *kahim, tatkin*.
- iii. Interjection : *are, ale*.
- iv. Negation : *na*.
- v. Emphasis : *nam, nāma, hu, jjeva*.
- vi. Manner : *evvam*.
- vii. Time : *sampadam, tā, ahunā, jāvaccia, tāvaccia*.
- viii. Place : *ehim, aṇṇatta*.
- ix. Conditional : *jai, aha*.

INDEX OF TĀKKĪ WORDS FOUND IN *Mṛcchakaṭika*.*

- aam* (mas.) 99.6.9, Sk. Pā. *ayam*.
iam (fem.) 85.8, Sk. Pā. *iyam*.
aṇṇatta 107.1 ; 115.2, Sk. *anyatra*, Pā. *aññattha*.
aṇṇa- gen. sg. -*ssa* 101.6, Sk. *anya-*, Pā. *añña-*.
aha 101.4, Sk. Pā. *atha*, Ś. Pk. *adha*.
aham. nom. sg. first per. pron. 92.5, 6 ; 101.5, 6, Sk. Pā. *aham*.
Amhe nom. pl. 106.2, Ved. Sk. *asme*, Cl. Sk. *vayam*, Pā. *mayam*, Pk. *amha-*.
māe 100.6 (S. *mama*), or *mama* 88.1,2 ; 115.2 (S. *me*) gen. sg. first per. pron. Sk. Pā. *mama*.
ahara- inst. sg. -*ena* 114.9, Sk. Pā. *adhara-*.
avakkanta nom. sg. -*a* 106.3, Sk. *apakrānta-*, Pā. *apakkanta-*.
appāṇa- acc. sg. -*aṃ* 93.6, Sk. *ātman-*, Pā. *attā-* Pk. *appa-*, *appāṇa-*.
aikasaṇa- acc. sg. -*aṃ* 85.7, Sk. *atikiṣṇa-*, Pā. *atikaṇha-*, Pk. *ai-kasaṇa-*,
ai-kaṇha-.
√*as*- third sg. pre. indic. *atthi* 115.5, Sk. *asti*, Pā. Pk. *atthi*. Cf. *natthi* 115.2, Sk. *nāsti*, Pā. *natthi*. Third sg. imperfect *āsi* 106.5, Sk. *āst*, Pā. *āsi*, Pk. *āsi*, *āsi*.
√*aṇusara*- first pl. pre-indi. -*emha* 86.4 ; 106.5, Sk. √*aru-sṛ-*, Pā. √*aṇusara-*.
ahunā 89.2, Sk. Pā. *adhunā*.
ale 84.4 ; 86.1 ; 87.1 ; 88.5 ; 89.4 ; 93.3 ; 102.6 ; 103.1 ; 106.1 ; 116.1, Sk. Pā. *are*, Mg. *ale*. Also cf. *le* 85.5 (S. *re*) Sk. Pā. *re*.
amhe see under *aham*.
√*gaccha*- sec. sg. pre. indi -*si* 92.1, Sk. Pā. √*gacch-*; sec. sg. imperative *āccha* 116.2, Sk. Pā. *ā√gacch-*; thir. sg. future *gamissadī* 107.1, Sk. *gamiṣyati*, Pā. *gamissati*, Pk. *gañchai* Absolutive *gadua* 106.8, Sk. *gatvā*, Pā. *gantvā*, Mg. *gaḍua*, *gadua*.
akkhanta- nom. sg. -*a*, 101.4. False reading for *ācakkhanta* Pischell § 88 (p. 76) Sk. *ā-√caks-*, Pā. *ā√cikkha-*.
ādamsa- first sing. pre. indi. -*ā-mi* 101.6, Sk. *ā√dṛś-*, Pā. *ā-√dassa-*.
āloanta- nom. sg. pre. part. fem. -*ī* 115.1, Sk. *ā-lokayanta-*, Pā. *ā-lokenta-*.

* The references are to GODABOLE's edition. The variant readings from STENZLER's edition are given in brackets with S.

āsi see under $\sqrt{as-}$.

iam see under *acm*.

Inda- acc. sing. *-am* 85.2, Sk. *Indra*, Pā. *Inda-*.

ido 107.1, Sk. *itaḥ*, Pā. *ito*, Pk. *io*.

uaroḍha- inst. sing. *-eṇa + eva* 107.2, Sk. Pā. *uparodha-*, Pk. *uparoḥa-*,
uaroḥa-.

ucchādida- nom. sing. *-o* 113.1, 114.1, Sk. *utsāḍita-*.

ekka- acc. sing. *-am* 85.3, Sk. Pā. *eka-*, Pk. *eka-*, *ekka-*, *ega-*.

evvaṃ 86.5, 87.2, 90.6, 91.3, 101.4, 102.3, 103.7, Sk. Pā. *evam*, Pk. *evam, evvaṃ*.

etad- nom. sing. masc. *esa* 107.1, *esu* 89.7, 100.6, 103.5, *eso* 85.9 Sk.
eṣaḥ, Pā. *eso*, Amg. *ese*, *eso*, Mg. *eṣe*, Ap. *ehō*, *ehu*. Cf. PISCHEL § 426
(p. 301). *tad-* nom. sing. mas. *so* 106.3, 6. Sk. *saḥ*, Pā. *so*. gen. sing.
mas. *tassa* 106.4, 115.5. Sk. *tasya*, Pā. *tassa*. acc. sing. neut. *taṃ* 88.6,
92.1, 6, 102.6, 116.1. Sk. *tat*, Pā. *taṃ*. Also cf. *tatkiṃ* 100.10. Sk.
tat-kiṃ.

e-hi 87.2, 106.5, Sk. *e-hi*, Pā. *e-hi*.

Ehim 92.5, Sk. *asmin*, 61.4 OI-A **esmin*.

kaṭṭhamayī 86.7, Sk. *kāṣṭhamayī*, Pā. *kaṭṭhamayī*.

kaḍakkha- inst. sing. *-eṇa* 115.1, Sk. *kaṭākṣa-*.

kadham 86.7, Sk. Pā. *katham*, Pk. *kaham*, Ś. Mg. *kadham*.

kalanta- voc. sing. *-ā* 85.7, Sk. *kurvat-*, Pā. *karanta-*, Pk. *karanta-*, *karinta-*,
karenta-.

kalahāvida- nom. pl. masc. *-ā* 106.2 < Sk. **kalahāpayita-*, Pk. *kalahāia-*
< Sk. *kalahāyita*.

kallavatta- nom. sing. *-u* 100.6, Sk. *kalyavarta-*, acc. sing. *-am* 99.10.

kiṃ- nom. sing. masc. *ko* 91.3, Sk. *kaṃ*, Pā. *ko*, Amg. Mg. *ke*, gen. sing. masc.
kaṣṣa (S. *kassa*) 114.9, Sk. *kasya*, Pā. Pk. *kassa*, nom. (acc.) sing. neut.
kiṃ 115.5, Sk. Pā. *kiṃ*.

kahiṃ 85.4 ; 92.1, < Sk. *kasmin*, Pk. *kahi-m*.

$\sqrt{kīla-}$ first plu. pres. indi. *-emha* 87.2 (S. *kīlemha*), Sk. $\sqrt{kīṛḍ-}$ Pā. $\sqrt{kīla-}$,
Pk. $\sqrt{kīḍḍa-}$, $\sqrt{kīla-}$.

kula- acc. sing. *-am* 85.7, Sk. Pā. *kula-*. Cf. *kula-vutta-* acc. sing. *-am*. 116.1
(S. *kula-puttaṃ*) Sk. *kula-putra-*, Pā. Pk. *kula-putta-*.

$\sqrt{kala-}$ sec. sing. imperative. *kulu* 93.3, Sk. *kuru*, Pā. *karohi*, Pk. *karehi*.
ko see under *kiṃ*.

khaṇḍia-vutta- nom. sing. *-o* 101.6-7, 101.9, Sk. *khaṇḍita-vṛtta-*.

$\sqrt{khal-}$ voc. sing. pre. part. *khalantaā* 85.6, Sk. $\sqrt{skhal-}$, Pā. $\sqrt{khal-}$.

gacchasi see under $\sqrt{gacch-}$ above.

ganṭhu 93.3, Sk. *grantha-*, something to cover, to bind.

gaḍua see under $\sqrt{gacch-}$ above.

gaṃissadi see under $\sqrt{gacch-}$ above.

$\sqrt{geṇha-}$ first plu. pres. indi. *-emha* 107.2, Sk. $\sqrt{grhṇā}$, Pā. $\sqrt{gaṇhā-}$, sec.
sing. imperative *geṇha* 84.5, third sing. ppp. *gaḥīda-* 88.5 (S. *grhīda-*),
Sk. *grhīta-*, Pā. *gaḥīta-*.

gosāviāputta 102.3, < Sk. *gosvāmikā-putra*.

- goha-* nom. sing. *-e*, 88.4, or *-o*, 106.3, Pk. *goha*. On this word see Wüst, BSOS 8, 856, THIEME ZDMG 91, 115 ff., KATRE Prakrit *goha*, *Saradesai Commemoration Volume*, pp. 173-176.
- ca* 85.2, Sk. Pā. Pk. *ca*.
- ciṭṭha* 84.5 (S. *tiṣṭha*), Sk. *tiṣṭha*, Pā. *tiṭṭha*.
- chināliā-puttaa* 103.1 (S. *chināliā-putta*), Pk. *chināliā-* or *chināli-*. See THIEME Über einige Persische Wörter im Sanskrit, ZDMG 91, 121.
- jai* 85.2, Sk. Pā. *yadi*.
- jarjarapāḍa-ppāvuda-* nom. sing. *-o* 99.9, Sk. *jarjarapāṭapṛāvṛta-*.
- √*jampa*, sec. sg. pre. indi. *-si* 115.1, Sk. √*jalp-*, Pā. √*jappa-*, √*jampa-*. infinitive *-dum* 101.4.
- jasa-* acc. sing. *-m* 85.7, Sk. *yaśas-*, Pā. *yasa-*.
- jāvaccia* 106.2, Sk. *yāvat-* + **cida*. On this last see B. SCHWARTZ, Prakrit *cia*, NIA 2, Sept. 1939, p. 420.
- jā-* sec. sg. pre. indi. *-si* 85.2, Sk. Pā. *yā-*.
- √*jina-* third sg. pre. indi. *-di* 101.2, Sk. √*ji-*, Pā. √*jaya-*.
- juttam* 101.4, Sk. *yuktam*, Pā. *yuttam*.
- jūa-* or *jūda-* acc. sing. *-am* 101.5 and 87.2 ; 102.3 ; 116.2, Sk. *dyūta-*, Pā. *jūta-*.
- jūdiara-* nom. sg. *-u* 86.2 (S. *jūdiaru*), Sk. *dyūtakara-*, Pā. *jūtakara-*, also cf. *jūdikaru* 84.4 (S. *jūdiaru*). gen. sg. *-ssa* 106.4. Also cf. *-mandalīe* 89.7 (S. *jūḍialamandālie*).
- jjeva* 102.3, Sk. *eva-*
- na* 85.3 ; 87.1 ; 88.2 ; 92.5 ; 101.2, 4, 6. Sk. Pā. *na*.
- nam* 89.4, 95.3 ; 102.3. Sk. Pā. *namu*.
- natthi* see under *atthi* above.
- nāma* 101.5, Sk. *nāma*, Pā. *nāma*.
- nāsikā* 106.4, Sk. *nāsikyā*, Pā. *nāsikā*.
- nūṇa-* nom. sg. *-u* 92.5, Sk. Pā. *nīṇa*.
- ni*√*kkama-* absolutive *-ia* 107.1 Sk. *nis*-√*kram-*, Pā. *ni*-√*kkama-*.
- ni*√*veda-* first pl. pres. indi. *-(e)mha* 106.8, Sk. *ni*-√*vid-*, Pā. *ni*-√*veda*.
- taṃ* see above under *tad-*.
- tatkin* see above under *tad-*.
- tanumajjhā-* voc. sing. *-e* 114.9 Sk. *tanumadhyā-*.
- √*tara-* third sg. pre. ind. *-i* 85.3, Sk. √*tr-*, Pā. √*tara-*.
- tassa* see above under *tad*.
- tā* 86.4 ; 92.6 ; 106.5 ; 107.2. Sk. *tataḥ*, Pā. *tato*. More probably Sk. *tadā* > **taā* > *tā* meaning "then, afterwards, at that time or moment."
- tāvaccia* 106.3. Sk. *tāvat* + **cida*. See *jāvaccia*.
- tumam* 89.7 (S. *tuham*) nom. sing. 2nd per. pron. Sk. *tvam*, Pā. *tvam*, *tuvaṃ*. gen. sing. *tue* 100.6 ; 116.2 (S. *tuha*) ; 102.3 (S. *mae*), *tuha* 114.6 ; *tuham* 100.4 ; 101.7, 9 ; 114.9. Sk. Pā. *tava*.
- Daddura-* inst. sing. *-eṇa* 106.2, Sk. *Dardura-*.
- daśa* 99.6 (S. *daśa-*) Sk. *daśa*, Pā. *dasa*. *-suvaṇṇa-* acc. sing. *-am* 88.6 ; 92.1 ; 99.9 ; 102.6 ; 115.5. nom. sing. *-u* 100.6 gen. sing. *-āha* 84.4 (S.

daśasuvanāha). Sk. *daśa-suvāṇa*-, Pā. *dasa-suvāṇa*-.

√*dā*- 2nd sing. imperative *dāpaya* 97.10 (S. *dāpaa*), Sk. *dāpaya*.

√*de*- 2nd sing. imperative *-hi* 95.2 ; 106.1. Sk. √*dad*-.

√*paacca*- 2nd sing. imperative *paacca* 88.5 ; 89.4, 2 ; 92.6, 1 ; 93.2, 4, 6 ; 101.5 ; 102.6 < Sk. *prayacca*.

duṭṭha 103.1. Sk. *duṣṭa*, Pā. *duṭṭha*.

dūlāt 84.5 (S. *ḍūrāt*) Sk. *dūrāt*, Pā. *dūrā*.

deula- acc. sg. *-am* 86.3, nom. sg. *-u* 86.2, Sk. *deva-kula*-.

dosa- nom. sg. *-u* 91.3. Sk. *doṣa*-, Pa. *dosa*-.

√*dhāla*- 3rd sg. pre. indi. *-di* 99.6 ; 111.5 ; Sk. √*dhṛ*-, Pā. √*dhāra*-.

dhutta- nom. sg. *-u* 86.2 ; 92.5 ; 101.5 ; or *-o* 107.1. Sk. *dhūrta*, Pā. *dhutta*-,
voc. sg. *-ā* 101.5, 6 ; *dhuttiijāmi* 92.6, denom. of Sk. *dhūrta*, **dhūrtiā-mi*.

paḍimā 86.7. Sk. *pratimā*, Pā. *paṭimā*-, *-sunṇa*- nom. sg. *-u* 86.2 (S. *sunu*),
Sk. *-śīmya*-, Pā. *-suñña*-.

paḍissudā (only STENZLER p. 35. 6), Sk. *prati-śrūtya*.

panaṭṭā 85.8, Sk. *pranaṣṭā*, Pā. *panaṭṭhā*.

padavi 85.9. Sk. Pā. *padavi*.

paḍiṭṭha- nom. sg. *-o* 84.5 (S. *pradṛṣṭosi*), Sk. *pradṛṣṭa*-, Pā. *paḍiṭṭha*-.

pada- loc. sg. *-e* 85.6. Sk. Pā. *pada*-.

√*pala*- 2nd sg. pre. indi. *-si* 85.5, Sk. Pā. √*pal*-, nom. sg. ppp. *papalīnu* 84.4,
5 [= Sk. *prapalāyitaḥ*]. Cf. Mar. *paḷ-nē* ; Pk. *palāi* < **palei* whence
ppp. **pa-ḷina*-.

paviṭṭa- nom. sg. *-o* 106.6 Sk. *praviṣṭa*-, Pā. *paviṭṭha*-.

paviṭṭha- nom. sg. *-u* 86.3. See above for Sk. and Pā. forms.

paśaru 93.8 (S. *paśaru*) Sk. *prasara*, Pā. *pasara* ; the *-u* seems to be due to
contamination with nom. sg. forms, cf. Sk. *prasṛtaḥ* > **pa-saru* or
**pasadu*, **pasau*.

pāṭāla- acc. sg. *-am* 85.2, Sk. Pā. *pātāla*-.

pāṭha- nom. sg. *-e* 88.1, 2.

pāda- nom. sg. *-u* 86.1, Sk. Pā. *pāda*. The actual reading in GODABOLE's edn.
is *pādū* ; but that seems to be wrong. inst. plu. *-ehim* 86.3.

√*pāva*- fut. sec. sg. *-hasi* 103.2 (S. *pābihasi*), Sk. *pra-√āp*-, Pā. √*pāpina*-.
pidara- acc. sg. *-am* 93.2. Sk. *pitṛ*-, Pā. *pītera*-.

pi 101.5. Sk. Pā. *api*, Pk. *vi*, *avi*. Cf. *vi* 85.3 ; 101.6 (S. *bi*).

puno 116.2, Sk. *punaḥ*, Pā. *puna* (*r* before a vowel), *puno*.

pulisa nom. sg. *-o* 99.9 Sk. *puruṣa*-, Pā. *purisa*, *posa* < OIA **pūrṣa*.

√*pekkha*- 1st sg. fut. *-ssam* 103.5, 7. Sk. *pra-√ikṣ*-, Pā. √*pekkha*-.

peḍaṇḍa- voc. sg. *-ā* 88.5, 92.6. Sk. *pretāṇḍa*- according to THIEME, ZDMG
91, 120 footnote, and = *lupta-daṇḍa*- of the comm. and *chāyā*. May
not the first element *pe* be due to Persian influence, cf. Pers. *be* ?

pratyabhivādāye 99.4. This is a direct borrowing from Sanskrit.

phala- acc. sg. *-am* 103.1. Sk. Pā. *phala*-.

baddha- nom. sg. *-o* 89.7. Sk. Pā. *baddha*-.

bibhemi 101.6. Sk. *bibhemi*.

- bhaa-pali-vevidāṅga-* voc. sg. -ā 85.5 (S. *bhaapalivebi-*), Sk. *bhaya-parivepi-tāṅgaka-*.
- bhaṭṭa-* voc. sg. -ā 84.4 ; 99.8 ; 100.6 ; 106.2, 6 (S. *bhaddā*), Sk. *bhaṭṭ-*.
- bhaggā* 106.5, Sk. *bhagnā*, Pā. *bhaggā*.
- √*bhaṇa-* 3rd sg. pre. indi. -di 99.10, Sk. √*bhaṇ-*, Pā. √*bhaṇa-*, 2nd sg. pre. indi. -si (-ṣi) 116.1 (S. *bhaṇesi*).
- bhūda-* nom. sg. neu. -am 116.1. Sk. Pā. *bhūta-*, nom. pl. neu. -im.
- √*bho-* 3rd sg. imperative -du 86.5 ; 87.2 ; 90.6 ; 91.3 ; 100.10. Sk. √*bhū-*, Pā. Pk. √*ho-*, also cf. *ho-du* 114.6 < Sk. *bhava-tu*.
- mae*. See under *aham*.
- maṇahara-vaṇa-* acc. sg. -am 115.1 (S. *mammaṇa-*). Sk. *manohara-vacana-*.
- Māthura-* nom. sg. -u 92.5 ; 101.5. Sk. *Māthura-*.
- mādara-* acc. sg. -am 93.4, Sk. *māt-*, Pā. *mātara-*.
- mūcchā-* 101.5, Sk. *mīthyā*, Pā. *micchā*.
- mukka-* nom. sig. neu. -e 91.5, 7. Sk. *mukta-*, Pā. *mutta-*. The double -kk- shows the OI-A form to be **muk-na*.
- mutṭhippahāra-* inst. sg. -eṇa 106.4, Sk. *muṣṭiprahāra-*, Pā. *mutṭhippahāra-*.
- mūsida-* nom. sig. ppp. -o 113.1, 114.1. Sk. *mūṣita-*, Pā. *mūsita-*.
- √*rakkha-* infinitive -tum 85.3. Sk. √*rakṣ-*, Pā. √*rakkha-*.
- radadaṭṭaduvvīṇāda-* inst. sing. eṇa 114.9 (S. *raidaṭṭha-*) Sk. *raṭa-daṣṭa-dur-vīṇāda-*.
- √*rama-* sec. pr. imperative -ha 116.2. Sk. √*ram-*.
- Rudda-* nom. sg. -o 85.3. Sk. *Rudra-*, Pā. *Rudda-*.
- ruhirapaha-* acc. sg. -am 106.5, Sk. *rudhirapatha-*.
- laddha-* nom. sg. masc. -u 84.4 (S. *luddhu*), -e 88.4. Sk. *labdha-*, Pā. *laddha-*.
- lāula-* acc. sg. -am 106.8, Sk. Pā. *rājakula-*.
- le* see under *ale* above.
- √*vaja-* 2nd sg. pre. indi. -si 85.2. Sk. √*vraj-*. 3rd sg. pre. indi. -di 85.8. 2nd sg. imperative no termination.
- √*vajja-* absolutive -ia 85.3. Sk. √*varj-*.
- Vāsantasenāgeham* 106.6.
- vi* see under *pi* above.
- √*vikkīṇa-* absolutive -ia 93.2, 2, 4, 6. Sk. *vi-*√*krī-*.
- vipphaḍḍa-* nom. sg. -u 86.1, *vipratīpa-*. Pā. *vipphaḍḍa-*. inst. pl. -ehim 86.2 (S. *vipphaḍḍibhim*)
- vihava-* nom. sg. -u 100.7, -o 115.2. Sk. Pā. *vibhava-*.
- śelappadimā* 87.1. Sk. *śaila-pratimā*, Pā. *selappaḍḍimā*.
- sampadam* 85.2 ; 89.4 ; 92.7, Sk. *sāmpṛatam*.
- samaviṣamam* 85.6 (S. *śamaviśamam*), Sk. *samaviśamam*, Pā. *samavismam*.
- saraṇam* 85.2, Sk. *śaraṇam*, Pā. *saraṇam*.
- Saṁvāha* 102.6, Sk. *Saṁvāhaka*.
- sahia-* acc. sg. -am 85.3, Sk. *sabhika-*, Pā. *sahia-*.
- suvaṇṇa-* acc. sg. -am 91.6 ; 92.6, Sk. *suvaṇṇa-*, Pā. *suvaṇṇa-*, acc. pl. -im 106.7,

susahiavippalambha- voc. sg. -ā 84.5. Sk. *susabdhikavipralambhaka-*.

suham 114.6, Sk. Pā. *sukham*.

sevida- nom. sg. neu. -am 102.4. Sk. Pā. *sevita-*.

so see under *tad-* above.

hu 87.1 ; 88.2 ; 89.7. Sk. *khālu*, Pā. *kho*.

hodu see under *bho-* above.

[I am indebted to Professor S. M. KATRE for giving me this interesting topic for investigation and for substantially helping me throughout with books, papers and suggestions.]

SOME IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES OF BAGHDAD*
DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE 4th & THE EARLIER
QUARTER OF THE 5th CENTURIES OF ISLAM

By
C. H. SHAIKH

As we said before *Mikwaih's chronicle* supplemented by *Hilāl's Fragment*, brings down the Buwaihid regime to the year 393 A.H., when the fall of *Fakhru'l-Mulk* from ministerial post is recorded. At about the year 400 A.H. *Fakhru'l-Mulk* was again in power. In the year mentioned he was dispatched with an army to help the Kurdish Chief, *Badar b. Hasanawaih*, who was at war with his son, *Hilāl b. Badr*. *Fakhru'l-Mulk* subdued the insurgent¹, entrusted the stronghold, "*Sābūr Khāwst*" to Badr, took Hilāl prisoner with him, and carried a large booty to Bahāu'd-Dawla. *Mihyār* who was patronised by the Vazier *Fakhru'l-Mulk*, refers to the event in a poem which congratulates the Vazier on his achievement, mentioning at the same time, the vast amount of money which *Fakhru'l-Mulk* distributed on the occasion². On the death of *Bahāu'd-Dawla* at *Arrajān* in 403 A.H., *Fakhru'l-Mulk* went to the palace of the Caliph *al-Qādir* to obtain a deed of investiture for the new amīr, *Sultānu'd-Dawla*, and was received with unprecedented honours. A new "*Khiṭāb and Laqab*" was given him and a sword with a gold belt was fastened to his girdle. *Mihyār* commemorates the event in two poems,—one recited on the occasion of *Mihragān* festival³, and the other when *Fakhru'l-Mulk* returned to *Ahwāz*⁴.

Abu'l-Ḥasan, *al-Muzaffar*, '*Ubaidu'llāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawaih*' was originally the Secretary of *Justān b. Sharmzān*. He married the daughter of *an-Nu'aimī*, the Vazier of *Justān* in 349 A.H.⁵ He soon seems to have given up *Justān's* service and entered that of *Fakhru'd-Dawla*, the Buwaihid, whose vazier he became later on. In 369 A.H., when 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla was bent upon the conquest of *Jabal* and its dependencies, *Fakhru'd-Dawla* sent *Ibn Ḥamdawaih* with a large army to meet him ; but instead of giving battle, *Ibn Ḥamdawaih* went over to the side of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla and allowed him peacefully to occupy *Nihāwand* and capture *Sarmāj* and other strongholds⁶. He himself took to *Hausam*, where he settled in the palace built by *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla*, probably on a specific allowance from 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla.

* Continued from *Bull. DCRI* I, 78.

¹ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX (year 400).

² *Mihyār's Diwān*, III, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 357.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

⁵ *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, II, 178.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 416.

His next move was after the death of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, when he joined the conspiracy with Asfār and others, to set up Bahāu'd-Dawla as a deputy of Sharafu'd-Dawla in Baghdād, as against his brother Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla. In this conspiracy, he was allotted, in conjunction with *Abū Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī*, the task of securing allegiance from the army. The conspirators were, however, defeated, and Ibn Ḥamdawaih fled for his life but was captured and fined⁸. He continued to serve the Buwaihids until the establishment of Bahāu'd-Dawla as the amīr.

When Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, Abu'dh-Dhuwwād, the 'Uqailid amīr subdued Abū Ṭāhir and 'Alī, his own son, and brought Mouṣil under his own control, he requested Bahāu'd-Dawla to send someone who would remain at Mouṣil as his "Resident". Ibn Ḥamdawaih was accordingly despatched. At Mouṣil he only concerned himself with money and left the rest to the 'Uqailids⁹.

But the most important office that Ibn Ḥamdawaih occupied was as the Vazier of Bahāu'd-Dawla at Baṣra, where his incompetency (due to much-mocked-at-stupidity¹⁰) upset the entire administration, and ultimately necessitated the appointment of the Vazier Abu'l 'Abbās 'Isā b. Māsarjis¹¹. The duration of the vazierate of Ibn Ḥamdawaih is reckoned from 7th to 23rd Sha'bān 384 A.H. He died in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 387 A.H. The 'Alawid poet ash-Sharifu'r-Raḍī lamented his death in an elegy¹².

Abū 'Alī, Ismā'il, al-Muwaffaq was the Vazier of Bahāu'd-Dawla. His conquest of Fārs in 390 A.H. is referred to in a poem in which ash-Sharifu'r Raḍī congratulates him on the title, "*'Umdatul-Mulk*", bestowed upon him by Bahāu'd-Dawla on the occasion¹³. His rising power was a cause of great anxiety to *Abu'l-'Abbās 'Isā b. Māsarjis* who is said to have spent a very large amount of money to bring *Abū 'Alī al-Muwaffaq* under his power. That was before the year 386 A.H. when Ibn Māsarjis was appointed Vazier of Bahāu'd-Dawla¹⁴.

In fact Abū 'Alī did not like such intrigues and wanted to resign his post soon after his campaign against Ibn Bakhtiyār successfully terminated. But Bahāu'd-Dawla would not accept his resignation and insisted on Abū 'Alī's holding the post. Abū 'Alī, however, declined; thereupon Bahāu'd-Dawla arrested and imprisoned him; confiscated his property and issued orders for the arrest of his relations. The Vazier, *Sābūr b. Ardshīr*¹⁵, however, secretly informed his relations of the order

⁷ His account will follow in due course. ⁸ Ibid., III, 107.

⁹ *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 179.

¹⁰ Ibid. See the story on P. 258 as an illustration of his stupidity.

¹¹ His account will follow in due course.

¹² *Raḍī's Diwān*, I, 381.

¹³ *Raḍī's Diwān*, II, 903. For the full description of this Conquest of Fārs, see *Eclipse*, III and *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX, (year 390).

¹⁴ *Raḍī's Diwān*, II, 702. For a full account see *Eclipse*, III, 283, 284, etc.

¹⁵ His notice will appear in due course.

and suffered them to escape peacefully. In the year 394 A.H., Bahāu'd-Dawla brought about the death of Abū 'Alī al-Muwaffaq¹⁶.

Abū 'Alī *al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd b. Abī'r-Rayyān* was the son of the famous vazier *Abū'r-Rayyān*. His father, *Ḥamd b. Abī'r-Rayyān*, was sometime vazier to the Buwaihid 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. Abū 'Alī, his son, with whom we are concerned, lived at Baghdād during the period under consideration and was the father-in-law of the famous 'Alawid poet *ash-Sharīfu'r-Raḍī* who sings a number of poems¹⁷ in his praise. It appears from Raḍī's *Dīwān* that the latter had to divorce the daughter of the former, as a consequence of which enmity arose between the two. Apparently they were soon reconciled since they are reported to have journeyed together to Mecca in 396, not knowing the road under the guidance of one named Ka'ab of the tribe of the Banū 'Āmir¹⁸.

The greatest of the vaziers under consideration is *Abu'l-Qāsim, Ismā'il. b. 'Abbād, Kāfīl Kuḡāt*, commonly known as the "*Ṣāḥib*". He was so called because of his companionship with the renowned *Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ibnu'l-'Amīd*¹⁹, or according to another account, the Buwaihid Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla who is reported to have given him this epithet²⁰. Be that as it may, Ibn 'Abbād was undoubtedly the first vazier to be called the *Ṣāḥib*, although the term was indiscriminately used for vaziers generally in the succeeding ages. Ibn 'Abbād was the Vazier of Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, and after the latter's death, of his brother, *Fakhrū'd-Dawla b. Ruknu'd-Dawla*.

His father *al-Ḥasan*²¹ 'Abbād had been Vazier to Ruknu'd-Dawla and 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla and was given the title of "*al-Amīn*"²² (the Trusted). He was extremely pious and honest. Fully learned in all the branches of learning, 'Abbād was distinguished for his penmanship and is reported to have written a number of books on Quranic exegesis²³. He died in 334 or 335 (946 A.D.)²⁴.

¹⁶ *Ibnu'l Athīr*, IX. (See under the Arrest of al-Muwaffaq—year 390 A.H.)

¹⁷ *Raḍī's Dīwān*, II, 527, 900, etc. The poem on P. 900 is an elegy on the death of one of the sons of Abū 'Alī.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 55. Unfortunately, the poem in question is dated 394 A.H.

¹⁹ His real name was 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Muhammad. He was born in 337 A.H. (948 A.D.) and died in 366 A.H. He is considered one of the greatest vaziers of the Buwaihids, Ibn 'Abbād and Fakhrū'l-Mulk being the other two. He was vazier to Ruknu'd-Dawla, and after his death, to his son Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, at Iṣfahān, Rayy and their dependencies. See Index to *Eclipse* of the Abbasid Caliphate; Ibn Khallikān and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. V, 347-375.

²⁰ *Kitābu't-Tāj of Ṣābi* quoted in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, Tr. de SLANE, vol. I, 213.

²¹ *Ibn Khallikān* gives his *Kunya* as *Abu'l-Ḥasan*. See Tr. by de SLANE, vol. I, p. 216.

²² *Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī* quoted in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, pp. 273-74.

²³ *Ibnu'l-Jawzī's al-Muntaẓam* quoted in Yāqūt, loc. cit.

²⁴ *Ibnu'l-Jawzī*, op. cit., maintains that 'Abbād died in the year 385 A.H.,—the same year his son, the *Ṣāḥib* died, which is incorrect.

His son, our Ṣāhib, was born on the 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 326 A.H. (Sept., 938, A.D.) at Iṣṭakhr, or according to another account, at Ṭāliqān²⁵. In the early part of his career Ibn 'Abbād was attached, as an ordinary scribe to *Ibnū'l-'Amīd*, the vazier. But soon he became the favourite of *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla* on account of his skill and efficiency. When *Ruknu'd-Dawla* died, and *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla* succeeded him to the amirate, he maintained *Ibnū'l-'Amīd* in his post as the Vazier. But when *Ibnū'l-'Amīd* was killed, Ibn 'Abbād was appointed the Vazier, which post he continued to hold until the death of *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla*.

When *Fakhru'd-Dawla*, the brother of *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla* fled to *Khurāsān* to the protection of *Qābūs b. Washmagir*²⁶, Ibn 'Abbād was sent to fetch him to his brother, *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla*, which work he successfully accomplished. After the succession of *Fakhru'd-Dawla*, Ibn 'Abbād offered to resign the post but *Fakhru'd-Dawla* did not accept his resignation. Ibn 'Abbād, therefore, held on to the post until his own death on the 14th Rabī' I²⁷, or according to another account²⁸, 20th Rabī', I (Wednesday), A.H. 385, after an illness, at *Ahwāz*²⁹. He was buried in *Iṣfahān*³⁰. No one was mourned so universally as Ibn 'Abbād³¹. *Yāqūt* has devoted the largest number of pages to his ac-

²⁵ That is why he is also known as "*aṭ-Ṭāliqānī*".

²⁶ *Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī*, *Abu'l-Ḥasan, Qābūsū'l-Jilī*, the son of *Abū Ṭāhir Washmagir*, was the amir of *Jurjān* and *Ṭabaristān*. *Tha'ālibī*, in his *Yalima*, vol. II, p. 129 considers him "the greatest of princes, the star of the age, the source of justice and benevolence; one in whose person Almighty God hath united power and learning, the gift of wisdom and the plenitude of authority." *Qābūs* wrote a most beautiful hand to which Ibn 'Abbād had given the compliment when he saw some specimen of his writing. "This is either the writing of *Qābūs* or the wing of a peacock." *Qābūs* came to the throne in A.H. 388 and was murdered in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-13); see *Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt* Tr. de Slane, vol. II, pp. 507-510; *Yāqūt, Irshād*, VI, 143-152.

²⁷ *Abū Na'im al-Ḥāfiẓ* quoted in the introduction to *Ibn 'Abbād's "Al-Kashfu 'an Masāwī'l-Mutanabbī"*, Cairo, 1349 A.H.

²⁸ *Raḍī's Diwān*, II, 670; *Ibn Khallikān* gives Thursday evening, 24th of Ṣafar, 385 A.H. (Tr. de SLANE, vol. I, p. 215), so also *Shadharātu'dh-Dhahab*, p. 215. vol. III, (year 385).

²⁹ *Eclipse*, III, 171, 261; *Ibn Khallikān* says that he died at Rayy, "from which city his body was transported to *Iṣfahān*, and interred in a vault situated in the quarter of *Bāb Dāẓih*: his tomb is still kept in good order, and his daughter's descendants have it whitewashed regularly". (*Wafayāt*: Tr. de SLANE, vol. I, p. 215).

³⁰ *Shadharātu'dh-Dhahab*, vol. III, p. 215; *Ibn Khallikān*, loc. cit.; *Yāqūt*, loc. cit., etc.

³¹ "None ever enjoyed the same popular favour after their death as during their life, the Ṣāhib excepted; for on his decease, the gates of the city of Rayy were closed (as a sign of mourning), and the people assembled at the door of his palace, where they waited till the bier was brought out; and *Fakhru'd-Dawla*, the prince whom he served, was present with all the officers of high rank in mourning dresses: when the bier appeared, the people raised one simultaneous cry and prostrated themselves on the ground; *Fakhru'd-Dawla* and the rest marched in procession before the corpse, and for some days after, he held public sittings to receive visits of condolence."

count, 273-343. (Vol. II, Irshād. ed. Margoliouth), while Tha'ālibi has the finest eulogy of him in these terms : " I am unable to find expressions sufficiently strong to satisfy my wishes, so that I may declare to what a height he attained in learning and philological knowledge ; how exalted a rank he held by his liberality and generosity ; how far he was placed apart by the excellence of his qualities, and how completely he united in himself all the various endowments which are a source of just pride to their possessor ; for my words aspire in vain to attain a height which may accord with even the lowest degree of his merit and his glory, and my powers of description are unequal to the task of portraying the least of his noble deeds, the lowest of his exalted purposes."³²

Gifted with a poetical talent, and well versed in the art of letter-writing³³, Ibn 'Abbād was one of the greatest patrons of learning and poetry. His fame as such had travelled far and wide and poets and men of learning flocked to his patronage from all quarters.

Ibn 'Abbād is credited with a number of works among which the following deserve note :—

- I. al-Muḥīṭ (on philology), in seven volumes.
- II. Kitābu'l-Kāfī (on letter-writing).
- III. „ A'yād (Book of Festivals).
- IV. Kitābu'l Imāma.
- V. Al Kashfu 'an masāwi'l-Mutanbbi ; and several others.

Another important personality of Baghdād was the Iranian Sābūr b. Ardshīr (Persian—Shāhpur = prince). Abū Naṣr, also called Bahā'u'd-Dawla, Sābūr b. Ardshīr was the Vazier of Bahā'u'd-Dawla, the Buwaihīd, and was equally remarkable for his abilities and learning. His palace was the constant resort of the poets of the day. Tha'ālibi, the author of the famous "*Yatimatu'd-dahr*" devotes a special chapter, in the above book, to the poets who celebrated Sābūr b. Ardshīr's praise.

Ibn Khallikān, Wafayyāt, Tr. de SLANE, vol. I, p. 216 ; also *Shadhrātu'dh-Dhahab*, vol. III, p. 216 ; *Yāqūt* ; *Irshād*, II.

³² *Tha'ālibi-Yatima*, quoted in *Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt* (Tr. de SLANE), vol. I, pp. 212-3. *Yāqūt*, *loc. cit.* gives a very long list of his works.

³³ The author of the *Chahār Maqāla*, Nizāmī 'Arāḍī Samarqandī, considers the Šāhib's style of letter-writing as a "model" for the intending munshis (or (Dabirs)). See *Chahār Maqāla*, p. 13, of Mirza Muḥammad Qazwini's edition (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XI, introduction in English by Prof. E. G. BROWNE, 1910). The Šāhib was himself conscious of his skill and used to say, "There are four master writers and elocutionists in the present age—Ibn'ul 'Amid, 'Abdu'l 'Aziz (i.e. Ibn Nubāta), Šābi, and if I wish I can mention the fourth," i.e. himself—while Šābi wrote as required, the šāhib wrote as he desired." *Tha'ālibi-Yatima*, vol. II, p. 28.

³⁴ *Shadharātu'dh-Dhahab*, vol. III, pp. 114-5 ;

Ibn Nadīm, Fihrist, p. 135 (ed. Flügel), adds

- (1) *Kitābu'z-Zaidiyya* ;
- (2) *Kitābu'l-Wuzerā* ;
- (3) *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar Asmā'illāh*, etc. ;
- (4) *Diwān Rasā'il*, etc.

He had founded a great academy (at Baghdād)³⁵ to the library of which he had himself presented 10,000 volumes. Abu'l-'Alā of Ma'arra refers to this in one of his poems :

“And in the House of Sābūr, a sprightly songstress enlivened our evenings with a voice melodious as the dove's.”³⁶

This library is reported to have existed down till Ṭughrilbeg's entry into Baghdād when it was set on fire³⁷.

Sābūr was born at Shīrāz on Friday³⁸, the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da A.H. 336 (May, 948 A.D.) and was appointed for the first time, Vazier in 380 A.H. (990-991 A.D.). He held this office again in 382 A.H. in conjunction with Abū Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān and continued to hold it until the Dailamite troops displayed their dissatisfaction with his government, as a consequence of which he had to go in hiding (in A.H. 383=993-94 A.D.). In 386 (996-97 A.D.) Bahāu'd-Dawla again appointed him Vazier. Sābūr b. Ardshīr died at his palace at Daizāj Street in Baghdād in 416 A.H. (1025-26 A.D.)³⁹.

Abu'l-'Abbās, *Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, aḍ-Ḍabbī*, al-Kafi'l-Awḥad, the Vazier of the Buwaihid Fakhru'd-Dawla, and after the death, of his son Majdu'd-Dawla, was the right hand man of the famous Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, whom he succeeded as a vazier. The Ṣāḥib had brought him up under his personal supervision and trained him in literature, etiquette and administration. He used to accord him a privileged position amongst his boon-companions and favourites,⁴⁰ so much so that Ḍabbī considered himself to be a part and parcel of the Ṣāḥib's family⁴¹.

During the Vazierate of the Ṣāḥib, Ḍabbī was appointed Governor of Iṣfahān⁴² which post he efficiently held until the death of the Ṣāḥib in 385 A.H. when he succeeded to the Vazierate jointly with Ibn Ḥamūla. On the death of Fakhru'd-Dawla in 387 A.H. his four-year old son, Majdu'd-Dawla succeeded to the amirate, but the reigns of the government were held by the Queen Mother, Fakhru'd-Dawla's widow, advised by the two joint Vaziers. At this juncture Qābūs b. Washmagīr, who was on the look-out for a loop-hole among the Buwaihids, saw his

³⁵ Prof. NICHOLSON's *Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd edition, p. 314 ; also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Tr. DE SLANE, Vol. I, p. 555.

³⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Tr. DE SLANE, p. 555.

³⁷ K. V. ZETTERSTEEN, Article in *Encyclopædia of Islam* on “*Sābūr b. Ardshīr*”.

³⁸ Ibn Khallikān and others put it as “on the eve of Saturday”—by which they mean Friday, any time after the sunset for, according to the Muslims, a day begins after 4 p.m.

³⁹ For the details of his career see *Eclipse*, Index ; Ibn Khallikān, I, (Tr. de SLANE), pp. 554-5. Zettersteen's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, etc.

⁴⁰ *Tha'ālībī*, *Yatima*, III, p. 118 ; *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, I, 66 ; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, (Tr. DE SLANE) III, 266 (f. n. 18).

⁴¹ This statement is borne out by the fact that *Ḍabbī* was the chief mourner of Ibn 'Abbād, see *Yāqūt*, *op. cit.* p. 70.

⁴² *Eclipse* III. 122.

opportunity and attacked with a huge force Jurjān and scattered the troops of Khurāsān. The necessity arose for collecting another army and it was found inevitable that one of the two Vaziers should lead the army; lots were drawn and Ibn Ḥamūla had to accompany the army, leaving Ḍabbi the sole Vazier⁴³. On Ibn Ḥamūla's return from the expedition, they again shared the post. Attempts were, however, made to persuade one of the two to resign in favour of the other⁴⁴. Ḍabbi cleverly managed to poison the ears of the Queen Mother against Ibn Ḥamūla who was arrested and put in prison. But Ḍabbi did not remain enjoying the post for a long time, for in 392 A.H., the Queen Mother accused him of administering poison to her own brother and demanded two thousand *dīnārs* for the "mourning." Ḍabbi refused to pay the sum and fled to the protection of *Badr b. Ḥasanawaih* at *Barujird* where he died of disappointment in 398 A.H.⁴⁵

Ḍabbī was, in addition to his administrative abilities, a great critic and patron of the poets, men of learning and science. Mihiyār, the famous Dailamite poet (whose account will follow in due course), asserts with *Tha'ālibī*⁴⁷ that Ḍabbī was, after the death of Ibn 'Abbād, the only surviving person who combined in himself politics and literary culture.

Tāju'l-Mulk, *Dhu's-Sa'ādāt*, *Abū Ghālib*, *al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr* was the Vazier of the Buwaihid *Sulṭānu'd-Dawla*, and also *Musharifu'd-Dawla*. When *Sulṭānu'd-Dawla* put to death the great *Fakhru'l-Mulk* in 406, he appointed *Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sahlān* in his place. But *Ibn Sahlān* fled to *Hīt* in 408 and *Abu'l-Qāsim b. Fasānjis*, brother of *Abu'l-Faraj b. Fasānjis* (of whom an account will soon follow), was appointed in his place⁴⁸. In 409, however, *Ibn Fasānjis* and his brothers were arrested, and *Abū Ghālib al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr* became the Vazier⁴⁹. He seems to have been retained in the post by *Musharifu'd-Dawla* when the latter took *Sulṭānu'd-Dawla's* place in 412 A.H., but the mutineers put *Tāju'l-Mulk* to death soon after⁵⁰. A poem of *Mihiyār*⁵¹ which was sent to *Tāju'l-Mulk* when the latter was at *Wāsiṭ* alludes to the victory of *Tāju'l-Mulk* over *Ibn Sahlān* in a battle in 413 A.H. The poem seems to have been wrongly dated because *Ibnu'l-Athīr* describes this battle to have taken place in 412 A.H., the year in which mutineers killed *Tāju'l-Mulk*⁵².

Dhu's-Sa'ādāt, *Abu'l Faraj Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Fasānjis*, was the grandson of that famous *Ibn Fasānjis* who was

⁴³ *Yāqūt, Irshād*, Vol. I, p. 74.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX, (year 398); *Yāqūt*, loc. cit. I, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁶ *Mihiyār's Diwān*, Vol. II, pp. 29-30 (Cairo ed.).

⁴⁷ *Tha'ālibī, Yatīma*, IV, pp. 118-119.

⁴⁸ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX (year 408).

⁴⁹ *Ibid* (year 409).

⁵⁰ *Ibid* (year 412).

⁵¹ *Mihiyār's Diwān*, I, 51.

⁵² See *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX, (year 412).

Vazier⁵³ to *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla*, the Buwaihid. Our Ibn Fasānjis was the Vazier of Sultānu'd-Dawla and after his death, of his son Abū Kālījār⁵⁴.

In the year 421, A.H. Jalālu'd-Dawla's⁵⁵ troops drove out Abū Kālījār's Governor of Baṣra and occupied the town. Ibn Fasānjis was therefore dispatched to regain possession of that town. A severe battle ensued, terminating in the success of Ibn Fasānjis who also occupied the town, and proclaimed the rule of Abū Kālījār. Ibn Fasānjis remained Vazier until the year 439 A.H. when he was arrested. He died in 440 A.H. at the age of 51 years. Ibnu'l-Athīr attributes to his authorship a few treatises and some poems of which he cites one⁵⁶.

Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, Majdu'l-Ma'ālī, Sayyidu'l-Wuzerā, *Abū 'Alī al-Ḥsain b. al-Ḥasan or-Rukhkhaji* succeeded to the Vazierate of Musharrifu'd-Dawla, the Buwaihid, after the Vazier Ibn Sahlān. The post seems to have been offered him several times, but he refused to accept it, at least Mihiyār's poem⁵⁷ seems to imply that. It is, however, undeniable that he was all the while in the government employ. From Ibnu'l-Athīr's account it is evident that in or about the year 412, Musharrifu'd-Dawla made him his vazier, since he states under the year 414, when he was arrested, that his vazirate lasted for two years and odd⁵⁸. From Mihiyār's poem it would appear, however, that during this period, i.e. 412-414, he was dismissed and again reappointed⁵⁹, after he brought about a reconciliation between the two Buwaihid amīrs,—Sultānu'd-Dawla and Musharrifu'd-Dawla,—in 413 A.H.—the year in which the title "Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk" was conferred upon him⁶⁰. It is likely that Rukhkhaji retired from public life soon after his dismissal, as his name is not mentioned until the year 430 A.H.—the year of his death⁶¹.

After Rukhkhaji, the Vazierate of Musharrifu'd-Dawla, was held by *Abu'l-Qāsim, al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Maghribī* the famous patron of poets

⁵³ *Abu'l 'Faraj Muḥammad b. 'Abbās b. Fasānjis*, was during the amirate of *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla*, the President of the Bureau and ultimately became his Vazier. See his full career in the *Eclipse*, Index; *Yaqut*, *Irshād*, V. 445.

⁵⁴ *Abū Kālījār* or *Kālīzār*, is perhaps a Persian rendering of the fairly common Arabic Kunya *Abu'l-Hayjā'*. See details in Harold Bowen's article "The Last Buwayhids" in the *J. R. A. S.* 1929, at pp. 228-29. *Abū Kālījār al-Marzubān* entitled "Izzu'l-Mulūk, Muhyu'd-Dīn" the Buwaihid, was the nephew of Abū Ṭāhir Shirzīl, entitled "Jalālu'd-Dawla". He was the son of Sultānu'd-Dawla (d. 415 A.H.).

⁵⁵ *Abū Ṭāhir Shirzīl b. Bahāu'd-Dawla* was later on called *Jalālu'd-Dawla* (d. 435 A.H.). After the death of Sultānu'd-Dawla in 415 A.H., *Jalālu'd-Dawla*, brought under his domain, the province of 'Irāq, excepting Baṣra, which town was under the control of his nephew, the above named *Abū Kālījār*. *Jalālu'd-Dawla* was created Amīr in 416 A.H. (1025-6) "but from the beginning of his Amirate, his hold on the Government had been exceedingly weak. Baghdad was at this time the scene of "interminable sectarian riots" (For details of these, see *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, *Kāmil*, IX. year 415 onwards).

⁵⁶ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX. (See under year 421).

⁵⁷ *Mihiyār's Diwān*, I, 44,

⁵⁸ *Ibnu'l-Athīr* IX. (year 414).

⁵⁹ *Mihiyār, Diwān*, I, 44,

⁶⁰ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX, (year 413).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* IX, (year 430),

and men of learning. He was born in Egypt on the 13th Dhu'l-Hajja, 370 A.H. (June 19, 981 A.D.); hence his name "The Westerner"⁶². His notice appears in almost all the literary-biographical books⁶³ and hence we need not dilate here. In the year 415 A.H., the Vazier had to flee with his master owing to the mutiny of the Turkish troops. There is an interesting poem⁶⁴ of Mihyār which contains a lucid description of the devastated condition of Baghdād on account of that mutiny. Maghribī died at Mayyāfāriqīn on the 13th of Ramaḍān. 418 A.H. (Oct. 17, 1027 A.D.), and was buried at Kūfa⁶⁵.

Abu'l-Qāsim Hibatullāh b. 'Alī b. Ja'far, al-'Ijlī, commonly known as *Ibn Mākūlā*, was the descendant of that famous *Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī* whose notice appears at length in *Ibn Khallikān*⁶⁶. The family of *Ibn Mākūlā* originally belonged to Jarbādhaqān, a place near Isfahān. From *Ibn Khallikān*'s account of his son⁶⁷ it is evident that he was (originally) the Vazier of the Caliph al-aQā'im bi-Amrillāh⁶⁸ (422 to 468 A.H.=1031-1075 A.D.), but *Ibnu'l-Athir*⁶⁹ and *Mihyar* assert that he was the Vazier of Jalālu'd-Dawla, the Buwaihid, although *Mihyār* points out that he had acted as the Minister in charge of Revenue and

⁶² See on this point *Ibn, Khallikān, Wafayāt*, (Tr. de SLANE), Vol. I, p. 454. Originally he was in the employ of the Fātimid Caliph, al-Ḥākim, of Egypt, with whom he quarrelled.

⁶³ e.g. *Maqrizi, al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 157 sq.; *Ibn Khallikān, Wafayat*, I. 450-456; *Yāqūt, Irshād*, IV. pp. 60-64; *Bākhārāzi : Dumyatul-Qaṣr* (Aleppo ed. 1930), pp. 40-42; *Tha'alibī, Tatimmatul-Yatima* (Tihiran, 1934), I, pp. 24-25; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, article "Maghribī"; etc.

⁶⁴ *Mihyār's Diwān*, I. 281.

⁶⁵ *Ibnu'l-Athir* gives a very interesting story about the burial of al-Maghribī. When the Vazier realized that his death was near, he wrote letters to all the amirs and chiefs of his acquaintance who were (living) between Mayyāfāriqīn and Kūfa, informing them that one of his concubines had died and that he was sending her coffin to the Mashhad of 'Alī. He, therefore, asked their protection for the persons who accompanied the body, and desired them, on no account, to stop it or the escort. When he expired, his people proceeded with his body to the place of burial; the Amīrs thought that it was the body of the concubine, and none attempted to stop it on its progress. The truth was not discovered till after his interment" *Ibnu'l-Athir*, quoted by DE SLANE in his translation to *Ibn Khallikān's Wafayat*, Vol. I, p. 456. (f. n. 15)

⁶⁶ *Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. Isā*, one of the Generals of the army of Māmūn and his successor al-Mu'taṣim, was "a spirited, noble and generous chief highly extolled for his generosity". He died at Baghdad in 225 or 226 A.H. (839-40 or 41 A.D.). See *Wafayāt*. (Tr. DE SLANE), Vol. II, pp. 502-507.

⁶⁷ *Abū Naṣr 'Alī* (entitled Sa'du'l-Mulk), also known as *Ibn Mākūlā*, was the son of *Abu'l-Qāsim Hibtullah*, the above noticed Vazier. *Abū Naṣr Ibn Mākūlā* was a man of great learning and is famous as the author of "*al-Ikmāl*." Born at 'Ukbarā on the 5th of Sha'bān, 421 A.H. (Aug. 1030 A.D.), he was murdered at Jurjān somewhere between 470 and 480 A.H. See *Ibn Khallikān* (Tr. DE SLANE, II, pp. 248-49), *Yāqūt Irshād*, V, 435-440 etc.

⁶⁸ *Ibn Khallikān*, loc. cit. II. p. 248.

⁶⁹ *Ibnu'l-Athir, Kāmūl*, IX, (year 430 A.H.).

Defence for the provinces of Baṭīḥa and Wāsiṭ, (presumably for the Caliph) prior to his appointment as the Vazier of Jalālu'd-Dawla in 423 A.H. (1032 A.D.)⁷⁰. He was born in 365 A.H. (975-76 A.D.).

In 423 A.H. (1032 A.D.) the Turkish soldiers of the Buwaihid sultān, Jalālu'd-Dawla sacked the amīr's palace who fled to 'Ukbarā. At that place he met Ibn Mākūlā, whom he took as his Vazier, benefited by his wise counsel, and devised a scheme for a better government as a consequence of which the rioting Turks were pacified and most of them resumed their services while those who persisted in rebellion were dismissed by Ibn Mākūlā. When Ibn Mākūlā arrived at Baghdad, he was cordially received by Jalālu'd-Dawla⁷¹. Although Ibn Mākūlā succeeded in putting down the rebellion of the Turkish Prætorians, the result seemed to be only momentary for they again revolted in 424 A.H. and once again sacked the palace of the sultān who had to run away to Karkh to the protection of the shī 'ās. In the same year Ibn Mākūlā was dismissed from the Vazierate and *Abū Sa'd b. 'Abdī'r-Raḥīm* (whose account will soon follow) was appointed in his place. Ibn Mākūlā came to the Vazierate once again in 425 and in 426 to be only alternated by the above named *Abū Sa'd*. Finally about the year 428, Ibn Mākūlā was handed over to the 'Uqailid chief *Qarwāsh b. al-Muqallad*⁷² who put him in prison at Hīt. Here he died in 430 A.H. (1038-39 A.D.) after being in prison for two years and five months⁷³.

Abū Sa'd b. Aṣṣāḥib Ḥusain b. 'Abdī'r-Raḥīm was the next person who belonged to this series of the Buwaihid Vaziers. His father, the *Ṣāḥib Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥusain b. 'Abdī'r-Raḥīm* was originally the chief "Naqīb" of the Turkish Troops. After the death of Bahāu'd-Dawla in 403 A.H., he was sent on an important diplomatic mission to Fārs⁷⁴ which he most ably discharged, winning popularity at Shīrāz as well as nearer home, for, on his return, a precious robe of honour was bestowed upon him and he was made the "*Naqību'n-Nuqabā* for the ENTIRE territory of the sultān⁷⁵. But soon he seems to have incurred the disfavour of the sultān who dismissed him from office and confined him to his house⁷⁶. He was, however, soon restored to his former post

⁷⁰ Miḥyār, Diwān, I, 411. In another poem Miḥyār claims that his own ancestors were in the employ of the Vazier. Such being the case, the only conclusion to be drawn from the three statements already referred to, is that Ibn Mākūlā was originally in the Caliph's employ as the Minister, but later on he entered the service of the *Buwaihids*. (See *Miḥyār, Diwān*, I, 205).

⁷¹ Ibid., II. poem on p. 123, congratulating him on his arrival at Baghdād and the cordial reception he got from the Amīr.

⁷² *Qarwāsh b. Muqallad* was the 'Uqailid chief who was the ruler of Moussil after the year 391 A.H., the year in which his father *al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab* was murdered at his residence in Anbār by a Turkish slave.

⁷³ *Ibnū'l-Athīr, Kāmil*, IX. (year 430 A.H.).

⁷⁴ *Miḥyār's Diwān*, I, 21, 26.

⁷⁵ Ibid, III, 58.

⁷⁶ Ibid, I. 387.

with added honours⁷⁷, probably after payment of a huge sum of money to the sultān, for, the later Buwaihids suffered terribly from lack of funds and their favour or disfavour was the result of payment or non-payment, respectively. He was finally arrested and put to death in prison on the bank of the Euphrates, in Hit⁷⁸. Mihiyār's dirges on him seem to imply that his body was thrown in the river.

His son, *Abū Sa'd*, Sharafu'd-Dīn, Muḥammad, 'Amīdu'l-Kufāt, Ra'īsu'l-Ajall, Vazīru'l Vuzerā, became Vazier in 419 A.H. Originally he occupied some post under his father⁷⁹, but from the introduction to a poem of Mihiyār's it appears that a separate department was entrusted to him in 412 A.H., the honorific title of " 'Amīdu'l-Kufāt " having been bestowed upon him on this occasion⁸⁰. He came to Baghdād apparently in 413 A.H.⁸¹, in the company of the Vazier *Rukhkhaji*, to inspect the army. In 417 A.H. he was the recipient of another title—" *Ra'īsu'l-Ajall* ". In 419 he was holding the post of the Vazier, but soon he was dismissed from the post since in 421 A.H., Ibnu'l-Athīr speaks of his re-appointment with a new title " 'Amīdu'd-Dawla ". Next year finds him again dismissed. In 423 he comes again into power, but the Turkish troops ill-treated him and he fled into hiding. In 425 he was again Vazier but fled this time to Awānā to the protection of the chieftain " *Abu'sh-Shawk* " ⁸². In succeeding years, as we said before, he alternates with *Ibn Mākūla* as Vazier. In 427 he was arrested but was soon released⁸³. He and his illustrious brother, *Kamālu'l-Mulk* were driven out of Baghdād by *Abu'l-Faraj b. Fasānjis*, in 436 A.H.⁸⁴ Abū Sa'd died in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 439 A.H., in the Jazīratu Ibn 'Umar⁸⁵.

Of the two brothers of Abū Sa'd, Kamālu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ma'ālī Hibatullāh is addressed by Mihiyār as well as Ibnu'l-Athīr, as the " Vazier ", but it is difficult to say when he acted in that capacity. Under the year 436, Ibnu'l-Athīr states that he was the Vazier of Jalālu'd-Dawla ; but the latter died in 435 ; therefore, Kamālu'l-Mulk must have acted, if at all, somewhere before 435. Again, he was taken as his Vazier by Abū Kālījār in 439 A.H. after the arrest of *Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Fasānjis*. It is quite likely that prior to his appointment of the Vazierate, he was in charge of two departments, during the Vazierite of his brother Abū Sa'd, for, the title " Dhu'r-Riyāsatain⁸⁶ applied to him, very probably implies that.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid, I. 159 ; 418.

⁷⁹ *Mihyar's Diwān*, I. 261.

⁸⁰ Ibid, IV. 15.

⁸¹ Ibid IV. 35 ; *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, *Kāmil*, IX (year 413), however does not mention the name of *Abū Sa'd*.

⁸² Ibid., I, 107 ; *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, IX (year 425).

⁸³ *Ibnu'l-Athīr* (under the year 423) ; Mihiyār, II. 370.

⁸⁴ *Ibnu'l-Athīr* IX. (year 436, month Ramaḍān)

⁸⁵ Ibid (year 439.).

⁸⁶ *Mihyār*, *Diwān*, IV, 126 ; note that in this poem he is also addressed as " ' *Aimū'l-Kufāt* ."

Abū Sa'd's another brother *Za'imu'l-Mulk* (also called *Za'imu'd-Dīn*).⁸⁷ Abu'l-Ḥasan is also addressed as Vazier ; and Mihiyār claims :—

وَأَرَى الْوِزَارَةَ مُدَحَّلَتَ لَوَاءِهَا - نَصَرْتُ عَلَى فَشْلِ الْوَلَاةِ وَظَفَرْتُ

although we have no other source to ascertain the truth of this statement.

The family of 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm were those persons in whose praises the best of Mihiyār's life and skill was spent. It is a pity, however, that nothing more than what we have already given is found with regard to them from other sources.

We include in this group *Abū Maṣṣūr b. Māsarjis* the son of the famous Abu'l-'Abbās *'Isā b. Māsarjis* about whom we have had occasion to speak in the earlier portion of the paper. He was one of the most prominent persons of Baghdād.

Rabību'n-Ni'ma Abu'l-Mu'ammār, was the son of the Vazier Abu 'Alī Ismā'il al-Muwaffaq whom we have met before. According to the Ṣabian, Hilāl, the title of *Rabību'n-Ni'mā* was conferred on him at the time when his father Abū 'Alī got the title "*'Umdatul-Mulk*" in 390 A.H.⁸⁹ *Rabību'n-Ni'ma* was on friendly terms with Hilāl.

(ii) NOBLES AND COURTIER.

With this account of about 20 Vaziers of the Buwaihids, we now turn to some of the nobles and courtiers who flourished during the period under consideration. Here, we may profitably dilate in so far as some of these persons, notwithstanding the fact that they were the leading men of the period, are not so well known as those whom we have hitherto considered.

Of these *Abu'l Ḥasan*⁹⁰ *b. 'Abdī'l-'Azīz b. Ḥājib an-Nu'mān*⁹¹ was born in 340 A.H.⁹² His father, *'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, who was the clerk of the Sawad Bureau under the *Vazier al-Muḥallabī*⁹³, died of a fall from

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 132, 174.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 178 line 12.

⁸⁹ *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā* (ed. Amedroz), p. 377.

⁹⁰ The *Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* (ed. & Tr. by Prof. D. S. MARGOLTH), Part I, p. 39 ; and Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 134 put *Abu'l Ḥusain* as his Kunya which is apparently a misprint. In *Mihiyār's Diwān*, he bears the title *Sa'du'l-Mulk* ; see vol. I, 88 ; II, 161 ; III, 269.

⁹¹ For the reason of this name see *Yāqūt, Irshād*, vol. IV ; under *'Abdu'l-'Azīz* (his father).

⁹² *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XII, 31-32 (6399).

⁹³ *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 39 (year 351 A.H.).

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, al-Muḥallabī the Vazier of the Buwaihīd *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla*, belonged to Baṣra where he was born in Muḥarram 291 A.H. (Dec. 903 A.D.). He was made Vazier in 339 A.H. (9050 A.D.). His fame as a generous patron and an able Vazier is amply illustrated by the story that is given from the *Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* and by the general indignation aroused by *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla's* confiscation of his property after his death in 963 A.D. at Baghdād. For his full career see, *Yāqūt, Irshād*, III, 180-194 ; Ibn Khallikān—(*Wafayāt*, Tr. DE SLANE), I, 131-133 ; Ibnul-Athir ; etc.

the balcony of the Vazier's house⁹⁴. Ibn Nadīm attributes a number of books to his authorship⁹⁵. After his death the Vazier (Muhallabī) undertook to look after his children among whom our Abu'l-Ḥasan was then about ten years of age. He grew up in the company of the Vazier's

⁹⁴ The story after the death of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz shows the classical generosity of the Vazier *al-Muhallabī* and deserves mention.

"In the month of Ramaḍān" narrates the Mesopotamian Judge Tanūkhī, "I witnessed a scene which might have been a performance of the Bermecides. I never saw the like before or after. His clerk of the Sawād Bureau Abu'l-Ḥusain 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥājib an-Nu'mān had fallen from a balcony in the palace of Muhallabī which overlooked the Tigris and expired on the 8th day from the fall. Muhallabī was deeply affected by his death and paid a visit to his children the day after, as they had buried him in the evening. I was in his company. He consoled them in the most charming style and promised to look after them. 'I', he said, 'am now your father, and in the departed you have only lost his personality'. Addressing his eldest son, Abū 'Abd'allāh, he said, 'I appoint you to your father's post, and entrust you to his business. I am also giving a post to your brother Abu'l Ḥusain (at that time a lad about ten) with a stipend of (he named a large sum which I have forgotten), and he will be the companion of my boy, as their ages are about the same. The two can pursue their studies and grow up together, and he will have a claim upon him.' He then said to *Abu'l-'Alā Sa'id b. Thābit*, the deputy vazier, 'write a deed of appointment for Abū 'Abdallāh and summon all those from whom the late Abu'l-Ḥusain held leases bidding them renew those leases with his heirs; for the greater part of his fortune consisted in rights of entry, leases, farms, all of which are cancelled by his death. If anyone objects, then increase the rent at my expense, implore him, and refuse to be satisfied except with the renewal of the contracts, on any term.' He then said to the brother-in-law of the deceased, Abu'l Mukārim Ibn Warqā, 'the late Abu'l-Ḥusain's dependants were numerous, and I am aware that he was in the habit of making large monthly allowances to his sisters, their children and other relatives. His death will mean ruin to them, as they have no share in the estate. Please go to the daughter of Abū Muḥammad Madrā'i (meaning the widow of the deceased), offer her condolence, and make out at her dictation a list of all the women to whom the late Abu'l-Ḥusain gave allowances, and of the men and the poorer members of his household as well.' He added, addressing Abu'l-'Alā, 'when he brings you the list pay out a month's allowance at once and give orders that the sums be paid regularly.' The list came to over 3000 dirhams a month, and that amount was immediately disbursed, while the rest of the Vazier's instructions were also carried out. Tears were in every eye, so deeply were people moved, and so highly did they appreciate this action. I saw on that day the 'Aliwid missionary Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan who was present at the scene, he was weeping copiously and was loud, indeed excessive, in his praise of Muhallabī, though a man of few words, save about his own concerns, and with a low opinion of Muhallabī: he was, however, overcome by this heroism and their mutual relations did not prevent him from uttering the truth. I said to Muhallabī on that day: 'If death could be welcome at any time, it would be so to the man with many encumbrances in the days of our master, the Vazier. This performance constitutes an epoch in munificence, and confirms the tales told of the patterns of bounty in ancient times,' with such other compliments as I could extemporize. Muhallabī then rose to go; loud cries of gratitude and benediction were raised by the women, the men, the household and the whole street."—*Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. by MARGOLIOUTH, vol. I, 39-41.

⁹⁵ *Fihrist* (ed. FLÜGEL), p. 134.

son,—thus getting the best education and training available in those days. In addition to his skill as a scribe, Ibn Ḥajjib an-Nu'mān was a fine poet. Yāqūt attributes to him a *Dīwān* of considerable magnitude⁹⁶. He entered the service of the Caliph Ṭā'ī' (363-381 A.H. = 973-91 A.D.), in the capacity of his "scribe" which post he held until the deposition of that Caliph.

When the two Buwaihids, Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla and his brother Sharafu'd-Dawla agreed upon a Treaty of Peace, it was Ibn Ḥajjib an-Nu'mān who drafted the text of it, and the very deed of the Treaty which was signed in 376 A.H., was found among the papers of Ibn Ḥajjib an-Nu'mān⁹⁷. When it reached the ears of the Caliph, Ṭā'ī', that his cousin al-Qādir (succeeded in 381 A.H. = 993 A.D., and reigned up to 422 A.H. = 1031 A.D.) was secretly carrying out a propaganda for himself, Ibn Ḥajjib an-Nu'mān and *Abu'l-Qāsim b. Abī Temmān, az-Zainabī*⁹⁸ were sent to procure his arrest⁹⁹.

Ibn Ḥajjib an-Nu'mān became the "Kātib" of Qādirbi'llāh in Shawwāl, 386 A.H. He served the two Caliphs for 40 years and was given the title "*Ra'isu'r-Ru'sā'*"¹⁰⁰. He died in 423 A.H.¹⁰¹, according to one account, or on Friday, Rajab 12, 424 A.H., according to another¹⁰²; and was buried in his own house at "*Barkatazalzal*", but later on his bones were removed to the cemetery of the Quraish¹⁰³ on Friday night, Dhu'l-Qa'da 25, 425 A.H.

Equally important is the Abbasid Naqīb, '*Alī al-Ḥasan, Abu'l-Qāsim, ash-Sharīf Abū Temmām az-Zainabī*'. His entire family were so called because of their descent from *Zainab* bint Sulaimān b. 'Alī b. 'Abda'llāh b. 'Abbās (the cousin of the first two Abbasids who was held in great honour by the 'Abbasids)¹⁰⁴. His father, *al-Ḥusain* b. Muḥammad, who was the chief Qāḍī, came to Baghdād with Mu'izzu'd-Dawla, the Buwaihīd, and purchased a house for 24,000 dīnārs. He was appointed the Chief "Naqīb" ("Naqību'n-Nuqabā") of the

⁹⁶ *Yāqūt*, loc. cit., V, 259.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; *Eclipse*, III, 275. For the text of the treaty see *Ibid.* pp. 125-126.

⁹⁸ See next account.

⁹⁹ *Eclipse*, III, 148-149.

¹⁰⁰ *Yāqūt* loc. cit., V, 259-60.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Tā'rikh Baghdād*, XII, 32 (6399).

¹⁰³ Also called the "Cemetery of the Straw Gate". For description see *Baghdād during the Abbasid Caliphate* by G. LE STRANGE (1924), pp. 160-161.

This famous Cemetery was originally laid out by the Caliph Maṣṣūr (136-158 A.H. = 754-775 A.D.) and the first person to be buried there was his own son, Ja'far, the elder, who died in 150 A.H. (= 767 A.D.).

¹⁰⁴ For the designations *Sharīf* and *Zainabī*, see *Ibn Khallikān*, loc. cit. (Tr. DE SLANE), III, 153, etc.

One of the descendants of Abū Temmām became later on the vazier of the Caliph *al-Muktafi* (530-55 A.H.). He was *Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ṭirād* (also see *Encycl. of Islām*, IV, 1200, "al-Zainabī").

Abbasids and died in 372 A.H.¹⁰⁵ He was related to the Vazier al-Muhal-labī by marriage and had a great influence over him¹⁰⁶.

He was succeeded to the post of the Chief Naqīb by his son, Abu'l-Qāsim, 'Alī al-Ḥasan, known as Abu'l-Qāsim Abū Temmām az-Zainabī. He is mentioned in connection with the arrest of the Caliph Qādirbi'llāh to which we have already referred¹⁰⁷. He died in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 384 A.H. at Baghdād¹⁰⁸. Ash-Sharifu'r-Raḡī has written an elegy on his death¹⁰⁹.

Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidullāh b. Aḥmad b. Ma'rūf, commonly known as *Ibn Ma'rūf*, the Chief Judge (*Qāḍīl-Quḍāt*) of *Baghdād*, was born in the year 306 A.H., and occupied a prominent place in the politics of the day. In 356 A.H. he was appointed Judge for the "West Baghdād"¹¹⁰ and after the resignation of Ibn Sayyār in Rabī' I, 359 A.H., for the Eastern Baghdād as well¹¹¹. In the following year, he was at the head of the Judges of Baghdād (i.e. *Qāḍīl-Quḍāt*). His uprightness in the cause of justice would not allow him to permit the sale of the house of one Ibn Sharābī,^{111a} and he resigned instead; but it seems he was again asked to take up the post in 364 A.H.¹¹² Of the witnesses who attested the deed of the abdication of the Caliph al-Muṭī' (334-363 A.H. 945-73 A.D.) in favour of his own son Ṭa'i' in 363 A.H./973 A.D., Ibn Ma'rūf was one. The procedure¹¹³ adopted on this occasion has been preserved for us by the *Qāḍī Tanūkhī* (who had been among four other judges of whom Ibn Ma'rūf was one, who enjoyed the boon-companionship of the Vazier Muhallabī)¹¹⁴

Learned in all the branches of Politics and Jurisprudence; Qu'rānic Exegesis and Tradition; Literature and Art, Ibn Ma'rūf was aptly suited to the Vazierate offered him by the Caliph, *Ṭā'i'*, on his accession to the Caliphate. He did not, however, accept the post, although

¹⁰⁵ *Ibnul-Athīr*, loc. cit. IX (year 372 A.H.); *Tārīkh Islām* by *Dhahabī* cited in *Eclipse*, III, 148 (foot-note). It should be noted that the remarks in the foot-note apply to him and *not* to his son, Abu'l-Qāsim Abū Temmām az-Zainabī, who died in 384 A.H.

¹⁰⁶ The story in "The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge" (ed. MARGOLIOUTH), II, 66 clearly shows this point.

¹⁰⁷ See *Infra*.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibnul Athīr*, loc. cit. IX (year 384).

¹⁰⁹ *Dīwān*, I, 114. Date is wrong. Cairo edition has 384 A.H. (correct).

¹¹⁰ For the limit or rather division of Baghdād into Eastern and Western, Baghdād, see G. Le. STRANGE, loc. cit. pp. 47-56, and 168-169.

¹¹¹ *Eclipse*, II, 240.

^{111a} "His full name was *al-Muẓaffar b. Yahyā b. Aḥmad*. His grandfather Aḥmad was the *شراپی* (butler or cup-bearer) to the Caliph *al-Mutawakkil* (232 to 247 A.H. = 847 to 861 A.D.). Ibn Sharābī was born at Sāmarrā in 266 A.H. and died on Thursday, Ramaḍān 13, 348 A.H." See *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 129 (7115).

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ See *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, II, story No. 105.

¹¹⁴ *Thā'ālībī*, loc. cit., II, 106.

he actually rendered great assistance to the Caliph in the management of his affairs (which were then very limited)¹¹⁵.

'Aḍudu'd-Dawla, the Buwaihid, caused his arrest¹¹⁶ (for reasons not given) in 369 A.H. He was then sent to Fārs and put in prison along with the father of the 'Aliwid poet "Sharīfu'r-Raḍī", and Ibn 'Umar al-'Alavī, where he remained until 376 A.H., when Sharafu'd-Dawla's Vazier Ibn Ṣāliḥān caused him to be released and installed in his former post¹¹⁷.

Ibn Ma'rūf was a great friend of the historian Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābī¹¹⁸ whom he visited during his imprisonment on several occasions ; and it was due to Ibn Ma'rūf's intercession that Ṣābī was forgiven on the first occasion by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla¹¹⁹.

Ibn Ma'rūf died on Saturday night, Ṣafar 1, 381 A.H.¹²⁰ The Caliph, in recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him, ordered a public mourning,¹²¹ while his great admirer, the poet Sharīfu'r-Raḍī lamented his death in a poem in which he also offered condolence to the Caliph on the loss of a dear friend¹²².

Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamza b. Ibrāhīm, the astrologer, was the Deputy of Abū 'Alī al-Muwaffaq, the Vazier of Bahāu'd-Dawla, and represented him at the Buwaihid Court in Baghdād while Abū 'Alī was governor of Ahwāz. He is specially mentioned on one occasion, namely—when Abū 'Alī wanted to submit a plan for the conquest of Fārs and the adjoining districts. Before submitting the plan, Abū 'Alī consulted Ḥamza who, not only did not agree with it, but put forth another plan of his own creation. Abū 'Alī, however, did not pay much heed to Ḥamza's dissent and submitted his own plan to Bahāu'd-Dawla. When Ḥamza saw that Bahāu'd-Dawla did not like his employer's plan, he joined with the amīr and betrayed Abū 'Alī from selfish motive. We need not discuss the merits or the demerits of these divergent plans here ; we only refer the reader to Abū Shujā' Rūzāwardī whose lengthy discussion on the subject can be read in the Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate¹²³.

Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad b. 'Ubaidallāh b. al-Marzubān ash-Shirāzī was a clerk of the Caliph Ṭā'ī, but became later on the head of the "Dīwānu'r-Rasā'il" in the year 364 A.H.¹²⁵. He was an intimate friend of Tanūkhi who narrates a number of anecdotes on his authority¹²⁶.

¹¹⁵ *Table-Talk, etc.*, II, No. 90.

¹¹⁶ *Eclipse*, II, 399.

¹¹⁷ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, loc. cit., IX (year 376 A.H.).

¹¹⁸ His account will follow in due course.

¹¹⁹ *Eclipse*, III, 21.

¹²⁰ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, loc. cit., IX (year 381 A.H.).

¹²¹ *Raḍī's Dīwān*, I, 487.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ III, 324-326.

¹²⁴ *Eclipse*, III, 104.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 340 (f.n.).

¹²⁶ See *Table-Talk, etc.*, II, Nos. 14, 117, 135,

When Şamsāmu'd-Dawla assumed the amirate after the death of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla in 372 A.H., a conspiracy was afoot to set up the young prince Abū Naşr (later on called Bahāu'd-Dawla, the Buwaihid) against Şamsām, as a deputy of Sharafu'd-Dawla in Baghdād. Abū Manşūr and al-Muẓaffar were also parties to the conspiracy and were allotted the task of securing allegiance from the army. The conspirators were, however, defeated, and both Abū Manşūr and al-Muẓaffar took to flight but were captured and fined¹²⁷.

Although Abū Manşūr was a partisan of Sharafu'd-Dawla, the latter caused his arrest in 378 A.H. on account of *Shukr*, the slave of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. It so happened that Sharafu'd-Dawla had issued an order for the arrest of Shukr. Notwithstanding this order, Abū Manşūr accorded him refuge¹²⁸. Abū Manşūr was later on released at the request of the vazier Ibn Şālihān. Abū Manşūr was great friend of Şābī, the Şāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād, and our 'Alawid poet ash-Sharīfu'r-Raḍī, who composed pathetic dirges¹²⁹ on Abū Manşūr's death which occurred on Thursday morning, Muḥarram 19, 383 A.H. at the age of 861¹³⁰.

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Shāhwaih,¹³¹ was the son of the famous Persian jurist of the Shāfi'i school, who was sometime Qāḍī of Arrajān. He was a native of Nishāpūr but later on went to Fārs where he served as a judge for a number of years. On his retirement he took to imparting instruction in *Ḥadīth* and died in 362 A.H.¹³² Tanūkhī, the author of the *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, was an intimate friend of Ibn Shāhwaih and narrates a story about an intricate case which had come before the latter during his tenure as Qāḍī at Arrajān¹³³.

His son, *Abu Bakr b. Shāhwaih*, by which name he is commonly known, kept up the friendship of Tanūkhī¹³⁴. He came over to Baghdād where he became a leader of the Carmathians and helped 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla in procuring adherents at Kūfa, Sūrā, Jāmi'ain, and Nīl in 366 A.H.¹³⁵ After 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla's death he took up the cause of Şamsāmu'd-Dawla and announced the proclamation of his regime at 'Omān in 374 A.H.; as a result of this "Khuṭba" was read in Şamsāmu'd-Dawla's name from all the pulpits in 'Omān¹³⁶. The Governor of the province, Ustādh Harmuz, rebelled against Sharafu'd-Dawla and joined Şamsāmu'd-Dawla's side with his son, Abū 'Alī b. Ustādh Harmuz.

¹²⁷ *Eclipse*, III, 104-107.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 145-147. The full story is given here.

¹²⁹ *Şābī's* elegy on *Abū Manşūr's* death was composed in 384 A.H., the *Şāhib's* in 385, and *Raḍī's* in 383 A.H. For the text of the first two elegies see *Th'ālībī*, *Yatima*, II, 308; *Raḍī's* elegy occurs in his *Diwān*, I, 23.

¹³⁰ *Shadharātu'dh-Dhahab*, III, 103 (year 383).

¹³¹ For the signification of the name "*Shāhwaih*", see *Ibn Khallikān*, loc. cit., II, 616 (Tr. DE SLANE).

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Table-Talk, etc.*, II, No. 75.

¹³⁴ *Eclipse*, II, 19.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 370 (f.n.).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 100.

Sharafu'd-Dawla, therefore, collected a huge army, and putting Abū Naṣr Khāwshādha in command, sent him against the rebels who were defeated and taken captives. Ibn Shāhwaih and his followers were also arrested¹³⁷, and Sharafu'd-Dawla gave orders to put to death Ibn Shāhwaih and the two other Ġarmathian leaders. The construction of the house in which they were confined did not, however, show them to the anxious eyes of the searchers and they escaped death. When the rebellion subsided, Sharafu'd-Dawla¹³⁸ liberated Ibn Shāhwaih and treated him very kindly.¹³⁸ Thereafter he acted on various occasions as an intermediary between the Ġarmathians and the Vazier Abu'r-Rayyān¹³⁹. Ibn Shāhwaih died in Jumāda I, 396 A.H., and in spite of his numerous friends and influence in Baghdād, his funeral was not attended by more than three men, the poet ash-Sharīfu'r-Rāḍī being one of them. Overwhelmed with this incident, the poet extemporized an elegy on his death¹⁴⁰.

Abū Shujā' Bakrān b. Abi'l-fawāris¹⁴¹, the maternal uncle of the Buwaihid prince Jalālu'd-Dawla, and an intimate friend of the Vazier Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd b. Abi'r-Rayyān, was the leader of the Dailemite troops. When the news of Sharafu'd-Dawla's death reached Baghdād in 379 A.H., he was sent to bring Abū 'Alī (the vazier) back to Baghdād. When Bahāu'd-Dawla arrested *Abu'l-Ḥusain al-Farrāsh* in 379 A.H., he was entrusted to the care of Bakrān and Abū 'Alī, who were then at Baṣra. By the orders of Bahāu'd-Dawla the two brought the prisoner in their charge to Baghdād¹⁴².

As the leader of the Dailemite troops he acted as their representative in the Court of Bahāu'd-Dawla, and in 382 A.H., demanded the arrest of Ibnu'l-Mu'allim who was beheaded the same year¹⁴³. So great was the influence he exercised over the army that in 383 A.H., when the ex-Vazier, *Sābūr b. Ardshīr*, who dared not come out of his house through fear of the Dailemites, sought to court Bakrān's favour, the latter succeeded in reconciling the Dailemites with the Vazier¹⁴⁴.

In addition to his power as the leader of the Dailemite troops, Bakrān was also the Deputy of Bahāu'd-Dawla; and so conscious did he grow of his power that without even the permission of his master, he ventured to arrest *Ibn Mammā* with whom he was not on good terms¹⁴⁵. In addition to custody, *Ibn Mammā* was forced to pay a very large amount to Bakrān in whose house he was imprisoned. When the

¹³⁷ *Eclipse*, III, 102.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 109.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 107.

¹⁴⁰ *Diwān*, I, 384.

¹⁴¹ The *Diwān* of the 'Alawid poet ash-Sharīfu'r-Rāḍī puts "*Bakr*" instead of "*Bakrān*", while in the *Eclipse* his father is called "*Balfwāris*" which is evidently an abbreviation of Abu'l-Fawāris and was very common among the Dailemites.

¹⁴² *Eclipse*, III, 168.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 244.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 252.

¹⁴⁵ His account will follow in due course.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 231.

Sharīf Ibnu'l-'Umar al-'Alawī learnt of Ibn Mammā's unlawful arrest, he wrote to Abū 'Alī, who rebuked Bakrān and caused Ibn Mammā's freedom. The amount extorted from him was repaid to Ibn Mammā in 379 A.H.¹⁴⁷

After an eventful career Bakrān returned to Wāsiṭ where he died in Rabī' I, 391 A.H.¹⁴⁸

Abu'l-Ḥasan¹⁴⁹ *al-Mukhtar b. 'Ubaidallāh adh-Dhahabī* is an important person of the age. Ibnu'l-Athīr¹⁵⁰ states that in the year 415 A.H. a riot took place at Kūfa between the 'Alids and those who were the supporters of the 'Abbasid dynasty owing to a petty quarrel that took place between al-Mukhtār b. 'Ubaidallāh on the one hand, and Abū 'Alī *an-Nahrsābusī*¹⁵¹ and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, on the other. Mukhtār took shelter with the Abbasids who came to Baghdād and lodged a complaint with the Caliph against Nahrsābusī. Now Nahrsābusī was a friend of the Vazier at-Maghribī while 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was his father-in-law. The caliph tried in vain to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, who then asked for help from two different sections of the Banū *Khaṣāja*. A severe fight ensued, and six persons were killed from the defeated partisans of the 'Abbāsids; their houses were set on fire and plundered. The victorious 'Alids entered Baghdād, stopped the Khuṭba and killed Ibn Abi'l-'Abbās al-'Alawī on the ground that his brother helped the people of Kūfa. The matter assuming seriousness, the Caliph commanded the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā¹⁵², who was the chief Naqīb of the 'Alids, to dismiss 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib from the "Niqābat" of Kūfa, and to instal al-Mukhtār b. 'Ubaidallāh in his place, but al-Maghribī who was at that time the Vazier of the Uqailids did not approve of this, as it would humiliate his father-in-law ('Alī b. Abī Ṭālib). Thereupon the Caliph sent a letter to Qarwāsh b. Muqallad, the 'Uqailid chief, to dismiss al-Maghribī, who, then went to Diyār Bekr to the service of the Merwānids. It is likely that Mukhtār was given the "Niqābat" of Kūfa. Nahrsābusī, according to Ibnu'l-Athīr, could not regain the Caliph's favour until the year 418 A.H.¹⁵³.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muzarra' al-'Amīd, Najmu'd-Dawla and his brother *Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan* seem to have been in

¹⁴⁷ *Eclipse*, III, 231-232.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, loc. cit., IX (year 391); Ibid, 397.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibnu'l-Athīr* mentions him with the Kunya "Abū 'Alī", but Miḥyār addresses him as Abu'l-Ḥasan. See *Miḥyār's Diwān*, I. 165 l. 14; IV 197, line 8.

¹⁵⁰ *Loc. cit.* IX (year 415).

¹⁵¹ His account will soon follow.

¹⁵² Though Murtaḍā along with his father and brother (Radī), deserves to be considered in this group as he was a notable courtier and officer, we postpone his account to the group of learned men.

¹⁵³ *loc cit.*, IX (year 415).

the employ of Dubais, the amīr of Khuzistān. In the year 409 A.H., when the Mazyadites¹⁵⁴ were quarrelling amongst themselves for supremacy, the Dubaisites sent Abu'l-Ḥasan on a political mission to the Mazyadites. Although Abu'l-Ḥasan discharged the mission to the best of his ability, the Mazyadites did not agree to the object of the mission. What the object of the mission was may be a matter of extreme secrecy but it is conjectured that the Dubaisites might have offered help to Nūru'd-Dawla Dubais b. 'Alī b. Mazyad, who was fighting with his brother al-Muqallad, on certain terms.

Abu'l Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Humānī ar-Ra'īs, al-Kātib was the governor of Baṣra, Kūfa, Nahrawān and Saqyu'l-Furāt on different occasions.¹⁵⁵ From an ode of Miḥyār (which is also recorded by Ibnu'l-Aḥīr) it appears that on one occasion, an enemy of al-Humānī's succeeded, through influence rather than competence, to deprive him of his post.¹⁵⁶ Humānī died in Rajab 408 A.H., and was buried in the *Madīnatu'l-Manṣūr* (city of *Manṣār*).¹⁵⁷ In an ode in which Miḥyār asserts that he was one of the surviving men of learning, and a unique personality accomplished in literary taste, he bewails his loss.¹⁵⁸

Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusain b. Huḥammad b. Mammā whom we have met before in the notice of *Bakrān b. Abi'l-fawāris* who had unlawfully arrested him in 389 A.H., was the Chief Sergeant (*Naqību'n-Nuqabā*) of the Dailemites at Baghdād. His career is given fully in the *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*¹⁵⁹ and we need not dilate here.

¹⁵⁴ The Mazyadites were a branch of the well known Arabian tribe, the Banū Asad. They lived west of the Tigris, from Kūfa to Hit. Mazyad, by whose name the family is so called, was their chieftain, and had three sons, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (Sanadu'd-Dawla), Abu'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad and Ḥammād. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (Sanadu'd-Dawla) married a daughter of their kinsman Amīr Dubais of Khuzistān. While Abu'l-Ghanā'im b. Mazyad was staying with Amīr Dubais at Khuzistān, he killed one of the chieftains of the Dubaisites. A typical Arab war followed culminating in the deaths of Abu'l-Ghanā'im & the two sons of Amīr Dubais. In 408 A.H., Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mazyad died and was succeeded to the amirate by his son Nūru'd-Dawla Dubais, Abu'l A'azz; but quarrels broke out within the family. For further details see, *Encycl. of Islam*. III, pp. 434-35 (an article entitled "*Mazyadis*" by K. V. ZETTERSTEEN); and the bibliography given there.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibnu'l-Aḥīr*, loc cit. IX (year 408); *Miḥyār's Diwān*, I 245; II 190; III 354.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 190.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; "The Round city in western Baghdād which... was founded by Manṣūr in the year 145 (A.D. 762), formed the nucleus of the great metropolis which afterwards, radiating from this centre, spread itself over both banks of the Tigris. This burgh, generally referred to as *Madīnat-al-Manṣūr* or the City of Manṣūr, was built with a double wall and four gates, it was exactly circular in outline, and stood close to the right banks of the river, at the angle formed by the inflowing of the Ṣarāt Canal." G-Le Strange—loc. cit. p. 16. The entire burgh is described in chapters II & III of this work.

¹⁵⁸ *Loc cit.*, I 190.

¹⁵⁹ See Index.

From a poem of Mihiyār it appears that Ibn Mammā had promised him certain post. In the meantime an urgent work necessitated Ibn Mammā's departure to the province of Fārs,¹⁶⁰ but before his departure the post was given to a certain Ibnu'l-Jamal al-Kātib. This enraged Mihiyār who turned one of the bitterest enemies of Ibn Mammā.¹⁶¹

Majdu'd-Dīn ash-Sharīfu'z-Zakī, Abū 'Alī, 'Umar b Maḥammad b. al-Ḥasan an-Nahraṣābusī, whom we have met in the account of al-Mukhtār b. 'Ubaidallāh, was the Leader of the 'Alids at Kūfa. After the riot of 415 A.H. which we have already mentioned, an-Nahr-sābusī incurred the wrath of the Caliph, but about the year 418 A.H., the Caliph forgave him due to the intercession of the Turks and some other men of influence¹⁶²; and he was allowed to come and see the Caliph at the metropolis. On this occasion it appears that the Caliph conferred upon him the title of "Majdu'd-Dīn".¹⁶³ In or about the year 424 A.H. the 'Uqailid Qarwāsh b. Muqallad arrested and imprisoned him at Mouṣil where he remained until the year 426 A.H., when he escaped from the prison.¹⁶⁴

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Bundārī was the deputy and 'confidant' of the Vazier Abu'l-'Abbās aḍ-Ḍabbī. He accompanied the Vazier¹⁶⁵ when he fled to Barūjird from the clutches of the Queen Mother, widow of Fakhru'd-Dawla, the Buwaihid who demanded 2,000 Dīnārs from aḍ-Ḍabbī to meet the expenses of the "mourning" of her brother who, she alleged, was poisoned by aḍ-Ḍabbī. It was through al-Bundārī that Mihiyār, the poet, got access to the Vazier; and Mihiyār admits that it was due to the Vazier that he "saw the light of Islām."¹⁶⁶

Abū 'Abdallāh, al-Qunnā'ī, al-Kāfī al-Khaṭīr, Sharafu'l-Ma'ālī, 'Umdatul-Mulk, probably a descendant of Ḥamd b. Muḥammad (Abū 'Abdallāh), al-Qunnā'ī who held various offices under Ibnu'l-Furāt¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, III. 399; Mihiyār, Loc. cit. III 8.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Ibnu'l-Athīr, *loc. cit.*, IX (year 415).

¹⁶³ Mihiyār's Diwān, IV 117.

¹⁶⁴ Ibnu'l-Athīr, *loc. cit.* IX (year 426).

¹⁶⁵ Ṣābi, *Kitābu'l-Wazirā* (ed. AMEDROZ), p. 374.

¹⁶⁶ MARGOLIOUTH, "The Poems of Mihiyār the Dailemite," a paper published in the "Oriental Studies in Honour of Dasturji Sahib Cursetji Erachji Pavry, January, 1934"; also see *Mihiyār, Diwān*, I p. 233 line 1, beginning with

"... etc - هو المنقذ من شرك قومي و عني -"

Mihiyār was (as it will be clear from his account that will follow in due course), originally a Zoroastrian, but later on he embraced Islām. His conversion is usually attributed to the 'Alawid poet, Sharīfu'r-Raḍī, but as has been already pointed out, Mihiyār himself states otherwise and attributes it to the above named vazier.

¹⁶⁷ Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt, born in 241 A.H. (855 A.D.), originally belonged to the district of an-Nahrawān. He started his career as the Secretary of State in Baghdād; he was appointed Vazier in

and 'Alī b. 'Isā.¹⁶⁸ Al-Qunnā'i was probably superintendent of Revenue department. Yāqūt¹⁶⁹ speaks of his running away from Baghdād to Anbār, his post being then given to Abū Sa'd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abdi'r-Rahīm.

The two brothers *Abu'l-Qāsim b. Abī Muḥammad b. Mukram* and *Tāju'd-Dawla, Abu'l-Mukārim*, are indeed personalities of importance during the period under consideration. Their father, *Abū Muḥammad b. Mukram* called al-Awḥad Dhu's-Siyāsatain, aṣ-Ṣāhib, was the Private Secretary of the Buwaihid Sulṭānu'd-Dawla who died in 415 A.H. Thereupon, Abū Muḥammad invited his son Abū Kālījār, to assume the amirate, as the Turks were conspiring to set up Abu'l-Fawāris, his uncle, in the amirate. The young Abū Kālījār, however, did not rise to the occasion with the consequence that Abu'l-Fawāris was proclaimed the amir.

Abu'l-Mukārim, the son of Abū Muḥammad b. Mukram perceived that as they were the partisans of Abū Kālījār, their lives were in danger ; and he, therefore, suggested to his father to repair to a place which will keep them immune. His father did not agree with the suggestion. Thereupon Abu'l-Mukārim left for Baṣra. Abū Muḥammad realized only too late the wisdom of his son's suggestion. Abū Maṣṣūr b. Māfennā also advised him to go away to Sīrāf, but as the river was frozen he could not do so. Thereafter he sent Ibn Māfennā to go and bring Abu'l-Fawāris from Kirmān to Baghdād. When Abū Muḥammad went out to receive the amir, he was suspected of treachery and was instantly arrested and put to death by the Turks.

When Abu'l-Qāsim, his son, who was so far a partisan of Abu'l-fawāris and occupied the post of the Governor of 'Omān, learnt of the foul play with his father by the Turks, he joined Abū Kālījār who now marched on Fārs with a huge force. Abu'l-fawāris sent his Vazier Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Fasawī to meet the invaders ; but a single attack by the trained forces of Abū Kālījār was sufficient to put terror into the heart of the Vazier who was practically ignorant of war tactics. Abū Kālījār soon defeated the forces of his uncle, occupied Fārs and entered Shīrāz.¹⁷⁰

296 A.H. (908 A.D.) by the caliph *al-Muqtadir*. He was ultimately executed along with his brother at-Muḥassin in 312 A.H. (924 A.D.) See ZETTERSTEEN, article in the *Encycl. of Islam* Vol. II, p. 377 ; and the bibliography given there.

¹⁶⁸ Known as *Ibnul-Jarrāh*, was born in 245 A.H. (859 A.D.), and made Vazier in 300 A.H. (912-3). He died in 334 A.H. (946 A.D.). See for his career BOWEN's monograph "*Alī b. 'Isā, the good Vazier*"; and ZETTERSTEEN, article in the *Encycl. of Islām*, Vol. II pp. 371-2.

¹⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.* V p. 307 l. 15.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibnul-Athīr*, *loc. cit.* IX (year 415 A.H.),

Abu'l-Qāsim b. Abī Muḥammad bore the titles of "Nāṣiru'd-Dawla"¹⁷¹ and "Mu'ayyidu's-Sultān" and acted as a governor of 'Omān and Bahram for Abu'lfawāris.

Amīdu'r-Ru'usā al-Ustādhu'l-Jatīl *Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, Abū Ṭālib* was appointed secretary to the Caliph al-Qādirbi'llāh, in place of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥājib an-Nu'mān (whom we have met before) in the year 422 A.H.¹⁷² Prior to that year he was in the employ of the Caliph; from Yāqūt's statement it is clear that he held until the year 430 A.H., the "*Diwānu'l-Inshā*"¹⁷⁴ in addition to the above post.

From a poem of Mihyār it appears that he was appointed Vazier by the Caliph al-Qā'im¹⁷⁵ bi'amri'llāh (422-68 A.H. = 1031-1075 A.D.) sometime after his succession to the Caliphate, most probably after the year 430 A.H.

With this account we complete the notices of vaziers and nobles. Now we shall turn to the men of learning, poets and scientists, who flourished at Baghdād during the period under consideration.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷¹ Mihyār's *Diwān*, I 221.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 35. Apparently Abu'l-Qāsim must have been holding the post of a Governor before or about the year 409 A.H., the date when the panegyric was sent to Abu'l-Qāsim.

¹⁷³ *Mihyār's Diwān*, I. 309. The poem is dated Rabī 'I, 422 A.H.

¹⁷⁴ *Loc. cit.* V 71.

¹⁷⁵ Mihyār, III 171. The poem is, unfortunately, undated. We have however, the following line in the body of the poem:—

”و رأي القائم بالأمم غدا
انكم النصر اعضاءا وآله

THE ROOTS OF THE PĀLI DHĀTUPĀTHAS

By

S. M. KATRE

The present root list is based on the *Dhātupāṭha* and *Dhātumañjūsā*, edited by Professors Dines ANDERSEN and Helmer SMITH¹ and the second section of *Saddanīti* edited by Professor Helmer SMITH². It is above all a preliminary work connected with my forthcoming book on *Materials for a Dhātupāṭha of Indo-Āryan*, a few sample pages of which were presented in *Indian Culture*³.

I have followed for the most part the transliteration system used by the editors of the works referred to, except in the case of the *anusvāra* where the class nasal is employed before corresponding class consonants. The roots are first quoted on their basic form, followed by their forms and meanings as given in the three works with exact quotations and references, and the third person singular of the present indicative as the typical form. The comparative table of the different classes of the roots according to the three root-lists, given below according to the serial numbers attached to these roots in the respective lists, will help scholars in determining the class of the roots concerned. This has saved me from recording the class in each case, a saving both regards time as well as space.

Although Professor Helmer SMITH proposes to give us a complete Index to *Saddanīti* as volume IV in that series, I am not sure if he intends collecting the material from the *Dhātupāṭha* and *Dhātumañjūsā* along with that from *Saddanīti* at one place. Hence I have added an Index of the Pāli words found in these root-lists with an alphabetic list of roots having that particular meaning under each word. This list of synonymous roots will be found useful by all scholars.

The serial numbering at the head of each root given below has nothing to do with the numbers of the roots found in the three root-lists which form the basis of the present study. Much as I would wish to include etymological notes here, I have purposely refrained from doing so as that forms part of the bigger work mentioned above. The *Mate-*

¹ *The Pāli Dhātupāṭha and The Dhātumañjūsā*, edited with indexes, KOBENHAVEN, 1921 [= Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.—fil. Meddelelser, IV, 6.]

² *Saddanīti, la grammaire palie d'Aggavaṃsa*, II, Dhātumālā (pariccheda XV-XIX), Lund, 1929.

³ *Indian Culture* 4, 485-493 ; 5, 239-244.

rials will contain all reference to I-A. roots from the different schools of indigenous grammar, where also the different indexes of the type included here will make further researches to I-A. linguistics easy of accomplishment. The reverse index is not given here, because the three root-lists give the roots under the different classes according to the final syllable. It is, however, reserved for the *Materials*.

The obvious advantage of having an alphabetic index of the Pāli roots with quotations from the root-lists from the grammatical schools of Kaccāyana, Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa need not be discussed here. The history of Sanskrit and Pāli may very well be illuminated by the comparative study of these with other Middle Indo-Āryan languages, and one part, which is in fact the most traditional, is connected with these root-lists. Of the 2,000 roots or so found listed by the indigenous grammarians of Sanskrit not more than 800 have been found to be really current, the remaining being considered as artificial creations. Similarly of the 1,800 or so of the Pāli roots many may be considered as the counterparts of these artificial Sanskrit roots. But before such a judgment be passed it is necessary to consider the actual verbal bases of MI-A. in comparison with those of Pāli and Sanskrit, and to determine how many of these so called artificial bases do really function actively in the MI-A. dialects or languages. For in this case, there is no grammatical tradition which gives us such root-lists, unless we take into account the list of *dhātuvādeśas*. But even so, their number is limited, more than half of which are inherited verbal bases from Sanskrit with semantic development.

For a general discussion of the three root-lists mentioned above reference may be made to the works of FRANCKE⁴ and GEIGER⁵ wherein the brief history of the three schools of grammar is given.

I have to express my indebtedness here to the pioneer work in this direction of those two brilliant scholars Professors ANDERSON and SMITH but for whose efforts much work in Pāli Lexicography and Linguistics would have been fruitless. The materials collected by them from different sources will find their full expression in their *Critical Pāli Dictionary*⁶. I am publishing this list of the roots of the Pāli Dhātupāṭhas culled from their own editions as an humble tribute to their scholarship. I have found them so useful in my own work that I am glad to have this opportunity of placing them at the disposal of scholars working in the same field. The full significance of this list will become clear in my forthcoming work *Materials for a Dhātupāṭha of Indo-Āryan*.

⁴ *Geschichte u. Kritik d. einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik u.—Lexicographie*, 1902, Strasbourg.

⁵ *Pāli Literatur u. Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916.

⁶ Edited by V. TRENCKNER, D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, Copenhagen, 1924-26.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF ROOTS
ACCORDING TO THE THREE ROOT LISTS

	Dp,	Dm	Sd
I (a). <i>bhūvādayo</i>	√BHŪ- — √LAL-, 1-351.	√BHŪ- — √LAL-, 1-512.	} √BHŪ- — √CAL-, 1-1081 ^B
I (b). <i>bhūvādayo luttanika- ṛaṇā</i>	√HŪ-, √BHŪ- — √SI-, 352-374	√HŪ- √BHŪ- — √SĀ-, 578-602.	
II. <i>rudhādayo</i>	√RUDH- — √GAH-, 375-388.	√RUDH- — √HIMS-, 608-621.	√RUDH- — √SUMBH-, 1082-1099.
III. <i>divādayo</i>	√DIV- — √S—IH-, 389-464.	√DIV- — √SNSH-, 622-706.	√DIV- — √VIRĪ-, 1100-1203.
IV. <i>tudādayo</i>	√TUD- — √PHUS-, 465-494.	√TUD- — √GUL-, 513-577.	
V. <i>iyādayo</i>	√JI- — √AS-, 495-506.		
VI. <i>juhotyādayo</i>		√HU- — √DHĀ-, 603-607.	
VII. <i>kyādayo, kiṽādayo</i>	√KĪ- — √SU-, 507-513.	√KĪ- — √GAH-, 715-730.	√KĪ- — √MUS-, 1235-1266.
VIII. <i>svādayo</i>	√SU- — √SAK-, 514-518.	√SU- — √VU-, 707-714.	√SU- — √DU-, 1204-1234.
IX. <i>tanādayo</i>	√TAN- — √SU-, 519-529.	√TAN- — √SU-, 732-742.	√TAN- — √JĀGAR-, 1277-1290.
X. <i>curādayo</i>	√CUR- — √LAL-, 530-639.	√CUR- — √LAL-, 743-884.	√CUR- — √SIL-, 1291-1687.
XI. <i>gahādayo</i>			√GAH- — √KU-, 1267-1276.

ROOTS OF THE PĀLI DHĀTUPĀTHAS

1. √AMS-
aṁsa saṅghāte Sd 1057.
aṁseti aṁsayati.
2. √A (M) H-
ahi gatiyaṃ Sd 1018.
a (m) hati.
3. √AK-
aka kuṭilāyaṃ gatiyaṃ Sd 1080^L, kuṭilagatiyaṃ Sd 12. *akati.*
4. √AKK-
akka thavane Sd 1303.
akketi akkayati.
5. √AKKH-
akkha vyatti-saṅkhātesu
(v. l. vyāptau saṅghāte) Sd 61. *akkhati.*
6. √AG-
aga kuṭilāyaṃ gatiyaṃ Sd 1081; agī gaty-atthadhātu Dm 32. *agati.*
7. √AGG-
agga kuṭilagatiyaṃ Sd 108; aggo ti gatikoṭṭille Dm 29. *aggati.*
8. √AGGH-
aggha agghane Dp 32, Dm 39. *agghati.*
9. √AGH-
agha pāpakaraṇe Sd 1326.
agheti aghayati.
10. √AÑK-
aki lakkhaṇe Sd 22, 1295; Dm 10, 745; añka lakkhaṇe Dp 3, 535.
aṅkati, aṅketi aṅkayati.
11. √AÑG-
agi gamane ca (gatiyaṃ) Sd 95, agī gaty-atthadhātu Dm 32, aṅga gamanattho Dp 25.
aṅgati.
12. √ACC-
acca accane Dm 54, acca pūjāyaṃ Sd 136, 1341; Dp 47, 544; Dm 760.
accati, acceti accayati.
13. √AJ-
aja gamane Dp 58, Dm 71; khepane ca (gatiyaṃ) Sd 188. *ajati.*
14. √AJJ-
ajja ajjane Dp 73, 548; Dm 87, 769; Sd 189; patisajane Sd 1358.
ajjati, ajjeti ajjayati.
15. ¹√AÑC-
añca gamane Dp 45; (pūjā-) gate Dm 48.
añcati.
16. ²√AÑC-
añca pūjāyaṃ Dp 48; pūjā(-gate) * Dm 48; añcu (gati-) pūjanāsu Sd 129. *añcati.*
17. ³√AÑC-
añcu visesane Sd 1334.
añceti añcayati.
18. ⁴√AÑC-
añca vyaya (-gatiyaṃ) Sd 160. *añcati.*
19. √AÑCH-
añcha āyāme Dp 53, Dm 64; achi āyāme Sd 167. *añchati.*
20. √AÑJ-
añja vyatti-makkhaṇa-gati-kantisu Dp 69; añju vyatti-gati-kanti-

- makkhapesu Dm 74. *añjati.*
21. √AT-
aṭa gamanatto Dp 84 ;
aṭ-āṭane Dm 525, aṭa
gamane Dm 102 ; aṭa
gatiyaṃ Sd 272. *aṭati.*
22. √ATṬ-
aṭṭa anāḍare Sd 1382.
aṭṭeti aṭṭayati.
23. √ADD-
adda (abhi-) yoge Sd
334. *addati.*
24. √AN-
ana sadde Dm 169, Sd
355 ; saddattho Dp 114.
anati.
25. √ANṬH-
aṭhi gatiyaṃ Sd 320.
aṇṭhati.
26. √AND-
anda andatthe dissate
Dm 158. *andati.*
27. √AT-
ata gamane Dm 177 ;
sāṭaccagamane Sd 392.
atati.
28. √ATTH-
attha yācane Dp 583,
Dm 815 ; yācanāyaṃ
Sd 1477. *attheti attha-*
yati.
29. ¹√AD-
ada bhakkhaṇe Dp 154,
Dm 225. *adati.*
30. ²√AD-
adī ca bandhane Dm
202. *adati.*
31. ¹√ADD-
adda gati-yācanāsu Dp
157 ; yācana-yātradiṣu
Dm 227 ; gatiyaṃ yā-
cane ca Sd 441. *addati.*
32. ²√ADD-
adda hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 1498.
addeti addayati.
33. √AN-
ana pāṇane Dp 176, Dm
256, Sd 537. *anati.*
34. √ANURUDH-
anurudha kāme Sd 1149.
anu-rujjhati.
35. √ANUVIDHĀ-
anuvindhā anukaraṇe Sd
1148. *anuvi-dhiyyati.*
36. √ANT-
ati bandhane Sd 334,
1080^F. *antati.*
37. ANTARADHĀ-
antaradhā adassane Sd
1131. *antaradhāyati.*
38. √AND-
adi bandhane Dp 203, Sd
447, 1080G ; anda ban-
dhane Dp 141. *andati.*
39. √ANDH-
andha diṭṭhūpasamhāre
Sd 1577. *andheti andha-*
yati.
40. √AP-
apa pāpuṇane Dp 511,
527 ; Dm 711 ; Sd
1214 ; pāṇanasmiṃ Dm
739. *pāpuṇoti, pāpu-*
ṇāti.
41. APP-
ap (p) a pāpuṇe Sd 1287.
appoti.
42. ¹√ABB-
abba gamane Dm 290 ;
abba (hiraṃsāyaṃ ca)
gatiyaṃ Sd 590. *abbati.*
43. ²√ABB-
abba gumbane Dm 294 ;
hiraṃsāyaṃ ca Sd 590.
abbati.

44. √ABBH-
abbha gatiyaṃ Sd 618.
abbhati.
45. ¹√AM-
ama gamane Dp 228 ; yāte
Dm 323 ; gatimhi Sd
662 ; (roga-) gatādisu
Dm 846. *amati.*
46. ²√AM-
ama roge Sd 1569 ; roga
(-gatādisu) Dm 846.
ameti amayati.
47. √AMB-
amba sadde Dp 202 ;
sadde ca assāde tātane
Dm 287 ; abi sadde Sd
610. *ambati.*
48. √AMBH-
abhi sadde Sd 625. *am-
bhati.*
49. √AY-
aya gamanatto Dp 231 ;
ayo gatimhi ca Dm
331 ; gatiyaṃ Sd 687.
ayati.
50. √AR-
ara gamane Dp 253 ;
(nāse) gate ca Dm 365 ;
gatiyaṃ Sd 757. *arati.*
51. √ARAH-
araha pūjāyaṃ Dp 330,
Dm 487 ; Sd 1013, 1670.
*arahati, araheti araha-
yati.*
52. ¹√AL-
ala kalile Dm 398. *alati.*
53. ²√AL-
ali bandhane Dm 402.
alati.
54. ³√AL-
ala bhūsane Sd 761. *alati.*
55. √AḶ-
aḷa uggame Sd 1047. *aḷati.*
56. √AV-
ava rakkhaṇe Dp 283,
Dm 413 ; pālāne Sd 842.
avati.
57. ¹√AS-
asa adane Dp 292, Dm
430 ; bhojane Dp 506,
Sd 1259 ; bhakkhaṇe
Dm 730. *asnāti.*
58. ²√AS-
asu vyāpane Sd 1224.
asunāti.
59. ³√AS-
asa bhuvi Dp Dp 373, Dm
600, Sd 970. *atthi.*
60. ⁴√AS-
asa kkhepane Dp 453 ;
asu khepane Dm 693 ;
asu khepe Sd 1189.
assati.
- Ā.
61. √Ā-GAM-
āto gamu īsamadhivāse
Sd 1574. *āgameti āga-
mayati.*
62. √Ā-CAM-
āto camu dhovane Sd
1563. *ācameti, ācama-
yati.*
63. √ĀṆ-
āṇa pesane Dm 805, Dp
576.
64. ¹√ĀP-
āpa vyāpane Sd 1217.
āpuṇāti.
65. ²√ĀP-
āpu lambane Sd 1542.
āpeti āpayati.
66. √ĀS-
āsa upavesane Dp 299, Sd
973, Dm 469. *āsati,
acchati.*
67. √Ā-SIMS-
āsisi icchāyaṃ Sd 947.
āsimsati.

I.

68. √I-
i ajjhena-gati-kantisu Dp 354 ; ajjhāne gaṭimhi ca Dm 580 ; gatiyaṃ Sd 2, 13. *ayati*.
69. √IKKH-
ikkha dassane Dp 15 ; dassan'-aṅkesu Sd 86 ; ikkho tu dassan'-aṅkesu Dm 19. *ikkhati*.
70. √IN̄KH-
ikhi gatyattho Sd 58. *in̄khati*.
71. √ING-
igī gatyatthadhātu Dm 33 ; igī gamane ca (gatiyaṃ) Sd 98 ; inga gamanattho Dp 26. *ingati*.
72. √IN̄J-
iñja kampane Dm 78. *iñjati*.
73. √IT-
iṭa gatiyaṃ Sd 274. *eṭati*.
74. √IN-
iṇu gatiyaṃ Sd 1281 ; iṇa gate Dm 165. *iṇoti*.
75. ¹√IDH-
idha vuddhiyaṃ Sd 1145 ; (saṃsiddhi-) vuddhīsu Dm 657. *ijjhati*.
76. ²√IDH-
idha saṃsiddhiyaṃ Dp 418 ; siddhimhi Dm 249 ; saṃsiddhi (-vuddhīsu) Dm 657. *ijjhati*.
77. √IND-
inda paramissariye Dp 142 ; idi paramissariye Sd 448 ; idī tu paramissariye Dm 201. *indati*.
78. √INDH-
indha dittiyaṃ Dm 252, Dp 173. *indhati*.
79. √IRIY-
iriya vattane Dm 556. *iriyati*.
80. ¹√IL-
ila kampane Sd 820. *ilati*.
81. ²√IL-
ila gatiyaṃ Sd 821. *ilati*.
82. ³√IL-
ila perañe Sd 1607. *ileti ilayati*.
83. ¹√IS-
isa icchāyaṃ Dp 295 ; isu icchāyaṃ Dm 343, Sd 989. *icchati*.
84. ²√IS-
isa pariyese Dm 433, pariyesane Sd 993. *esati*.
85. ³√IS-
isa gatiyaṃ Sd 982. *isati*.
86. ⁴√IS-
isa abhikkhaṇe Sd 1262. *isnāti*.
87. ⁵√IS-
isa uñche Sd 882. *esati*.
88. √ISS-
issa issāyaṃ Dp 312, Dm 460, Sd 872. *issati*.
- I.
89. √IJ-
ija gatiyaṃ Sd 214. *ijati*.
90. √ID-
idī sandīpane Sd 1497. *idetī idayati*.
91. ¹√IR-
ira vācā-pakampane Dm 848, vacane gati-kampanesu Sd 737. *irati*.
92. ²√IR-
ira khepe Dp 607, khepane Sd 1590. *ireti irayati*.
93. √IL-
īla thavane Sd 1683,

- thutiyam Sd 1064, *īlāti*, 107. √UD-
īleti, *īlayati*.
uda mode *kīlāyañ* ca Sd
466. *udati*.
94. ¹√IS-
isa issariye Dp 449, Sd 108. √UDHAS-
972. *isati*.
uddhasa uñche Sd 1261.
uddhasati.
95. ²√IS-
isa hiraṣā-gati-dassanesu 109. √UDRABH-
Sd 930. *isati*.
udrabha adane Dp 212,
Dm 311. *udrabhati*.
96. ¹√IH-
īha ghaṭane Dp 347, Dm 110. UND-
502. *ihati*.
udi ssava-kiledane Dm
200, pasavana-kileda-
nesu Sd 1092 ; unda
kiledane Dp 145. *undati*.
97. ²√IH-
īha cetāyam Sd 1015. *ihati*.
- U.
98. √U-
u sadde Sd 14, 1076^N. 111. √UP-
avati.
upa pajjane Sd 1530.
upeti, *upayati*.
99. √UKKH-
ukkha secane Sd 74. 112. ¹√UBB-
ukkhati.
ubba dhāraṇe Dm 296.
ubhati.
100. √UKH-
ukha gatyattho Sd 51. 113. ²√UBB-
ukhati.
ubbī himsattho Sd 596.
ubhati.
101. √UC-
uca sadde samavāye Dm 114. √UBBH-
519 ; samavāye Sd 1103. *ucchati*.
ubbha pūraṇe Sd 645.
ubbhati.
102. √UCH-
ucha pipāsāyam Sd 173. 115. √UBH-
ucchati.
ubha pūraṇe Sd 644.
ubhati.
103. √UJ-
uju ajjave Sd 231. *ojati*. 116. √UMBH-
umbha pūraṇe Sd 646.
umbhati.
104. √UJJHA-
ujjha ussage Dp 83, Dm 117. √US-
101, Sd 246. *ujjhati*.
usa dāhe Sd 1268 ; usu
dāhe Dm 445 ; usu (u)-
padāhe Sd 905. *usati*,
osati.
105. √UÑCH-
uñcha uñche Dp 52, Sd 118. √USŪY-
172 ; uñchane Dm 66. *uñchati*.
atho usūya dosāvi-karaṇe
Dm 342. *usūyati*.
106. √UṬH-
uṭha upaghāte Sd 309. U.
119. √ŪN-
ūṇa parihāne Dm 831.

- parihāṇiyaṃ Sd 1516. 133. ¹√OP-
ūneti ūnayati. opa nitṭhubhane Sd 563.
opati.
120. √ŪY- ūyī tantasantāne Sd 636. 134. ²√OP-
ūyati. opa thapane Sd 1544.
opeti opayati.
121. √ŪS- ūsa rujāyaṃ Sd 881.. 135. √OPUÑJ-
ūsati. opuji vilimpane Sd 241.
o-puñjati.
122. √ŪH- ūha vitakke Dp 348, 136. √OMĀ-
Dm 497, Sd 1028. *ūhati.* omā sāmattiye Sd 650.
o-māti.
- E. 137. √OH-
oha cāge Sd 1039. *ohati.*
123. ¹√EJ- eja kampane Dp 82, Dm 75, Sd 195. *ejati.* K.
124. ²√EJ- eja dittiyaṃ Sd 216. *ejati.* 138. √KAK-
kaka loliye Sd 24. *kakati.*
125. √EṬH- eṭha vibādhāyaṃ Sd 325. 139. √KAKKH-
eḥati. kakkha hasane Sd 44.
kakkhati.
126. √EDH- edha vuddhiyaṃ Dp 165 ; 140. √KAKH-
Dm 240 ; vuddhiyaṃ kakha hasane Sd 75.
lābhe ca Sd 504. *kakhati.*
edhati.
127. √ERANḍ- eraḍi hiraṃsāyaṃ Dm 149. 141. √KAṆK-
eraṇḍati. kaki lolattane yāte Dr 17 ; gaty-attho Sd 28.
kaṇkati.
128. ¹√ES- esu gatiyaṃ Sd 936, 977. 142. √KAṆKH-
esati. kaṇkha kaṇkhane Dm 21 ;
icchāyaṃ Dp 20 ; kakh
icchāyaṃ Sd 71 ; kakh
kaṇkhāyaṃ Sd 67. *kaṇ-*
khati.
129. ²√ES- esa buddhiyaṃ Sd 926. 143. ¹√KAC-
esati. kaca dittiyaṃ Dm 761, Sc 1343 ; dityaṃ Dm 630.
kaccati kaccayati.
130. ³√ES- esa maggane Dp 297. 144. ²√KAC-
esati. kaca bandhane Sd 150.
kacati.
- O. 145. √KAṆC-
kaci dittiyaṃ Dm 58.
kaṇcati.
131. √OKH- okha sosanālamatthesu Sd 45. *okhati.*
132. √OṆ- oṇa apanayane Sd 362. *oṇati.*

146. $\sqrt{\text{KAJJ-}}$
kajja vyathane Sd 191.
kajjati.
147. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAṬ-}}$
kaṭa maddane Dp 93, Dm
109. *kaṭati.*
148. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAṬ-}}$
kaṭa sarivaraṇe (gate)
Dm 111; vass'-āva-
raṇesu Sd 253. *kaṭati.*
149. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAṬ-}}$
kaṭa gatiyaṃ Sd 276;
(sarivaraṇe) gate Dm
111. *kaṭati.*
150. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAṬH-}}$
kaṭha sosana-pākesu Dm
132. *kaṭhati.*
151. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAṬH-}}$
kaṭha kicchajīvane Sd 306.
kaṭhati.
152. $\sqrt{\text{KAḍḍH-}}$
kaḍḍha kaḍḍhane Dp. 110,
Dm 161; ākaḍḍhane Sd
354. *kaḍḍhati.*
153. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAṆ-}}$
kaṇa nimile Dp 113;
mīlane Dm 168; nimī-
lane Sd 1436. *kaṇati,*
kaṇeti kaṇayati.
154. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAṆ-}}$
kaṇa saddattho Dp 117;
sadde Dm 171, Sd 360.
kaṇati.
155. $\sqrt{\text{KANṬH-}}$
kaṇṭha soke Dp 563^a;
kaṇṭhi soke Dm 134, Sd
1416. *kaṇṭhati, kaṇ-*
ṭheti kaṇṭhayati.
156. $\sqrt{\text{KANḍ-}}$
kaṇḍi bhede Dm 139;
kaṇḍa bhedane Dp 102;
564; kaṇḍi chede Sd
1420; kaṇḍi bhedane
Dm 794. *kaṇḍati, kaṇḍ-*
eti kaṇḍayati.
157. $\sqrt{\text{KANDŪV-}}$
kaṇḍu (va) kaṇḍuvane Dp
286; kaṇḍūvanamhi
kaṇḍūvo Dm 416.
kaṇḍūvati.
158. $\sqrt{\text{KAṆṆ-}}$
kaṇṇa savane Dp 575,
Dm 807, Sd 1438. *kaṇ-*
ṇeti kaṇṇayati.
159. $\sqrt{\text{KAT-}}$
kata cchedane Dp 380.
katati.
160. $\sqrt{\text{KATTAR-}}$
kattara sethille Sd 1460.
kattareti kattarayati.
161. $\sqrt{\text{KATTH-}}$
kattha silāghāyaṃ Dp
128, Dm 182, Sd. 419.
katthati.
162. $^1\sqrt{\text{KATH-}}$
katha vākyappabandhane
Dp 582; vākyappa-
bandhe Dm 816, Sd
1469. katha kathane
Sd 1462. *katheti katha-*
yati.
163. $^2\sqrt{\text{KATH-}}$
katha nippāke Sd 425.
kathati.
164. $^3\sqrt{\text{KATH-}}$
katha himsāyaṃ Sd 423.
kathati.
165. $\sqrt{\text{KAD-}}$
kada avhāne rodane ca Sd
479. *kadati.*
166. $\sqrt{\text{KADD-}}$
kadda kucchite sadde Sd
445. *kaddati.*
167. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAN-}}$
kana ditti-gati-kantisu Dp
177, Dm 257, ditti-kan-
tisu Sd 526. *kanati.*
168. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAN-}}$
kana avadāraṇe Dp 178.
kanati.

169. $\sqrt{\text{KANŪY-}}$
kanūyī sadde Sd 698.
kanūyati.
170. $^1\sqrt{\text{KANT-}}$
kati cchede Dm 614 ; kati
chedane Sd 405, 1088.
kantati.
171. $^2\sqrt{\text{KANT-}}$
kati suttajanane Sd 404.
kantati.
172. $\sqrt{\text{KANTH-}}$
(v. l. $\sqrt{\text{GANTH-}}$) kathi
koṭille Sd. 418. *kantathi.*
173. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAND-}}$
kand' avhāna-rodanesu
Dp 138, avhāne rodane
ca Dm 213 ; kadi
avhāne rodane ca Sd
454. *kandati.*
174. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAND-}}$
kadi velambe Sd 478.
kandati.
175. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAND-}}$
kanda sātacce Sd 1488.
kandeti kandayati.
176. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAP-}}$
kapa acchādane Dm 540.
kapati.
177. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAP-}}$
kapa avakampane Sd
1535. *kapeti kapayati.*
178. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAP-}}$
kapa karuṇāyaṁ Sd 556.
kapati.
179. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kappa sāmattthe Dm 273 ;
kappa sāmattiye Dp
195 ; kapu sāmattiye
Sd 555. *kappati.*
180. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kappa vitakke Dm 839,
Dp 601, Sd 1525 ;
takke Dm 275. *kappeti*
kappayati.
181. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kappa vidhimhi Sd 1524-
25. *kappeti kappayati.*
182. $^4\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kappa chedane Sd 1525 ;
chede Dm 275. *kappeti*
kappayati. kappati.
183. $^5\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kapu himsā(yaṁ) Sd
554 ; kappa himsādisu
Dm 275. *kappati.*
184. $^6\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kappa santagate Dm 275.
kappati.
185. $^7\sqrt{\text{KAPP-}}$
kapu takkalagandhe (su)
Sd 554. *kappati.*
186. $^1\sqrt{\text{KABB-}}$
kabba gatiyaṁ Sd 585.
kabbati.
187. $^2\sqrt{\text{KABB-}}$
kabba dappe Sd 607.
kabbati.
188. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAM-}}$
kama icchāyaṁ Dp 603 ;
kamu icchāya kantimhi
Dm 843, icchā-kan-
tisu Sd 1564. *kāmeti*
kāmayati.
189. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAM-}}$
kama padavikkhepe Dp
217 ; kamū tu padavik-
khepe Dm 312 ; kamu
yātrāyaṁ Dm 605 ;
kamu padavikkhepe Sd
659. *kamati.*
190. $\sqrt{\text{KAMP-}}$
kampa calane Dp 186 ;
kapi kiñcicale Dm 272,
gatiyaṁ Sd 1526. *kam-*
pāti, kampeti kampa-
yati.
191. KAMB-
kamba saṁvarane Dp
200, Dm 286, *kambati.*

192. $\sqrt{\text{KAR-}}$
kara karaṇe Dp 526, Sd
1289 ; karaṇasmini Dm
740. *karoti. kayirati,*
kubbati, krubbati.
193. $\sqrt{\text{KARAṆḌ-}}$
karaṇḍa bhājanatthe Dm
154. *karaṇḍati.*
194. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAL-}}$
kala saṅkhāne Sd 804,
saṅkhyāne Dp 613 ;
saṅkalanādisu Dm 856 ;
gatisaṅkhānesu Sd 1611.
kalati, kāleti kālayati.
195. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAL-}}$
kala kalile Dm 399.
kalati.
196. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAL-}}$
kala khepe Sd 1604.
kāleti kālayati.
197. $\sqrt{\text{KALAND-}}$
kaladi avhāne rodane ca
Sd 455. *kalandati.*
198. $\sqrt{\text{KALAH-}}$
kalaha kucchane Sd 1021.
kalahati.
199. KALIND-
kalidi paridevane Sd. 456.
kalindati.
200. $^1\sqrt{\text{KALL-}}$
kalla asadde Sd 805.
kallati.
201. $^2\sqrt{\text{KALL-}}$
kalla saddane Dm 401.
kallati.
202. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAḶ-}}$
kaḷa made kakkase ca Sd
1049. *kaḷati.*
203. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAḶ-}}$
kaḷa secane Sd 1062.
kaḷati.
204. $\sqrt{\text{KAV-}}$
kava vaṇṇe Sd 844.
kavati.
205. $^1\sqrt{\text{KAS-}}$
kasa himsattho Sd 884,
himsā(yaṁ) Dm 474,
Dp 304. *kasati.*
206. $^2\sqrt{\text{KAS-}}$
kasa gate Dm 473 ; gati
(yaṁ) Dp 304 ; kaṣi
gati(yaṁ) Sd 974.
kasati.
207. $^3\sqrt{\text{KAS-}}$
kasa vilekhane Sd 883, Dp
304. *kasati, kassati.*
208. $^4\sqrt{\text{KAS-}}$
kaṣi (gati-) sāsaṇe (su)
Sd 974. *kasati.*
209. $^1\sqrt{\text{KASS-}}$
kassa kassane Dm 461.
kassati.
210. $^2\sqrt{\text{KASS-}}$
kassa gatiyaṁ Sd 955.
kassati.
211. $\sqrt{\text{KĀ-}}$
kā sadde. Dp 392, 626.
kāyati.
212. KĀTH-
kātha himsāyaṁ Sd 1473.
kātheti kāthayati.
213. $^1\sqrt{\text{KĀS-}}$
kāsa dittiyaṁ Dp 316 ;
dittimhi Dm 476 ; kāsu
dittiyaṁ Sd 941. *kāsati.*
214. $^2\sqrt{\text{KĀS-}}$
kāsa saddane Dm 476 ;
saddakucchāyaṁ Sd
940. *kāsati.*
215. $\sqrt{\text{KI-}}$
ki himsāyaṁ Sd 1205.
kiṇoti, kiṇāti.
216. KIṆC-
kiṇca maddane Dp 42 ;
avamaddane Dm 50 ;
kici maddane Sd 1328.
kiṇcati ; kiṇceti kiṇca-
yati.

217. √KIT-
kiṭa gatiyaṃ Sd 275.
keṭati.
218. ¹√KIT-
kiṭa nivāsane Dp 122 ;
vāsādo Dm 180 ;
nivāse Sd 395. *keṭati.*
219. ²√KIT-
kiṭa rogāpanayane Sd
395. *keṭati.*
220. ³√KIT-
kiṭa fāṇe Sd 403. *keṭati.*
221. √KIT-
kitta saṃsadde Dp 579 ;
saṃsaddane Dm 812,
Sd 1450. *kitteti kitta-*
yati.
222. √KIP-
kipa dubballe Sd 1539.
kipeṭi kipayati.
223. √KIR-
kira vikiraṇe Dp 482, Dm
557. *kirati.*
224. √KIL-
kila pāṭiya-kīḷanesu Sd
819. *kilati.*
225. √KILAM-
kilama gilāne Dp 222 ;
kilamu gilāne Dm 316.
kilamati.
226. √KILLIND-
kilidī paridevādo Dm
199. *kilindati.*
227. ¹√KILIS-
kilisa upatāpe Dp 445,
Dm 686, Sd 1183.
kilissati.
228. ²√KILIS-
kilisa bādthane Sd 928,
vibādthane Sd 1260.
kilisati, kilisnāti.
229. √KILOT-
kilota addabhāve Sd 401.
kilotati.
230. √KIV-
kivi himsāyaṃ Sd 1230.
kivuṇāti.
231. √KIS-
kisa sāne Dm 472.
232. √KĪ-
kī dabbavinimaye Dp 507,
Sd 1235 ; vinimaye Dm
715. *kināti.*
233. √KĪṬ-
kīṭa bandhe Sd 1389.
kīṭeti kīṭayati.
234. √KĪL-
kīla bandhane Dp 270, Sd
766 ; bandhe Dm 384.
kīlati.
235. √KĪḶ-
kīḷa vihāre Sd 1046 ;
vihāramhi Dm 511.
kīḷati.
236. ¹√KU-
ku sadde Dp 2, Dm 11 ;
Sd 1076 M, R. *koti*
kavati.
237. ²√KU-
ku kuccāyaṃ Sd 1276.
238. √KUMS-
kusi bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1650.
kumseti kumsayati.
239. √KUK-
kuka ādāne Dp 6, Dm 7,
Sd 25. *kukati.*
240. ¹√KUC-
kuca saṅkoce Dp 468 ;
saṅkocane Dm 516, Sd
143. *kocati.*
241. ²√KUC-
kuca sadde Dm 46 ;
sadde tāre Sd 126.
kocati.
242. ³√KUC-
kuca sampaccana-koṭilla-
paṭikamma-vilekhanesu
Sd 140. *kucati.*

243. √KUCCH- dopakaraṇe Sd 385.
kucca avakkhepe Sd 1345.
kuccheti kucchayati.
244. √KUJ- kuṇa saṅkocane Sd 1433.
kuju theyyakaṇe Sd
183. *kojati.*
245. √KUJJ- kuṇa āmantane Sd 1439.
kujja adhomukhīkaṇe
Sd 239. *kujjati.*
246. √KUÑC- kuṇa koṭill'-appibhāvesu
Sd 127. *kuñcati.*
247. √KUÑJ- kuṇa veṭhane Sd 1422.
kuji avyattasadde Sd
198 ; saddattho Sd 209.
kuñjati.
248. ¹√KUṬ- kuṇa kōṭilye Dp 472 ;
koṭille Dm 526, Sd
291. *kuṭati.*
249. ²√KUṬ- kuṇa cchedane Dm 115,
781, Dp 555, 90 ; chede
Dm 781.
250. ³√KUṬ- kuṇa ākoṭane Dp 557, Dm
783.
251. ⁴√KUṬ- kuṇa sajjhāyanāyaṃ Dm
526.
252. √KUṬṬ- kuṇa chedane Sd 1378.
kuṭṭeti kuṭṭayati.
253. ¹√KUṆṬH- kuṇa kōṭi ghose Dm 130.
kuṇṭhati.
254. ²√KUṆṬH- kuṇa ālasiye ca gatipati-
ghāte Sd 315. *kuṇ-
ṭhati.*
255. ³√KUṆṬH- kuṇa bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1537.
kuṇi soke Sd 324. *kuṇ-
ṭhati.*
256. ¹√KUN- kubi acchādane Sd 592.
kuṇa sadde Dm 174 ; sad-
kubbati (v. l. kumbati).
257. ²√KUN- kuṇa saṅkocane Sd 1433.
kuṇeti kuṇayati.
258. ³√KUN- kuṇa āmantane Sd 1439.
kuṇeti kuṇayati.
259. ¹√KUNḌ- kuṇi dāhe Dp 107, Dm
151, Sd 339. *kuṇḍati.*
260. ²√KUNḌ- kuṇi veṭhane Sd 1422.
kuṇḍeti kuṇḍayati.
261. ¹√KUTH- kutha pāke Dm 530.
262. ²√KUTH- kutha pūtibhāve Dm 530.
263. ³√KUTH- kutha himsāyaṃ Sd 422 ;
saṅklesane Dm 531.
kothati
264. KUD- kutha kīlāyaṃ Sd 467.
kodati.
265. KUDH- kudha kope Dp 416, Dm
654, Sd 1138. *kujjhati.*
266. KUNTH- kuthi himsā-saṅkilesesu
Sd 412. *kunṭhati.*
267. KUND- kudi anatabhāsane Sd
1479. *kundeti kunda-
yati.*
268. ¹√KUP- kupa kope Dp 430. Dm
667, Sd 1157. *kupati.*
269. ²√KUP- kupa bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1537.
kopeti kopayati.
270. ¹√KUBB- kubi acchādane Sd 592.
kubbati (v. l. kumbati).

271. ²√KUBB-
kubbi uggame Sd 602.
kubbati.
272. √KUMĀR-
kumāra kilāyaṃ Sd 1585.
kumāreti kumārayati.
273. √KUMB-
kubi acchādane Sd 1550.
kumbeti kumbayati.
274. ¹√KUR-
kur' akkose Dm 367, Sd
743. *kurati.*
275. ²√KUR-
kura sadde Sd 485, 743 ;
Dm 560. *kurati.*
276. ³√KUR-
kura (saddā-)dāne(su)
Dm 560. *kurati.*
277. √KUL-
kula saṅkhāne bandhumhi
ca Sd 817. *kolati.*
278. ¹√KUS-
kusa cchedane Dp 490 ;
cchedane(-pūraṇe) Dm
570.
279. ²√KUS-
kusa (cchedana-)pūraṇe
Dm 570.
280. ³√KUS-
kusa akkose Dm 438 ;
akkose avhāne ca Dp
311 ; avhāne rodane ca
Sd 954. *kosati.*
281. ⁴√KUS-
kusu haraṇa-dittisu Sd
1181. *kussa(ya)ti.*
282. √KUH-
kuha vimhāpane Dp 533,
Dm 875, Sd 1677.
kuheti kuhayati.
283. √KŪJ-
kūja avyattasaddhe Dp 78,
Dm 92. *kūjati.*
284. ¹√KŪṬ-
kūṭa appasāde Sd 1392.
kūṭeti kūṭayati.
285. ²√KŪṬ-
kūṭi dāhe Sd 1407.
kūṭeti kūṭayati.
286. √KŪL-
kūla āvaraṇe Dp 271, Dm
387, Sd 767 ; *kūlati.*
287. √KŪḶ-
kūḷa ghasane Sd 1070.
kūḷati.
288. √KE-
ke sadde Dm 9, Sd 4,
1076P. *kāyati, pass
kiyyati.*
289. √KET-
keta āmantāṇe Sd 1456.
keteti ketayati.
290. √KEL-
kela valane Dp 278 ; kelu
gatiyaṃ Sd 780, saṅca-
lanādisu Dm 408. *kelati.*
291. √KELE-
kele mamāyane Sd 796.
kelāyati.
292. √KEV-
kevu seke Dm 428 ;
secane Sd 849. *kevati.*
293. √KOTṬ-
koṭṭa cchedane Dp 91,
566 ; Dm 116, 782.
koṭṭati koṭṭeti.
294. √KLAM-
klama gilāne Dp 223 ;
klamu gilāne Dm 317.
klamati.
295. √KLIS-
klisa upatāpe Dp 446,
Dm 687. *klissati.*
296. √KVAṆ-
kvaṇa sadde Dm 173,
saddattho Dp 118.
kvaṇati.

KH

297. √KHAC-
khaca bandhane Dm 518.
khacati.
298. √KHAJ-
khaja manthe Sd 193.
khajati.
299. √KHAJJ-
khajja bhakkhaṇe Dm 93.
khajjati.
300. ²√KHAJJ-
khajja majjane vyathane
ca Sd 192. *khajjati.*
301. ¹√KHAÑJ-
khañja gativekalye Dp
81 ; khaji gativekalle Sd
194 ; khaji gamanve-
kalle Dm 97 ; gatiyaṃ
Sd 221. *khañjati.*
302. ²√KHAÑJ-
khaji kicchajīvane Sd
1351. *khañjeti khañja-
yati.*
303. ³√KHAÑJ-
khaji rakkhane Sd 1352.
khañjeti khañjayati.
304. ⁴√KHAÑJ-
khaji dāne Sd 221. *khañ-
jati.*
305. √KHAṬ-
khaṭa karise Sd 264. *khaṭ-
ati.*
306. √KHAṬṬ-
khaṭṭa saṃvarane Sd 1384.
khaṭṭeti khaṭṭayati.
307. √KHANḌ-
khaḍi cchide Dm 140 ;
khaṇḍa cchedane Dp
105, bhedane Dp 565 ;
khaḍi bhedane Dm 795 ;
khaḍi chede Sd 1419,
khaṇḍe Sd 351. *khaṇ-
ḍati khaṇḍeti khaṇḍa-
yati.*
308. √KHAD-
khada dhiti-himsāsu Sd
437. *khadati.*
309. √KHADD-
khadda dāṇsane Sd 446.
khaddati.
310. √KHAN-
khana avadāraṇe Dm 358,
Dp 179 ; khanu avadā-
raṇe Dm 259, Sd 533 ;
khanati.
311. ¹√KHAND-
khadi pakkhandanādisu
Dm 196. *khandati.*
312. ²√KHAND-
khanda gati-sosanesu Sd
458. *khandati.*
313. ³√KHAND-
khādi parighāte Sd 496.
khandati.
314. ¹√KHABB-
khabba gatiyaṃ Sd. 586.
khabbati.
315. ²√KHABB-
khabba dappe Sd 608.
khabbati.
316. √KHAM-
khama sahanē Dp 218 ;
khamū sahane Dm 313 ;
khamu sahane Sd 670.
khamati.
317. √KHAMĀY-
khamāya vidhūnane Sd.
699. *khamāyati.*
318. √KHAMP-
khapi khantiyaṃ Sd 1527.
khampeti khampayati.
319. √KHAMBH-
khambha patibandhe Dp
210 ; khabi patibandhe
Dm 304 ; khabi paṭiban-
dhe Sd 628. *khambhati.*
320. √KHAR-
khara vināse Dp 251 ;

- seka-nāse Dm 358 ; kha-
ye Sd 735. *kharati*.
321. ¹√KHAL-
khala soceyye Dp 611, Dm
406, Sd 1597 ; soce Dm
854. *khāleti khālayati*.
322. ²√KHAL-
khala sañcaye Dm 854 ;
sañcinane Sd. 788.
khalati.
323. ³√KHAL-
khala kampane Dp 260,
sañcalane Dm 373,
calane Sd 787. *khalati*.
324. √KHAL-
khaḷa bhede Sd 1682.
khaleti khaḷayati.
325. √KHAS-
khasa hiraṣāyaṃ Dm 477.
326. √KHĀ-
khā kathane Dp 355 ; pa-
kathane Dm 581, Sd
35 ; pakāsane Dp 391,
Dm 625. *khāti khāyati*.
327. √KHĀD-
khāda bhakkhaṇe Dp 155,
Dm 226, Sd 435. *khā-
dati*.
328. ¹√KHI-
khi khaye Dp 11, 509,
515 ; Dm 20, 624 ; Sd
37, 1101 ; khayamhi Dm
709. *khiyyati, khīyati*.
329. ²√KHI-
khi nivāse Sd 38, 1102.
khiyyati, khīyati.
330. ³√KHI-
khī kodha-hiraṣāsu Sd
1102. *khīyati*.
331. √KHIṬ-
khiṭa uttāsane Sd 258.
khetati.
332. √KHIN-
khiṇu hiraṣāyaṃ Sd 1280.
khiṇoti.
333. ¹√KHID-
khida dīnabhāve Dp 407,
Dm 643. khidi dīniye
Sd 1126. *khijjati*.
334. ²√KHID-
khida asahane Dp 409.
335. √KHIND-
khidi avayave Sd 449A.
khindati.
336. ¹√KHIP-
kipa khepe Dp 501, Dm
724, Sd 1216. *khipunāti*.
337. ²√KHIP-
kipa peraṇe Dm 542, Dp
479 ; Sd 560, 1163. *khe-
pati, khippati*.
338. ³√KHIP-
kipa avyattasadde Sd
561. *khipati*.
339. ⁴√KHIP-
kipa chaḍḍane Sd 562.
khipati.
340. √KHIMP-
kipi gatiyaṃ Sd 565.
khippati.
341. ¹√KHIV-
khiṇu niddassane Sd 835.
khevati.
342. ²√KHIV-
khiṇu nirasane Sd 1176.
khibbati.
343. ¹√KHĪ-
khī khaye Sd 1207.
khiṇoti, khiṇāti.
344. ²√KHI-
khī gatiyaṃ Sd 1236.
khiṇāti.
345. √KHĪJ-
khīja avyattasadde Sd
197. *khijati*.
346. √KHĪḶ-
khīḷa vihāre Dp 350.
347. √KHĪV-
khīvu made Sd 845. *khi-
vati*,

348. √KHU-
khu sadde Sd 39, 1076^P.
khoti, khavati.
349. √KHUMS-
khumsa akkose Dm 867,
akkosane Dp 625 ; khusi
akkosane Sd 1652.
khumsati khumsayati.
350. √KHUJ-
khuju theyyakaraṇe Sd
184. *khojati.*
351. √KHUN-
khunu himsāyaṃ Sd 1279.
khunoti.
352. ¹√KHUD-
khuda jighacchāyaṃ Dp
161, Dm 229.
353. ²√KHUD-
khuda kilāyaṃ eva Sd
468. *khodati.*
354. √KHUND-
khudi āpavaṇe Sd 459.
khundati.
355. √KHUBH-
khubha cale Dm 675 ;
sañcale Dm 302 ; sañca-
lane Dp 206, 435 ; Sd
637, 1165. *khobhati,*
khubbhati.
356. √KHUR-
khura ccheda-vilekhanesu
Dp 486 ; cchede vile-
khane Dm 561 ; cchidas-
miṃ Dm 354 ; chedane
vilekhane ca Sd 744.
khurati.
357. √KHUḬ-
khuḷa bālye ghasane ca Sd
1071. *khujati.*
358. ¹√KHE-
khe khādana-sattāsu Sd
40. *khāyati.*
359. ²√KHE-
khe khaye Sd 1076^a. *khā-*
yati.
360. √KHET-
kheṭa bhakkhaṇe Sd 1405.
kheṭeti kheṭayati.
361. √KHEP-
khepa peraṇe Sd 1540.
khepeti khepayati.
362. √KHEL-
khela calane Dp 279 ;
sañcalanādisu Dm 409 ;
gatiyaṃ Sd 781, *khelati.*
363. √KHEV-
khevu secane Sd 850. *khe-*
vati.
364. √KHOṬ-
khoṭa khepe Sd 1046.
khoṭeti khoṭayati.
365. √KHOD-
khoda paṭighāte Sd 457.
khodati.
366. √KHOL-
khola gati-paṭighāte Sd
793. *kholati.*
367. √KHYĀ-
khyā kathane Dp 356 ;
pakathane Dm 582, Sd
36. *sam-khāti.*
- G
368. ¹√GAJ-
gaja saddattho Sd 208.
(maddana-) sadde(su)
Sd 1354. *gajati. gajeti*
gajayati.
369. ²√GAJ-
gaja maddana (-saddesu)
Sd 1354. *gajeti gaja-*
yati.
370. √GAJJ-
gajja sadde Dp 76, sad-
dane Dm 90, saddattho
Sd 211. *gajjati.*
371. ¹√GAṆ-
gaṇa gatiyaṃ Sd 372.
gaṇati.

372. ²√GAṆ-
gaṇa saṅkhyāne Dp
574 ; saṅkalane Dm
806 ; saṅkhāne Sd 1437. *gaṇeti gaṇayati.*
373. ¹√GAṆḌ-
gaṇḍi vattekadesamhi Dm
146 ; vadanekadese Sd
335. *gaṇḍati.*
374. ²√GAṆḌ-
gaṇḍi sannicaye pi ca Dm
147. *gaṇḍati.*
375. ³√GAṆḌ-
gaṇḍi made Sd 350.
gaṇḍati.
376. ¹√GAD-
gada vyattavacane Dp
148, vyattavace pi ca
Dm 222, viyattiyarṇ vā-
cāyarṇ Sd 438. *gadati.*
377. ²√GAD-
gada devassadde Sd 1492.
gadeti gadayati.
378. √GADD-
gadda sadde Sd 443. *gad-
dati.*
379. √GADDH-
gaddha abhikaṅkhāyarṇ Sd
1508. *gaddheti gaddha-
yati.*
380. √GANTH-
gantha ganthane Dp 581,
sandabbhe Dm 814,
santhamahe Sd 1476.
gantheti ganthayati.
381. ¹√GANDH-
gandha sūcane Dp 592,
Dm 825, Sd 1504. *gan-
dheti gandhayati.*
382. ²√GANDH-
gandha addane ca Sd
1504. *gandheti gandha-
yati.*
383. ¹√GABB-
gabba dappe Dm 289, Sd
609 ; māne Sd 1554.
*gabbati, gabbeti gabba-
yati.*
384. ²√GABB-
gabba gatiyarṇ Sd 587.
gabbati.
385. ¹√GABBH-
gabbha pāgabbhiye Dp
211, Dm 305. *gabbhati.*
386. ²√GABBH-
gabbha vadhe Dm 305.
gabbhati.
387. ³√GABBH-
gabbha dhāraṇe Sd 633.
gabbhati.
388. √GAM-
gamu gatimhi ca Dm 3.
gamu gatiyarṇ Sd 677,
1075^c. *gacchati, gamati.*
389. ¹√GAR-
gara secane Dp 249, Sd
721 ; seke Dm 360.
garati.
390. ²√GAR-
garo nigarāṇe Dm 360.
garati.
391. ³√GAR-
gara uggame Sd 749, 1579.
garati, gareti, garayati.
391. √GARAḤ-
garaha nindāyarṇ Do 340 ;
ghaṭane Dm 501 ; kuc-
chane Sd 1020 ; vinin-
dane Sd 1679. *garahati,
garaheti, garahayati.*
392. √GAL-
gala adane Dp 262, Dm
385, Sd 790. *galati.*
393. √GALOC-
galocu theyyakaraṇe Sd
135. *galocati.*
394. √GAVES-
gavesa maggane Dp 298,
Dm 453, Sd 1653. *gave-*

- sati, gaveseti, gave-*
sayati. Dm 680 ; gile pītikkhaye
Sd 794. *gilāyati.*
395. √GAS-
gasa adane Dp 293, Dm
431 ; gasu adane Sd 948.
gasati.
396. √GAH-
gaha gahaṇe Sd 1030 ;
upādāne Dp 388, Dm
731, Sd 1267. *gahati,*
gaṇhāti.
397. ¹√GĀ-
gā sadde Dp 393, Dm
627. *gāti, gāyati.*
398. ²√GA-
gā gatiyaṃ Sd 109,
1079^A. *gāti.*
399. √GĀDH-
gādha patitthāyaṃ Dp
167 ; Dm 238 ; patitthā-
nissaya-ganthesu Sd 506.
gādhati.
400. √GĀH-
gāha viḷaṇe Dp 349 ;
gāhu viḷaṇe Dm 504 ;
gāhū viḷaṇe Sd 1029.
gāhati.
401. √GI-
gi sadde Dp 510, 517 ;
saddane Dm 710. *geti.*
402. √GIDH-
gidha gedhe Dm 661 ;
abhikaṅkhāyaṃ Dp 423 ;
gidhu abhikaṅkhāyaṃ
Sd 1146. *gijjhati.*
403. √GIR-
gira giraṇe Dp 483, niga-
raṇādisu Dm 558, niggi-
raṇe Sd 741. *girati.*
404. √GIL-
gila adane Dp 488, Dm
386, 563 ; ajjhoharaṇe
Sd 789. *gilati.*
405. √GILĀ-
gilā hāsakkhaye Dp 439,
406. √GILEV-
gilevu secane Sd 852. *gile-*
vati.
407. √GILES-
gilesu anvicchāyaṃ Sd
932. *gilesati.*
408. ¹√GU-
gu uggame Sd 111. *gavati.*
409. ²√GU-
gu karīsussagge Sd 90.
gavati.
410. ³√GU-
gu sadde Sd 110, 1076^K.
gavati.
411. √GUC-
gucu theyyakaṇe Sd 134.
gocati.
412. √GUJ-
guja avyatte sadde Dp
77, Dm 91.
413. √GUNG-
guji avyattasaddhe Sd 199.
guṇjati.
414. ¹√GUN-
guṇ'-abhyāse Dm 164.
415. ²√GUṆ-
guṇa āmantāṇe Sd 1440.
guṇeti guṇayati.
416. √GUṆṬH-
veṭhane Dp 563 ; oḡuṇ-
thane Dm 790.
417. GUṆD-
guḍi veṭhe Dm 793.
418. √GUD-
guda kīlayam eva Sd 469.
godati.
419. ¹√GUDH-
gudha rosane Dm 237.
420. ²√GUDH-
gudha pariveṭhane Sd
1151. *gujjhati.*
421. √GUP-
gupa rakkhaṇe Dp 181,

- Sd 548 ; gopanake Dm
260 ; gopana (-jiguc-
chanesu) Sd 553. *gopati*.
422. ²√GUP-
gupa sarivarane Dm 261.
gopati.
423. ³√GUP-
gupa jigucchane Sd 553.
jugucchati.
424. ⁴√GUP-
gupa bhāsāyam Sd 1536.
gopeti gopayati.
425. √GUPH-
gupha ganthe Sd 580.
gophati.
426. √GUMB-
gumba gumbane Dm 293.
gumbati.
427. ¹√GUḶ-
guḷa mukkhe Dm 576.
guḷati.
428. ²√GUḶ-
guḷa parivattanamhi Dm
577. *guḷati*.
429. ³√GUḶ-
guḷa rakkhāyam Sd 1068.
guḷati.
430. √GUH-
guha sarivarane Dp 337,
Dm 488 ; guhū sariva-
rane Sd 1034. *gūhati*.
431. √GE-
ge sadde Sd 91, 1076^F,
1208. *gāyati, giṇoti*.
giṇāti. Cf. √GĀ-.
432. √GEV-
gevu secane Sd 851. *gevati*.
433. √GOTTH-
gottha varise Sd 428 ;
gotthu varise Dm 189.
gotthati.
434. √GOM-
goma upalepe Sd 1571.
gometi, gomayati.
- GH
435. √GHAMS-
ghamsa ghamsane Dp 318,
Dm 464. *ghāmsati*.
436. ¹√GHAṬ-
ghaṭa ghāṭane Dp 554 ;
ghaṭana (-saṅghāte)
Dm 779 ; ghaṭane Sd
1372. *ghaṭeti, ghaṭayati*.
437. ²√GHAṬ-
ghaṭa ihāyam Dp 98. cetā-
yam Sd 287. *ghaṭati*.
438. ³√GHAṬ-
ghaṭi saṅghaṭṭane Dm
122, saṅghāte Dm 779 ;
ghaṭa saṅghāte Sd 261,
1373, 1397. *ghaṭati*,
ghaṭeti, ghaṭayati.
439. ⁴√GHAṬ-
ghaṭa bhāsāyam Sd 1401.
ghāṭeti ghāṭayati.
440. ¹√GHAṬṬ-
ghaṭṭa ghaṭṭane Dp 88.
ghaṭṭati.
441. ²√GHAṬṬ-
ghaṭṭa calane Dp 554^A.
sañcalanādisu Dm 780 ;
calane Sd 1374. *ghaṭṭeti*,
ghaṭṭayati.
442. ¹√GHANṬ-
ghaṇṭi ghaṇṭana - saṅghate
Dm 779 ; saṅghāte Dm
123. *ghaṇṭati, ghaṇṭeti*.
443. ²√GHANṬ-
ghaṇṭi bhāsāyam Sd 1402.
ghaṇṭeti, ghaṇṭayati.
444. ³√GHANṬ-
ghaṇṭ'ihane Dm 122. *ghaṇṭ-
ṭati*.
445. √GHANṆ-
ghaṇṇi gahaṇe Sd 368.
ghaṇṇati.
446. √GHAR-
ghara secane Dp 250, Sd

- 722 ; secanamhi Dm
359. *gharati*.
447. √GHAS-
ghasa adane Dp 294, ada-
nasmim Dm 432. *gha-*
sati.
448. √GHĀ-
ghā gandhopāḍāne Dp
394, Dm 628, Sd 1103.
ghāyati.
449. ¹√GHIN-
ghinu dittiyaṃ Sd 1283.
ghinoti.
450. ²√GHIN-
ghini gahaṇe Sd 366. *ghin-*
ṇati.
451. ¹√GHU-
ghu abhigamane Sd 113.
ghoti.
452. ²√GHU-
ghu sadde Sd 117, 1076^L.
ghoti ghavati.
353. ¹√GHUṬ-
ghuṭa ghose (patighāte)
Dm 112. *ghoṭati*.
454. ²√GHUṬ-
ghuṭa patighāte Dm 112,
Sd 299. *ghuṭati*.
455. ³√GHUṬ-
ghuṭa parivattane Sd 284.
ghoṭati.
456. ¹√GHUṆ-
ghuṇi gahaṇe Sd 367.
ghuṇṇati.
457. ²√GHUṆ-
ghuṇa gamane Sd 369.
ghoṇṇati.
458. √GHUṆṆ-
ghuṇṇa gamane Sd 370.
ghuṇṇati.
459. √GHUR-
ghura bhīme Dp 487, Dm
562.
460. ¹√GHUS-
ghusa sadde Dp 622, Dm
- 863, Sd 874, 1667 ;
saddasmim Dm 447 ;
ghusi visaddane Sd
1640. *ghusati*, *ghosati*,
ghosayati.
461. ²√GHUS-
ghusi kantikaraṇe Sd 949.
ghusati.
462. ³√GHUS-
ghusu samharise Sd 906.
ghasati. (v. l. for root
√GHAS-).
463. √GHOR-
ghora gatipatiḥhāte Sd
712. *ghorati*.
- C
464. √CAK-
caka titti-patiḥhātesu Sd
11. *cakati*.
465. √CAKK-
cacka vyathane Sd 1300.
cakketi cakkayati.
466. ¹√CAKKH-
cakkha dassane Dp 16,
dasse Dm 22. *cakkhati*.
467. ²√CAKKH-
cakkha viyattiyaṃ vācāya.
Sd 89. *cakkhati*.
468. ¹√CACC-
cacca ajjhene Dp 545 ; aj-
jhayane Dm 759, Sd
1332. *cacceti caccayati*.
469. ²√CACC-
cacca paribhāsana-vaj-
janesu Sd 138. *caccati*.
470. √CAJ-
caja hāniyaṃ Dp 65, Dm
81, cāge Sd 212. *cajati*.
471. √CAÑC-
cañca gatiyaṃ Sd 131.
cañcati.
472. √CAṬ-
caṭa bhede Dm 785, bhe-
dane Dp 559, paribhas-

- sane Sd 88, vibhede Sd 1393. *caṭati*, *caṭeti caṭayati*.
473. √CAṆ-
caṇa dāne Sd 374. *caṇati*.
474. √CAND-
caṇḍa caṇḍikke Dm 142 ;
caḍi kope Sd 346. *caṇḍati*.
475. ¹√CAT-
cata yācane Dm 529. *catati*.
476. ²√CAT-
cati himsā-ganthesu Sd 406. *catati*.
477. √CAD-
cada yācane Sd 483. *cadati*.
478. √CAND-
canda ditti-hilādanesu Dp 140 ; cadi kanti-hilā-dane Dm 198 ; cadi hilādane dittiyaṃ Sd 452. *candati*.
479. √CAP-
capa sāntve Dm 278, sāntvane Dm 545, capa kakkane Sd 1531. *capati*, *capeti capayati*.
480. ¹√CABB-
cabba adane Dm 295. *cabbati*.
481. ²√CABB-
cabba gatiyaṃ Sd 589. *cabbati*.
482. √CAM-
camu adane Dm 552, Sd 653. *camati*.
483. √CAMB-
camba adane Sd 606. *cambati* (v. 1. ¹√CABB-)
484. √CAY-
caya gatiyaṃ Sd 692. *cayati*.
485. ¹√CAR-
cara gati-bhakkhaṇesu Dp 243, Dm 362, Sd 716. *carati*.
486. ²√CAR-
cara caraṇe Sd 715. *carati*.
487. ³√CAR-
cara asaṃsaye Sd 1580. *careti carayati*.
488. √CAL-
cala kampane Dp 261, Dm 374, Sd 808, 1081². *calati*.
489. √CAS-
casa bhakkhaṇe Sd 963. *casati*.
490. ¹√CAH-
caha parisakkane Sd 1005. *cahati*.
491. ²√CAH-
caha parikatthane Sd 1674. *caheti cahayati*.
492. √CĀY-
cāya pūjāyaṃ Dp 237 ; cāyu sampūjane Dm 339 ; pūjā-nisāmanesu Sd 703. *cāyati*.
493. √CI-
ci caye Dp 496, Dm 716, Sd 1209, 1237. *cinoti*, *cināti*.
494. √CIKKH-
cikkha vacane Dp 19, vāce Dm 23, viyattiyaṃ vācāyaṃ Sd 88. *cikkhati*.
495. √CINGUL-
ciṅgula paribbhamane Sd 1618. *ciṅguleti ciṅgulyati*.
496. ¹√CIṬ-
ciṭa akkose Dm 113.
497. ²√CIṬ-
ciṭa uttāse Dm 121.

498. ²√CIT-
ciṭa pesane Sd 270. *ceṭati*.
499. √CIT-
cita saññāṇe Dm 179,
sañcetanādisu Dm 811 ;
ciṭā saññāṇe Sd 390.
cita sañcetane Sd 1445.
cetati. ceteti cetayati.
500. √CITT-
citta cittakarāṇe, kadāci
dassane pi Sd 1461. *cit-
teti cittayati*.
501. √CINE-
cine maññanāyaṃ Sd 540.
cināyati.
502. √CINT-
cinta cintāyaṃ Dp 577,
Sd 1444, cintane Dm
808. *cinteti cintayati*.
503. √CIR-
ciri hiraṣāyaṃ Sd 1231.
ciruṇāti.
504. √CIL-
cila vasane 565, Sd 825.
cilati.
505. √CILL-
cilla seṭhile Sd 777. *cil-
lati*.
506. √CĪK-
cīka āmasane Sd 1311.
ciketi cikayati.
507. ¹√CĪV-
cīvu ādāna-saṃvaresu Sd
857. *cīvati*.
508. ²√CĪV-
cīva bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1621.
cīveti cīvayati.
509. ¹√CU-
cu cavane Dp 35, Dm 55,
Sd 146, cāvane Sd 1333.
cavati, cāveti cāvayati.
510. ²√CU-
cu gatiyaṃ Sd 1077.
cavati.
511. √CUKK-
cukka vyathane Sd 1301.
cukketi cukkayati.
512. ¹√CUṬ-
cuṭa chedane Dm 124, Sd
293, 1376 ; vibhede Sd
1394. *cuṭati, cuṭeti cuṭa-
yati*.
513. ²√CUṬ-
cuṭa appābhāve Sd 278.
coṭati.
514. √CUṬṬ-
cuṭṭa appabhāve Sd 1380.
cuṭṭeti cuṭṭayati.
515. √CUḍḍ-
cuḍḍa hāvakaṇṇe Sd 333.
cuḍḍati.
516. √CUṆ-
cuṇa chedane Sd 386.
coṇati.
517. √CUṆṬ-
cuṇi chedane Sd 1390.
cuṇṭeti cuṇṭayati.
518. ¹√CUṆN-
cuṇṇa saṇcuṇṇane Dp 573,
cuṇṇane Dm 804. *cuṇ-
ṇeti*.
519. ²√CUṆN-
cuṇṇa perañe Sd 1431.
cuṇṇeti cuṇṇayati.
520. √CUT-
cuta āsecane kharāṇe ca
Sd 393. *cotati*.
521. √CUD-
cudā codane Dp 385, Dm
818; saṇcodane āṇat-
tiyaṃ ca Sd 1482. *codeti
codayati*.
522. √CUP-
cupa mandagamane Dp
191, mandagate Dm 264,
mandagatiyaṃ Sd 551.
copati.
523. √CUMB-
cumba vādanasaṃhyoge

- Dp 137, Dm 285 ; cubi vadanasaṃyoge Sd 595. *cumbati.*
524. √CUR- cura theyye Dp 530, Dm 743, Sd 1291. *coreti corayati.*
525. √CUL- cula maddane Dm 405.
526. √CULL- culla hāvakarṇe Sd 775 ; hāvakriye Dm 403, *cul-lati.*
527. √CŪN- cūṇa saṅkocane Sd 1430. *cūṇeti cūṇayati.*
528. √CŪS- cūsa pāne Sd 875. *cūsati.*
529. √CEṬ- ceṭa cetāyaṃ Sd 283. *ceṭati.*
530. √CEL- cela calane Dp 277, celu saṅcalanādisu Dm 410, gatiyaṃ Sd 779. *celati.*
531. √CEV- cevi cetanātulye Sd 858. *cevatī.*
- CH**
532. √CHAṬṬ- chaṭṭa chaṭṭane Sd 1387. *chaṭṭeti chaṭṭayati.*
533. √CHADD- chaḍḍa chaḍḍane Dp 571, Dm 802, Sd 1426. *chaḍḍeti chaḍḍayati.*
534. ¹√CHAD- chada saṃvarṇe Dp 586, Sd 1481. *chādeti chādayati.*
535. ²√CHAD- chada apavāraṇe Sd 1496, Dm 819. *chādeti chādayati.*
536. ³√CHAD- chadī icchāyaṃ Sd 1500. *chādeti chādayati.*
537. √CHADD- chadda vamaṇe Dp 590, Dm 820, Sd 1483. *chaddeti chaddayati.*
538. ¹√CHAND- chanda icchāyaṃ Dp 587; Dm 821. *chandeti.*
539. ²√CHAND- chadi ujjhane Sd 480. *chandati.*
540. ¹√CHAM- chamu hīḷane 553. *chamati.*
541. ²√CHAM- chamu adane Dm 555, Sd 654. *chamati.* (v. l. √JAM-).
542. ³√CHAM- chama gatimhi Sd 666. *chamati.*
543. √CHAR- chara cchede Dm 364. *charati.*
544. √CHID- chida dvedhākarṇe Dp 382, 406 ; chidi dvedhākarṇe Dm 615, 640 ; Sd 1090. chidi chijjane Sd 1125. *chijjati, chindati.*
545. √CHIDD- chidda kaṃabhede Sd 1494. *chiddeti chiddayati.*
546. √CHU- chu chedati Sd 164. *choti.*
547. CHUṬ- chuṭa chedane Sd 294 ; 1377. *chuṭati, chuṭeti chuṭayati.*
548. √CHUP- chupa samphasse Dp 480, Dm 544.

549. √CHUBH-
chubha nicchubhe Dm
550.
550. √CHED-
cheda dvedhākaraṇe Sd
1495. *chedeti chedayati.*
551. √CHO-
cho chedane Sd 1107.
chiyati.
- J**
552. √JAMS-
jasi rakkhaṇe Sd 1626.
jamseti jamsayati.
553. √JAKKH-
jakkha bhakkhane ca
(hasane) Sd 76. *jak-
khati.*
554. √JAGG-
jagga niddākhaye Dp 22.
jaggati.
555. √JAGGH-
jaggha hasane Dp 31, Dm
38, Sd 114. *jagghati.*
556. √JACC-
jacca paribhāsana- vaj-
janesu Sd 139. *jaccati.*
557. √JAJ-
jaja yuddhe Sd 204.
jajati.
558. √JAÑJ-
jaji yuddhe Sd 205.
jañjati.
559. √JAṬ-
jaṭa saṅghāte Dp 95, Dm
118, Sd 260, *jaṭati.*
560. ¹√JAN-
jana janane Dp 428, Sd
1153 ; uppāde Dm 664 ;
janī pātubhāve Sd 1154.
jaññati, jāyati.
561. ²√JAN-
jana sadde Sd 531. *janati.*
562. √JAP-
japa vacane Dp 189, vace
vyatte Dm 269. *japati.*
563. √JAPP-
jappa vacane Dp 190,
vace vyatte Dm 270.
jappati.
564. √JABH-
jabha gattavināme Sd 629.
jabhati.
565. √JAM-
jamu adane Sd 655. *jamati.*
566. ¹√JAMBH-
jambha gattavināme Dp
208, jabhi gattavināme
Dm 298, Sd 630 ;
jambha jambhane Dm
549. *jambhati.*
567. ²√JAMBH-
jambha nāsane Sd 1558.
jambheti jambhayati.
568. ¹√JAR-
jara jiraṇe Dp 252,
jiraṇattho Dm 356.
569. ²√JAR-
jara roge Sd 726. *jarati.*
570. ³√JAR-
jara vayohānimhi Sd
1591. *jareti jarayati.*
571. ¹√JAL-
jala dittiyaṃ Dp 264, Dm
377, Sd 806. *jalati.*
572. ²√JAL-
jala dhañṇe Sd 809.
jalati.
573. ³√JAL-
jala apavāraṇe Sd 1596.
jāleti jālayati.
574. ¹√JAS-
jasa hiraṃsattho Sd 886.
hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 1633.
jasati. jāseti jāsayati.
575. ²√JAS-
jasa tālane Sd 1638.
jāseti jāsayati.

576. JĀGAR-
jāgara niddākhaye Dp
254, niddakkhaye Sd
736, 1290, supinakkhaye
Dm 389. *jāgarati, jāga-
roti.*
577. √JĪ-
jī jaye Dp 56, 357, 495 ;
Dm 98, 583, 717 ; Sd
178, 1238 ; abhibhave
Sd 179. *jeti, jayati,
jināti.*
578. √JIM-
jimu adane Sd 658.
jemati.
579. √JIR-
jiri himsāyaṃ Sd 1232.
jiṛuṇāti.
580. √JIS-
jisu secane Sd 894.
jesati.
581. √JĪ-
jī jāniyaṃ Sd 1239.
jināti.
582. √JĪR-
jīra brūhane Sd 710.
ṣīrati.
583. √JĪV-
jīva pāṇadhāraṇe Dp 282,
Dm 414, Sd 837.
ṣīvati.
584. √JU-
ju jave Dp 57, Dm 99 ;
gatiyaṃ Sd 180, 1077^A.
javati.
585. √JUNĠ-
jugi vajjane Sd 104.
junḡati.
586. √JUT-
juta dittiyaṃ Dp 120, Sd
398, 1080^H, 1271, dit-
timhi Dm 176, bhāsane
Sd 398^A. *jotati vijjotati.*
587. ¹√JUL-
juḷa gatiyaṃ Sd 1065.
juḷati joḷati.
588. ²√JUL-
juḷa bandhane Sd 1069.
juḷati.
589. ³√JUL-
juḷa perane Sd 1684.
joḷeti joḷayati.
590. ¹√JUS-
jusīpīti-sevanesu Sd 992,
1270. *josati. joseti.*
591. ²√JUS-
jusa paritakkane Sd 1663.
joseti.
592. √JŪS-
jūsa himsattho Sd 891.
jūsati.
593. √JE-
je khaye Sd 181, 1076^H.
ṣīyati, jāyati.
594. √JES-
jesu gatiyaṃ Sd 934.
jesati.
595. √JEH-
jehu payatane Sd 1205.
jehati.
- JH
596. √JHAJJH-
jhajjha paribhāsana- taj-
janesu Sd 245. *jhaj-
jhati.*
597. √JHAT-
jhaṭa saṅghāte Dp 96, Dm
119. *jhaṭati.*
598. √JHAP-
jhapa dāhe Dp 600, Dm
280, 836, Sd 1522.
jhāpeti jhāpayati.
599. ¹√JHAM-
jhamu dāhe Dm 554.
jhamati.

600. ²√JHAM-
jhamu adane Sd 656.
jhamati.

601. √JHAS-
jhasa himsāyaṃ Dm 478,
himsattho Sd 887.
jhasati.

602. √JHĀ-
.jhā cintāyaṃ Dp 401,
vicintane Dm 638.
jhāyati.

603. ¹√JHE-
jhe cintāyaṃ Dm 100, Sd
243. *jhāyati.*

604. ²√JHE-
jhe dittiyaṃ Sd 244.
jhāyati.

Ñ

605. √ÑAP-
ñapa tosa-nisāna-māraṇā-
disu Dm 834 ; tosana-
nisānesu Sd 1520.
ñāpeti ñāpayati.

606. √ÑAM-
ñamu adane Sd 657.
ñamati.

607. ¹√ÑĀ-
ñā avabodhane Dp 358,
497 ; Dm 584, 718 ; Sd
247, 1240. *ñāti jānāti.*

608. ²√ÑĀ-
ñā māraṇa-tosana-nisānesu
Sd 248. **ñāti.*

609. √ÑĀP.
ñāpa māraṇa-tosana-nisā-
nesu Dp 598. *ñāpeti.*

Ṭ

610. √ṬAṆK-
ṭaṅka dāraṇe Dm 12.
ṭaṅkati.

611. √ṬAL
ṭala velambe Sd 810.
ṭalati.

612. √ṬĪK-
ṭika gamanattho Dp 10,
gate Dm 16, gatyattho
Sd 32. *ṭikati.*

613. √ṬUL-
ṭula velambe Sd 811.
ṭulati.

614. √ṬEK-
ṭeka gatyattho Sd 1076^B.
ṭekati.

ṬH

615. √ṬHĀ-
ṭhā gatinivuttiyaṃ Dp
359, Dm 587, Sd 300,
1113. *ṭhāti, ṭhāyati*
tiṭṭhāti.

616. ¹√ṬHIV-
ṭhivu niddassane Sd 834.
ṭhevati.

617. ²√ṬHIV-
ṭhivu nirasane Sd 1175.
ṭhibbati.

618. √ṬHUBH-
ṭhubha niṭṭhubhane Dm
551.

619. ¹√ṬHE-
ṭhe sadda-saṅghātesu Sd
301, 1080. *ṭhiyati,*
ṭhāyati.

620. ²√ṬHE-
ṭhe vethane Sd 302.
ṭhāyati.

Ḍ

621. √ḌAṆS-
ḍaṇsa daṇsane Dp 314,
dassane Dm 465.

622. √ḌAP-
ḍapa saṅghāte Sd 1533.
ḍāpeti ḍāpayati.

623. ¹√ḌIP-
ḍipa khepe Sd 566.
ḍepati.

624. ²√DIP-
dīpa saṅghāte Sd 1534.
ḍepeti ḍepayati.
625. ¹√DĪ-
dī ākāsagamane Dp 360,
vehāsagamane Dm 385,
vihñyasagatiyaṁ (gama
namatte ca) Sd 330.
ḍeti ḍayati.
626. ²√DĪ-
dī gamane Sd 1114,
gamanamatte Sd 330.
ḍiyati, ḍeti, ḍayati.
627. ³√DĪ-
dī khipan-uḍḍanesu Sd
331. *ḍeti, uḍḍeti.*
- T
628. √TAK-
taka hasane Sd 6. *takati.*
629. ¹√TAKK-
takka vitakke Dp 534, Sd
1294, vitakkane Dm 747.
takketi vitakkayati.
630. ²√TAKK-
takka bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1309.
takketi takkayati.
631. √TAKKH-
takkha tappane Sd 66.
takkhati.
632. √TAGGH-
taggha pālāne Sd 115.
tagghati.
633. ¹√TAÑK-
takī dhātu gatādisu Dm
18. *taṅkati.*
634. ²√TAÑK-
taki kicchajīvane Sd 7.
taṅkati.
635. ³√TAÑK-
taki bandhane Sd 1302.
taṅkati taṅkayati.
636. TAÑG-
tagi gamane ca gatiyaṁ
Sd 101. *taṅgati.*
637. √TAC-
taca saṁvarāṇe Sd 141.
tacati.
638. √TACC-
tacca himsāyaṁ Sd 137.
taccati.
639. √TACCH-
taccha tanukarāṇe Dp 51,
Sd 177; tanukriye Dm
67. *tacchati.*
640. ¹√TAJJ-
tajja himsāyaṁ Dp 75,
547*, Dm 86, 770, santa-
jjane Sd 1357. *tajjati.*
641. ²√TAJJ-
tajja bhassane Sd 202.
tajjati.
642. ²√TAÑC-
tañcu gatiyaṁ Sd 132.
tañcati.
643. √TAṬ-
taṭa ussaye Sd 263. *taṭati.*
644. ¹√TANḍ-
taḍi sañcalāne Dm 800.
taṇḍati.
645. ²√TANḍ-
taḍi tālāne Sd 348. *taṇ-
ḍati.*
646. √TADD-
tadda himsāyaṁ Sd 444.
taddati.
647. ¹√TAN-
tana vitthāre Dp 519;
tanu vitthāre Dm 732,
Sd 1277. *tanoti.*
648. ²√TAN-
tanu saddôpatāpesu Sd
1519. *tāneti tānayati.*
649. √TANT-
tanta kumbadhāraṇe Sd
1451. *tānteti tāntayati.*
650. ¹√TAND-
tanda ālasiye Dm 235.
tandati.

651. ²√TAND-
tadi cetāyaṃ Sd 453.
tandati.
652. ³√TAND-
tadi himsānādaresu Sd
1090. *tandati.*
653. ¹√TAP-
tapa santāpe Dp 182,
431 ; Dm 262, 668 ; Sd
570, 1158 ; dāhe Sd
1543 ; *tapati, tapeti*
tapayati.
654. ²√TAP-
tapa ubbege Dm 265, Sd
569. *tapati.*
655. ³√TAP-
tapa pīṇane Dm 668, Sd
1159, 1541. *tappati.*
656. ⁴√TAP-
tapa issariye Dm 263.
657. ⁵√TAP-
tapa dittiyaṃ Sd 568.
tapati.
658. √TAPP-
tappa santappane Dp 193,
Dm 271.
659. √TAPH-
tapha tittiyaṃ Sd 578.
taphati.
660. ¹√TAM-
tama saṅkhā-vibhūsane
Dm 327.
661. ²√TAM-
tama sātve 'vasādiye Dm
330.
662. √TAY-
taya gatiyaṃ Sd 691.
tayati.
663. ¹√TAR-
tara taraṇe Dp 241 ; tara-
ṇasmim Dm 344 ; pla-
vanataraṇesu Sd 724.
tarati.
664. ²√TAR-
tara sambhame Sd. 725.
tarati.
665. √TAL-
tala patiṭṭhāyaṃ Dp 617,
Dm 390, Sd. 1598.
tāleti tālayati.
666. √TAL-
taḷa āghāte Dp 638, Sd
1681 ; tāḷane Dm 883 ;
Sd 1680. *tāleti tālayati.*
667. ¹√TAS-
tasa pipāsāyaṃ Dp 447
Dm 688, Sd 1186, 1269.
tassati.
668. ²√TAS-
tasa ubbege Dp 322, Dm
448, *tassati.*
669. √TASS-
tassa santajjane Sd 1636.
tasseti tassayati.
670. √TĀ-
tā pālāne Dp 402, Dm
639, Sd 1115. *tāyati.*
671. √TĀY-
tāya santāne Dp 236 ; tāyu
santāne Dm 340, santāna-
pālānesu Sd 702. *tāyati.*
672. √TĀS-
tāsa vāraṇe Sd 1644
tāseti tāsayati.
673. √TIK-
tika gatyattho Sd 31.
674. ²√TIK-
tika himsāyaṃ Sd 1226.
tikuṇāti.
675. √TIG-
tiga himsāyaṃ Sd 1227.
tiguṇāti.
676. √TIJ-
tija nisāne Dp 63, 551 ;
Sd 219, 1274, 1355 ; tija
tejane Dm 774 ; tija
(kkhamā-) nisānesu

- (bandhe pi ca) Dm 80.
tejati, tejeti tejayati.
677. $^2\sqrt{\text{TIJ-}}$
tija khamāyaṃ Dm 80,
Sd 218. *titikkhati, tejati.*
678. $^3\sqrt{\text{TIJ-}}$
tija bandhe pi ca Dm 80.
679. $\sqrt{\text{TIN-}}$
tiṇu adane Sd 1282.
tiṇoti.
680. $\sqrt{\text{TIM-}}$
timu temana-saṅkāsu Dm
845, addabhāve Sd 651.
temati.
681. $\sqrt{\text{TIR-}}$
tira adhogatiyaṃ Sd 756.
tirati.
682. $\sqrt{\text{TIL-}}$
tila snehe Dm 564, sine-
hane Sd 1595, 824. *tilati,*
teleti telayati.
683. $^2\sqrt{\text{TILA-}}$
tila gatiyaṃ Sd 786.
tilati.
684. $\sqrt{\text{TIS-}}$
tisa tittiyaṃ Sd 956. *tisati.*
685. $\sqrt{\text{TĪR-}}$
tīra kammāsamattiyaṃ
Dp 609, kammāsam-
timhi Dm 851, kamma-
sam(p)attiyaṃ Sd 1589.
tīreti tīrayati.
686. $\sqrt{\text{TĪV-}}$
tīva thūliye Sd 840. *tīvati.*
687. $\sqrt{\text{TUMH-}}$
tuhi addane Sd 1011.
tu(m)hati.
688. $\sqrt{\text{TUJ-}}$
tuja hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 206.
tojati.
689. $\sqrt{\text{TUJJ-}}$
tujja bala-pālanesu Sd
1348. *tujjeti tujjayati.*
690. $^1\sqrt{\text{TUṆJ-}}$
tuji balane hiraṃsāyaṃ ca
Sd 207; hiraṃsā-bala-
dāna-niketanesu Sd
1849. *tuṇjati, tuṇjeti*
tuṇjayati.
691. $^2\sqrt{\text{TUṆJ-}}$
tuji bhāsaṃsāyaṃ Sd 1361.
tuṇjeti tuṇjayati.
692. $^1\sqrt{\text{TUṬ-}}$
tuṭa chedane Sd 295.
tuṭati.
693. $^2\sqrt{\text{TUṬ-}}$
tuṭa kalahakammani Sd
298. *tuṭati.*
694. $\sqrt{\text{TUṆḌ-}}$
tuṇḍi toḍane Dm 159;
toḷane Sd 344. *tuṇḍati.*
695. $\sqrt{\text{TUṆ-}}$
tuṇa koṭille Sd 382. *toṇati.*
696. $\sqrt{\text{TUD-}}$
tuda vyathane Dp 465, Sd
493. vyathāyaṃ Dm
513. *tudati.*
697. $\sqrt{\text{TUP-}}$
tupa hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 552.
topati, tuppāti.
698. $\sqrt{\text{TUPH-}}$
tupha hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 573.
tophati.
699. $\sqrt{\text{TUBB-}}$
tubbī hiraṃsattho Sd 597.
tubbati.
700. $\sqrt{\text{TUBH-}}$
tubha hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 639.
tubhati.
701. $\sqrt{\text{TUMB-}}$
tubi addane Sd 594. *tum-
bati.*
702. TUL-
tula ummāne Dp 612, Dm
853, Sd 1599. *toleti*
tolayati.
703. $\sqrt{\text{TUL-}}$
tuḷa toḷane Sd 1050. *toḷati.*
704. $\sqrt{\text{TUVAṬṬ-}}$
tuvatṭa ekasāyaṃ Dm

- 788 ; nipajjāyaṃ Sd 1386. *tuvaṭṭati*.
705. ¹√TUS-
tusa tuṭṭhiyaṃ Dp 308,
tuṭṭhimhi Dp 448, san-
tose Dm 440, tose Dm
684, tuṭṭhiyaṃ Sd 1198.
tussati.
706. ²√TUS-
tusa sadde Sd 909, bhāsā-
yaṃ Sd 1648. *tusati*,
toseti tosayati.
707. √TŪN-
tūṇa pūraṇe Sd 1434.
tūṇeti tūṇayati.
708. √TŪL-
tūla nikkharise Sd 763.
tūlati.
709. √TE-
te pālāne Sd 389, 1080^c.
tāyati.
710. √TRAS-
trasa ubbege Dp 323, Dm
449. *trasati*.
- TH
711. √THAK-
thaka paṭighāte Dp 533,
Dm 746, Sd 1293. *tha-
keti thakayati*.
712. √THAG-
thaga saṃvarāṇe Sd 107.
thagati.
713. √THAN-
thana devasaddhe Dp 596,
Sd 1515 ; devasaddane
Dm 830, sadde Sd 523.
*thanati, thaneti thana-
yati*.
714. ¹√THAP-
thapa khaye Sd 1529.
thapeti thapayati.
715. ²√THAP-
thapa thapane Sd 1545.
thapeti thapayati,
716. √THAM-
thama velambe Sd 675.
thamati.
717. √THAMBH-
thambha patibandhe Dp
209, Dm 303, Sd 627.
thambhati.
718. √THAR-
thara santharāṇe, (pādi-
pubbo va) Dp 242, Dm
345, Sd 753. *tharati*.
719. √THAL-
thala thāne Sd 812. *thalati*.
720. √THAH-
thaha himsattho Sd 1042.
thahati.
721. √THĀ-
thā gatinivattiyaṃ Sd 407.
thāti.
722. √THIM-
thima ca saṅghāte Dm
329.
723. √THIV-
thivu dittiyaṃ Sd 836.
thevati.
724. √THĪN-
thīna saṅghāṭavācī Dm
538.
725. √THU-
thu abhitthave Dp 125,
498, Sd 1241 ; thave
Dm 719, thutiyaṃ Sd
408 nitthu(na)ne Sd
1242. *thavati thunāti*.
726. √THUC-
thuca pasāde Sd 155.
thocati.
727. √THUBB-
thubbi himsattho Sd 598.
thubbati.
728. √THUḶ-
thuḷa saṃvarāṇe Sd 1072.
thuḷati.

729. √THUS-
thusa appikriyāyaṁ Dm
575.
730. √THŪP-
thūpa samussāye Sd 1528.
thūpeti thūpayati.
731. ¹√THŪL-
thūla kassane Dm 404
Dm 404.
732. ²√THŪL-
thūla paribrūhane Sd
1616. *thūleti thūlayati.*
733. √THE-
the sadda-saṅghātesu Sd
409, 1080^A. *thīyati,*
thāyati.
734. √THEN-
thena coriye Dp 595, Dm
832, Sd 1518. *theneti*
thāyati.
735. √THOM-
thoma silāghāyaṁ Dp
604, Dm 844, Sd 1565,
1472^A. *thometi thoma-*
yati.
- D
736. √DA-
da sodhane Dm 234.
737. ¹√DAMS-
damsa damsane Dp 313,
Sd 1634, 1635, dasane
Dm 466, Sd 925. *dam-*
sati, damseti damsayati.
738. ²√DAMS-
dasi dassane Sd 1635.
damseti damsayati.
739. ³√DAMS-
dasi bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1651.
damseti damsayati.
740. √DAMH-
dahi vuddhiyaṁ Sd 1008.
da(m)hati.

741. √DAK-
daka assādane Sd 1307.
daketi dakayati.
742. ¹√DAKKH-
dakkha vuddhiyaṁ sīghat-
te ca Sd 84. *dakkhati.*
743. ²√DAKKH-
dakkha himsā-gatisu Sd
87. *dakkhati.*
744. DAÑKH-
dakhi ghoravāsīte kaṅkhā-
yaṁ ca Sd 72. *daṅkhati.*
745. √DAND-
daṇḍane Dp 570, āṇāyam
īrito Dm 799, daṇḍavini-
pāte Sd 1425. *daṇḍeti*
daṇḍayati.
746. √DAD-
dada dāne Dm 215. *dadati.*
747. √DADH-
dadha dhāraṇe Sd 503.
dadhati dahati.
748. √DANDH-
dadhi asīghacāre Sd 510.
dandhati, dhandhati.
749. √DAP-
dapa hāse Dm 672, Sd
1160. *dappati.*
750. √DAPH-
dapha gatiyaṁ Sd 574.
daphati.
751. √DABH-
dabhī bhaye Sd 1560.
dabheti dabhayati.
752. ¹√DAM-
damo dame Dm 319,
damu damane Sd 1168.
dammati.
753. ²√DAM-
dama gatimhi Sd 663.
damati.
754. √DAMPH-
daphi gatiyaṁ Sd 575.
damphati.

755. √DAMB-
dabi sadde Sd 611. *dam-
bati.* (v. l. √DABB-).
756. ¹√DAMBH-
dambha ganthane Dm
310 ; Sd 642. *dambhati.*
757. ²√DAMBH-
dabhi sadde Sd 626. *dam-
bhati.*
758. √DAY-
daya dāna-gati-himsādā-
nesu Dp 230, dāna-gati-
rakkhā-himsādisu Dm
337, dāna-gati-himsā-
dāna-rakkhāsu Sd 695.
dayati.
759. ¹√DAR-
dara dāraṇe Dp 247, vidā-
raṇe Dm 361, Sd 754.
darati.
760. ²√DAR-
dara dāhe Dm 361, Sd
755. *darati.*
761. ³√DAR-
dara bhaye Sd 728. *darati.*
762. ⁴√DAR-
dara ādarānādaresu Sd
728. *darati.*
763. ¹√DAL-
dala vidāraṇe Dp 263, Sd
1610, Dm 379. *dalati,
dāleti dālayati.*
764. ²√DAL-
dala ditti-(vidāraṇe) Dm
379. *dalati.*
765. ³√DAL-
dala duggatiyaṃ Dm 380.
dalati.
766. ⁴√DAL-
dala visaraṇe Sd 759.
dalati.
767. √DALIDD-
dalida duggatiyaṃ Dp 158,
Sd 492 ; duggatimhi Dm
230. *daliddati.*
768. √DAV-
davo tu davane Dm 418,
saraṇe chedane Dm 417.
davati.
769. ¹√DAH-
daha bhasmīkaṇe Dp
332, Dm 485, Sd
1004. *dahati.*
770. ²√DAH-
daha patitṭhāyaṃ Dm
495, dhāraṇe Sd 1004.
dahati.
771. ³√DAH-
daha himsattho Sd 1041.
dahati.
772. ¹√DĀ-
dā dāne Dp 131, Dm 233,
606, 650, Sd 430, 1119.
*dadāti, deti ; āpubbo
gahaṇe Sd 430, 1119.
ādadāti, ādeti, dāyati.*
773. ²√DĀ-
dā dāve Dp 133, Dm
231.
774. ³√DĀ-
dā avakhaṇḍane Dp 403,
651, Sd 1120. *diyati.*
775. ⁴√DĀ-
dā tu supane Dm 649, Sd
1118. *dāyati.*
776. ⁵√DĀ-
dā kucchite gamane Sd
431. *dāti.*
777. ⁶√DĀ-
dā sodhane Sd 1117,
suddhiyaṃ Sd 1121.
dāyati.
778. √DĀKH-
dākha sosaṇālamatthesu
Sd 48. *dākhati.*
779. DĀGH-
dāgha āyāse ca sāmattiye
Sd 123. *dāghati.*

780. $\sqrt{\text{DĀN-}}$
dāna avakhaṇḍane Sd
534. *dānati*. kanti-gati-sattisu Sd
1110. *dibbati*.
781. $\sqrt{\text{DĀḶ-}}$
dāḷa visaraṇe Sd 1058.
dāḷati.
782. $^1\sqrt{\text{DĀS-}}$
dāsu dāne Sd 958. *dāsati*.
783. $^2\sqrt{\text{DĀS-}}$
dāsa himsāyaṃ Sd 1233.
dāsuṇāti.
784. DĀH-
dāhu niddhakkhaye Sd
1027. *dāhati*.
785. $^1\sqrt{\text{DIKKH-}}$
dikkha muṇḍiyôpanayana-
niyama-vatādesesu Dp
14; dikkho panaya-
muṇḍiya-vatādesesu ni-
yame Dm 24; muṇḍiyâ-
panayana-niyama-bbatâ-
desesu Sd 85. *dikkhati*.
786. $^2\sqrt{\text{DIKKH-}}$
dikkha himsāyaṃ Sd
1229. *dikkhuṇāti*.
787. DIC-
dica thutiyam Sd 142.
dicati (v. l. $\sqrt{\text{RIC-}}$).
788. DIP-
dipa dittiyam Dp 432,
Dm 671.
789. $\sqrt{\text{DIPH-}}$
dipha kathana-yuddha-
nindā-hims'ādānesu Sd
577. *dephati*. (v. l. $\sqrt{\text{REPH-}}$).
790. $^1\sqrt{\text{DIV-}}$
diva kīḷa-vijigimsā-vohāra-
jjuti-tthuti-gatisu Dp
389, divu. kīḷa-vijigimsa-
vohāra-jjuti-thomite Dm
622, kīḷa-vijigi(m)sā-
vyavahāra - jutithuti -
791. $^2\sqrt{\text{DIV-}}$
divu pakūjane Sd 1619.
deveti devayati.
792. $^3\sqrt{\text{DIV}}$
divu addane Sd 1620.
deveti devayati.
793. $^1\sqrt{\text{DIS-}}$
disa atisajjane Dp 303,
493; Sd 980, atisaj-
janādisu Dm 475, 572;
uccāraṇe Dp 627, uccā-
raṇādisu Dm 869; disī
uccāraṇe Sd 1668. *disati*,
deseti desayati.
794. $^2\sqrt{\text{DIS-}}$
disa pekkhane Dp 302,
Dm 455, Sd 924.
dissati.
795. $^3\sqrt{\text{DIS-}}$
disa appītiyaṃ Dp 451,
appītimhi Dm 690, sisi
appītiyaṃ Sd 976. *des-
sati*.
796. $^4\sqrt{\text{DIS-}}$
disa himsattho Sd 890.
disati.
797. $^5\sqrt{\text{DIS-}}$
disa ādāna-samvarāṇesu
Sd 957. *disati*.
798. $\sqrt{\text{DIH-}}$
diha upacaye Dp 336, Dm
500, Sd 1037. *dehati*.
799. $\sqrt{\text{DĪ-}}$
dī khaye Dp 404, Dm 648,
Sd 1122. *ḍiyati*.
800. $\sqrt{\text{DĪDH-}}$
dīdhi ditti-devānesu Sd
519. *dīdhati*.
801. $\sqrt{\text{DĪP-}}$
dīpa dittiyam Sd 1161.
dippati.

802. ¹√DU-
du paritāpe Dp 521,
paritāpe Dm 734.
803. ²√DU-
du gamane Dp 132, gati-
vuddhiyaṃ Dm 232,
gatiyaṃ Sd 432. *ḍavati*.
804. ²√DU-
du hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 1234.
ḍuṇoti, ḍuṇāti.
805. DUMH-
duhi addane Sd 1012.
du(m)hati.
806. √DUKKH-
dukkha ca takriye Dm
753, takkiriyaṃ Sd
42. *dukkhati*.
807. DUṆ-
duṇa gatiyaṃ (hiraṃsāyaṃ
ca) Sd 380. *duṇati*.
808. √DUPH-
dupha upakkilese Sd 579.
dophati.
809. DUBB-
dubbī hiraṃsattho Sd 599.
dubbati.
810. ¹√DUBH-
dubha jigiraṃsāyaṃ Dp
213, jigiraṃsane Dm 309.
811. ²√DUBH-
dubha santhambhe Sd
1561. *dubheti dubhayati*.
812. √DUMB-
dubi addane Sd 1552.
dumbeti dumbayati.
813. √DUL-
dula ukkhepane Dp 616,
ukkhepe Dm 861, Sd
1600. *doleti dolayati*.
814. ¹√DUS-
dusa appātiyaṃ Dp 452,
Sd 1118; appāte Dm
439, appātimhi Dm 691.
dussati.
815. ²√DUS-
dusa dosane Sd 1187.
dusati.
816. ¹√DUH-
duha papūraṇe Dp 338,
Dm 499, Sd 1036.
duhati (dohati).
817. ²√DUH-
duha nāse Dm 499. *duhati*
(*dohati*).
818. ¹√DŪ-
dū paritāpe Sd 1123.
dūyate.
819. ²√DŪ-
dū hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 1243.
dunāti.
820. ¹√DE-
de sodhane Sd 433.
dāyati.
821. ²√DE-
pālāne Sd 434, 1080^B.
dāyati.
822. √DEK-
deka sadd' ussāhesu Sd
18. *dekati*.
823. √DEṬ-
deṭu ca paribhāsane Sd
290. *deṭati*.
824. DEBH-
debha sadde Sd 624.
debhati.
825. ¹√DEV-
deva gamane Dp 284;
plutaḡatiyaṃ Sd 855.
devati.
826. ²√DEV-
devu devane Dm 419, Sd
847. *devati*.
827. √DES-
desu avyatte sadde Sd 938.
desati.
828. √DVAR-
dvara saṃvarāpe Sd 720.
dvarati.

DH

829. ¹√DHAMŚ-
dhamśa dhamśane Dp
320 ; padhamśane Dm
462. *dhamśati.*
830. ²√DHAMŚ-
dhamśu gatiyaṃ Sd 352.
dhamśati.
831. √DHAK-
dhaka paṭighāte gatiyaṃ ca
Sd 10. *dhakati.* (v. 1.
√THAK-).
832. √DHAKK-
dhakka nāsane Sd 1299.
dhakketi dhakkayati.
833. √DHAÑKH-
dhakhi ghoravāsīte kaṇ-
khāyaṃ ca Sd 73. *dhañ-
khati.*
834. √DHĀJ-
dhaja ca gatiyaṃ Sd 186.
dhajati.
835. √DHAÑJ-
dhañja ca gatiyaṃ Sd 187.
dhañjati.
836. ¹√DHAN-
dhana sadde Dp 594, Dm
833, Sd 525, 1517.
*dhanati, dhaneti dhana-
yati.*
837. ²√DHAN-
dhana dhaññe Sd 538.
dhañti, dhanati.
838. ³√DHAN-
dhanu yācane Sd 1135.
dhaniyyati.
839. √DHAM-
dhama sadde Dp 227,
sadd'-aggisaṃyogesu Sd
667, dhamane Dm 325.
dhamati.
840. ¹√DHAR-
dhara dhāraṇe Dp 246,
608, Dm 850, Sd 1593 ;
- dhāraṇamhi Dm 355,
dharaṇe Sd 733. *dharati,
dhāreti dhārayati.*
841. ²√DHAR-
dhara avatthāne Sd 751.
dharati.
842. ³√DHAR-
dhara aviddhamśane Sd
734. *dharati.*
843. ¹√DHAS-
dhasa pahāsane Sd 1664.
dhaseti dhasayati.
844. ²√DHAS-
dhasa uñche Sd 1645.
dhaseti dhāsayati.
845. √DHA-
dhā dhāraṇe Dp 163, Dm
241, 607, Sd 497. *da-
dhāti.*
846. √DHĀK-
dhākha sosanālamatthesu
Sd 49. *dhākhati.*
847. √DHĀV-
dhāva gatissuddhiyaṃ Dp
287, Sd 856, gamana-
vuddhimhi Dm 421.
dhāvati.
848. √DHĀL-
dhāla visaraṇe Sd 1059.
dhālati.
849. √DHIKKH-
dhikkha sandīpana-kile-
sana-jīvanesu Sd 79.
dhikkhati.
850. √DHIMH-
dhimha niṭṭhubhane Sd
1044. *dhimhati.*
851. √DHIS-
dhisa sadde Sd 979. *dhi-
sati.*
852. √DHĪ-
dhī anādare Sd 1136. *dhi-
yati.*
853. √DHU-
dhu kampane Dp 499,

- pakampāyaṃ Dm 720,
 gati-theriyesu Sd 498.
dhavati.
854. √DHUKKH-
 dhukkha sandīpana-kile-
 sana-jīvanesu Sd 78.
dhukkhati.
855. √DHUBB-
 • dhubbī hiraṃsattho Sd 600.
dhubbati.
856. √DHUM-
 dhuma saṅghāte Dm 328.
dhumati.
857. √DHUR-
 dhura hucchane Sd 723.
dhurati.
858. √DHUV-
 dhuva yātrā-thiresu Dm
 429.
859. √DHŪ-
 dhū kampane Sd 1244,
 1503, vidhūanane Sd
 499. *dhunāti, dhuvati.*
dhāveti dhāvayati.
860. ¹√DHŪP-
 dhūpa santāpe Dp 183,
 Dm 277, Sd 571.
dhūpati.
861. ²√DHŪP-
 dhūpa bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1538.
dhūpeti dhūpayati.
862. √DHŪS-
 dhūsa kantikaraṇe Sd
 1630. *dhūseti dhūsayati.*
863. √DHE-
 dhe pāne Dp 164, Dm
 251, Sd 500. *dhayati,*
dhiyati.
864. √DHEK-
 dheka sadde Sd 19. *dhe-*
kati.
865. √DHOV-
 dhova dhovane Dp 288,
- Dm 422, dhovu dhovane
 Sd 846. *dhovati.*
866. √DHOR-
 dhora gaticāturiye Sd 713.
dhorati.
- N
867. √NAKK-
 nakka nāsane Sd 1298.
nakketi nakkayati.
868. ¹√NAKKH-
 nakkha gatiyaṃ Sd 63.
nakkhati.
869. ²√NAKKH-
 nakkha sambandhe Sd.
 1315. *nakkheti nakkha-*
yati.
870. √NAKH-
 nakha gatyattho Sd 52.
nakhati.
871. √NACC-
 nacca naccane Dm 52.
naccati.
872. ¹√NAṬ-
 naṭa nāṭye Dp 87, 558,
 nacce Dm 104, 784,
 natiyaṃ Sd 265. *naṭati.*
873. ²√NAṬ-
 naṭa avassandane Sd 1375.
naṭeti naṭayati.
874. √NAT-
 nata gattavināme Sd 1116.
naccati. Cf. √NACC-
 above.
875. ¹√NAD-
 nada avyattasadde Dp
 153, Dm 223, Sd 440.
nadati.
876. ²√NAD-
 nada bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1490.
nādeti nādayati.
877. √NADD-
 nadda sadde Sd 442.
naddati.

878. √NAND-
nanda samiddhiyaṃ Dp
136, Dm 192, Sd 451. *nandati.*
879. √NANDH-
nandha vinandhane D,
537. *nandhati.*
880. √NABH-
nabhadhātu vihirisāyaṃ
Dm 546 ; hirisāyaṃ Sd
638. *nabhati.*
881. ¹√NAM-
nama namane Dp 225, Sd
669 ; name Dm 320.
namati.
882. ²√NAM-
nama bahutte sadde Sd
661. *namati.*
883. √NAMASS-
namassa vandanānatiyaṃ
Sd 873. *namassati.*
884. ¹√NAY-
naya gamanattho Dp 235.
gatiṃhi Dm 335,
(rakkhaṇe ca) gatiyaṃ
694. *nayati.*
885. ²√NAY-
naya rakkhaṇe ca Sd 694.
nayati.
886. √NAR-
nara naye Dm 368,
nayane Sd 729. *narati.*
887. √NAL-
nala gandhe Sd 814. *nalati.*
888. ¹√NAS-
nasa adassane Dp 456,
Dm 696, Sd 1193.
nassati.
889. ²√NAS-
nasa koṭille Sd 945.
nasati.
890. √NAH-
naha bandhane Dp 459,
Sd 1197 ; sajjana-
- bandhane Dm 702. *nay-
hati.*
891. √NAHĀ-
naha soceyye Dp 461,
nahā soce Dm 703.
nahāyati.
892. √NĀTH-
nātha yācanôpatāp'issari-
yāsiriṃsāsu Dp 129, Sd
129, 1081^A ; yācana-
santāpa-issērāsiriṃsanesu
Dm 185. *nāthati nā-
thate (nādhate).*
893. √NĀDH-
nādha yācanādisu Sd
508. yācanôpatāp' issa-
riyāsiriṃsāsu Sd 1081^B.
nādhati.
894. √NĀS-
nāsu sadde Sd 943.
nāsati.
895. √NĪMS-
nisi cumbane Sd 975.
ni(m)sati.
896. √NIKK-
nikka parimāṇe Sd 1305.
nikketi nikkayati.
897. √NIKKH-
nikkha cumbane S. 62.
nikkhati.
898. ¹√NIÑJ-
ni(ñ)ji suddhiyaṃ Sd
228. *niñjati.*
899. ²√NIÑJ-
niji avyatte sadde Sd 229.
niñjati. (v. 1. √SIÑJ-).
900. √NITAM-
nitami kilmane Sd 652.
nitammati.
901. √NID-
nida kucchā-sannikarisesu
Sd 486. *nidati.*
902. √NIDAMP-
nidapi nidampane Sd 567.
nidampati.

903. √NIND.
ninda garahāyaṃ Dp 137,
Dm 195 ; nidi kucchā-
yaṃ Sd 450. *nindati.*
904. NIVĀS-
nivāsa acchādane Sd 1656.
ni-vāseti.
905. ¹√NIS-
nisu secane Sd 895. *nesati.*
906. ²√NIS-
nisa samādhimihi Sd 917.
nesati.
907. ³√NIS-
nisa phaddhāyaṃ Sd 991.
nisati.
908. ¹√NĪ-
nī papāṇe Dp 362, Dm
558, Sd 521. *neti*
mayati.
909. ²√NĪ-
nī naye Sd 520. *neti*
nayati.
910. √NĪL-
nīla vaṇṇe Dp 269, Dm
381, Sd 764. * *nīlati.*
911. √NĪV-
nīva thūliye Sd 841.
nīvati.
912. √NU-
nu tthutimhi Dm 829. thu-
tiyaṃ Sd 522. *noti*
navati.
913. ¹√NUD-
nuda khepe Dp. 466, khe-
pane Dm 514. *mudati.*
914. ²√NUD-
nuda perañe Sd 494.
nudati.
915. √NED-
neda kucchā-sannikarisesu
Sd 487. *nedati.*
916. √NES-
nesu gatiyaṃ Sd 935.
nesati.
917. √NHĀ-
nhā soceyye Sd 1201.
nhāyati.
- P
918. √PĀMS-
paṃsa nāsane Dm 454 ;
pasi nāsane Sd 1625 ;
paṃsu avasāmsane Sd
950. *pāmsati, pāmsati*
pāmsayati.
919. ¹√PAC-
paca pāke Dp 40, Dm 2,
Sd 162 ; saṃpāke Sd 159
pacati.
920. ²√PAC-
paca yāte Dm 57. *pacati.*
921. ³√PAC-
paca vitthāre Dp 542, Dm
757. *paceti.*
922. ⁴√PAC-
paca klese Dm 757.
paceti.
923. ⁵√PAC-
paca vyattikaraṇe Sd 154.
pacati.
924. √PAC-
pacca saṃyamane Sd
1338. *paceti paccayati.*
925. √PAJ-
paja maggasaṃvaraṇe
gate Dm 775. *pajeti.*
926. √PAÑC-
paci vitthāre Sd 1329.
pañceti pañcayati.
927. ¹√PAÑH-
pañha pucchāyaṃ Sd
1001. *pañhati.*
928. ²√PAÑH-
pañha icchāyaṃ Sd 1002.
pañhati.
929. ¹√PAṬ-
paṭa gamanatto Dp 85,
gamane Dm 103, gati-
yaṃ Sd 273. *paṭati.*

930. ²√PAṬ-
paṭa bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1398.
pāṭayati.
931. ³√PAṬ-
paṭa ganthe Sd 1403.
paṭeti paṭayati.
932. ¹√PAṬH-
paṭha uccāraṇe Dp 99,
vyattavace Dm 126,
viyattiyaṁ vācāyaṁ Sd
303. *paṭhati.*
933. ²√PAṬH-
paṭha vikhyāne Sd 328.
paṭhati.
934. √PAN-
paṇa vyavahāra-thutisu
Dp 112, vohāra-themesu
Dm 167, vyavahāre
thutiyaṁ ca Sd 371,
vyavahāre Sd 1443.
paṇati, paṇeti paṇayati.
935. ¹√PAṆḌ-
paṇḍa liṅgavekalle Dp
104, Dm 144. *paṇḍati.*
936. ²√PAṆḌ-
paṇḍa paribhāse Dp 567,
Dm 797; paṇi up-
. paṇḍane Dm 144. *paṇ-
ḍati, paṇḍeti.*
937. ³√PAṆḌ-
paṇi gate Dm 152, gati-
yaṁ Sd 349. *paṇḍati.*
938. ⁴√PAṆḌ-
paṇi parihāse Sd 1417.
paṇḍeti paṇḍayati.
939. √PAṆN-
paṇṇa harite Sd 1442.
paṇṇeti paṇṇayati.
940. √PAT-
pata gamane Dp 123, Dm
1778; gatiyaṁ Sd 391,
1454. *patati, pateti
patayati.*
941. √PATTH-
pattha yācanāyaṁ Sd
1472. *pattheti pattha-
yati.*
942. ¹√PATH-
patha gamane Dp 124,
Dm 178; gatiyaṁ Sd
424. *pathati.*
943. ²√PATH-
patha ve Dm 186, vitthāre
Dp 478, Dm 533.
944. √PAD-
pada gamane Dp 410,
gate Dm 646, gatiyaṁ
Sd 1127, 1493. *padeti
padayati.*
945. ¹√PAN-
pana sadde Sd 524.
panati.
946. ²√PAN-
panu dāne Sd 1285.
panoti, panute.
947. √PANTH-
pantha gate Dm 191,
pathi gatiyaṁ Sd 1463.
pantheti panthayati.
948. ¹√PABB-
pabba gatiyaṁ Sd 582.
pabbati.
949. ²√PABB-
pabba pūraṇe Sd 604.
pabbati.
950. √PAY-
paya gatimhi ca Dm 333,
gatiyaṁ Sd 689. *payati.*
951. ¹√PAR-
para pālana-pūraṇesu Sd
739. *parati.*
952. ²√PAR-
para gatiyaṁ Sd 1578.
pareti parayati.
953. ¹√PAL-
pala rakkhā-gate pi ca
Dm 407. *palati.*
954. ²√PAL-
pala gate Dm 407, gati-

- yaṃ Sd 1617. *palati*, 968. √PĀL-
pāleti palayati.
 955. ³√PAL-
 pala lavana-pavanesu Sd
 1614. *pāleti pālayati*.
 956. √PALU-
 palu gamanttho Dp 257,
 palū gatyattho Dm 371.
 957. √PALUSU-
 palusu (u)padāhe Sd
 904. *palosati*.
 958. √PALL-
 palla ninne ca gamane
 Dm 394. *pallati*.
 959. ¹√PAS-
 pasa bandhane Dm 458,
 Sd 1639. *pasati*, *pāseti*
pāsayati.
 960. ²√PAS-
 pasa bādhana-phassanesu
 Sd 961. *pasati*.
 961. ³√PAS-
 pasa vitthāre Sd 953.
pasati.
 962. ¹√PĀ-
 pā pāne Dp 364, Dm
 592, Sd 541. *pāti*.
 963. ²√PĀ-
 pā rakkhaṇe Dp 365, Sd
 542, rakkhaṇamhi Dm
 591. *pāti*.
 964. ³√PĀ-
 pā pūraṇe Sd 543. *pāti*.
 965. √PĀY-
 pāya vuddhiyaṃ Dp 239,
 341; pāyī vuddhiyaṃ
 Sd 701. *pāyati*.
 966. ¹√PĀR-
 pāra sāmatthiye Dp 609^a,
 sāmatthiyādisu Dm 852.
pāreti pārāyati.
 967. ²√PĀR-
 pāra kammasam(p)atti-
 yaṃ Sd 1588. *pāreti*
pārāyati.
 969. ¹√PIṂS-
 piṃsa sañcunṇane Dp
 321, pisa cunṇane Sd
 1097. *pi(m)sati*.
 970. ²√PIṂS-
 pisi bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1649.
piṃseti piṃsayati.
 971. √PIÑCH-
 piñcha piñchane Dm 68.
piñchati.
 972. ¹√PIÑJ-
 piji himsā-bala-dāna-
 nīketanesu Sd 1350. *piñ-*
jeti piñjayati.
 973. ²√PIÑJ-
 piji bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1362.
piñjeti piñjayati.
 974. √PIṬ-
 piṭa saṅghāte Dp 97,
 Dm 120, sadda-saṅghā-
 tesu Sd 266. *peṭati*.
 975. √PIṬH-
 piṭha himsā-saṅkilesesu
 Sd 312. *peṭhati*.
 976. √PIṆḍ-
 piṇḍa saṅghāte Dp 569,
 Dm 801; piḍi saṅghāta-
 ādisu Dm 150, saṅghāte
 Sd 337, 1421. *piṇḍati*,
piṇḍeti, piṇḍayati.
 977. √PIL-
 pila khepe Sd 1605. *pīleti*.
 978. √PILAH-
 pilahi gatiyaṃ Sd 1019.
pilahati.
 979. √PILU-
 pilu gamanttho Dp 256,
 gatyattho Dm 370.
 980. √PIḶANDH-
 piḷadhi alaṅkāre Sd 513.
piḷandhati.

981. ¹√PIS-
pisa sañcunñane Dm 620.
982. ²√PIS-
pisa gamane Dp 621, pese
Dm 864, gatiyañ Sd
920, pesane Sd 1666.
pisati, peseti pesayati.
983. ³√PIS-
pisu (u)padāhe Sd 901.
pesati.
984. ⁴√PIS-
pisu avayave Sd 981.
pisati.
985. ⁵√PIS-
pisa bala-pāṇanesu Sd
1624. *piseti pisayati.*
986. √PIH-
piha icchāyañ Dp 634,
Dm 704, 878, Sd 1676.
piheti pihayati.
987. ¹√Pī-
pī tappane Dp 597, Dm
722, 838, tappana
(-kantisu) Sd 1247.
pināti.
988. ²√Pī-
pī pītiyañ Sd 1213.
piṇoti piṇāti.
989. ³√Pī-
pī (tappana)-kanti(su)
Sd 1247. *pināti.*
990. √PīṬH-
piṭha hiraṇsana-dhāraṇe
Dm 131. *piṭhati.*
991. √PīṆ-
piṇa piṇane Sd 378.
piṇati.
992. ¹√PīḶ-
piḷa bādhāyañ Dp 636,
Dm 882. *piḷeti.*
993. ²√PīḶ-
piḷa avagāhane Sd 1685.
piḷeti, piḷayati.
994. √Pīv-
pīva thūliye Sd 838.
piṇati.
995. ¹√PU-
pu pavane Dp 180, 500,
Dm 279, 721.
996. ²√PU-
pu gatiyañ Sd 1078.
pavati.
997. √PUMS-
pumisa abhimaddane Sd
1629. *pumseti pumsa-
yati.*
998. PUCCH-
puccha pucchane Dp 49,
sompucchane Dm 61,
pañhe Sd 174. *pucchati.*
999. √PUÑCH-
puñcha puñchane Dp 55,
Dm 65. *puñchati.*
1000. √PUÑJ-
puji rāsikaraṇe Sd 242.
puñjati.
1001. ¹√PUT-
puṭa bhedane Dp 560,
bhede Dm 786, vibhede
Sd 1395. *poṭeti poṭa-
yati.*
1002. ²√PUT-
puṭa sañkilesane Sd 892.
puṭati.
1003. ³√PUT-
puṭa hiraṇsāyañ Sd 1388.
poṭeti poṭayati.
1004. ⁴√PUT-
puṭa bhāṣāyañ Sd 1399.
poṭeti poṭayati.
1005. √PUTṬ-
puṭṭa appabhāva Sd 1379.
puṭṭeti puṭṭayati.
1006. √PUN-
puṇa kammani subhe Dp
475, puṇo subhakriye
Dm 527, puṇa nipuṇe
Sd 383. *pumati.*

1007. $\sqrt{\text{PUTH-}}$
puttha ādarānādaresu Sd
1464. *puttheti puttha-*
yati.
1008. $^1\sqrt{\text{PUTH-}}$
putha vitthāre Dp 477
puthu vitthāre Dm 187,
Sd 429. *pothati.*
1009. $^2\sqrt{\text{PUTH-}}$
putha bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1467.
potheti pothayati.
1010. $^3\sqrt{\text{PUTH-}}$
putha pahāre Sd 1468.
potheti pothayati.
1011. $\sqrt{\text{PUN-}}$
puna saṅghātavācī Dm
539.
1012. $\sqrt{\text{PUNTH-}}$
puthi himsā-saṅkilesesu
Sd 413. *punthati.*
1013. $\sqrt{\text{PUPPH-}}$
puppha vikasane Dp 196,
Dm 282, Sd 572. *pup-*
phati.
1014. $^1\sqrt{\text{PUBB-}}$
pubba pūraṇe Dm 292, Sd
603. *pubbati.*
1015. $^2\sqrt{\text{PUBB-}}$
pubba niketane Sd 1553.
pubbeti pubbayati.
1016. $\sqrt{\text{PUM-}}$
pumo ca dhamane Dm
326. *pumati.*
1017. $\sqrt{\text{PUR-}}$
pura aggagamane Sd 747.
purati.
1018. $^1\sqrt{\text{PUL-}}$
pula mahatte Dp 619, Dm
862, Sd. 816. *pulati,*
puleti.
1019. $^2\sqrt{\text{PUL-}}$
pula samussaye Dp 618,
Dm 862. *puleti.*
1020. $^1\sqrt{\text{PUL-}}$
pula sukhane Sd 1066.
pulati.
1021. $^2\sqrt{\text{PUL-}}$
pula saṅghāte Sd 1074.
pulati.
1022. $^1\sqrt{\text{PUS-}}$
pusa posane Dp 307, 624,
Dm 868, Sd 900, 1265
1622 ; posamhi Dm 441.
posati, pusnāti ; poseti
posayati.
1023. $^2\sqrt{\text{PUS-}}$
pusu (u)padāhe Sd 903.
posati.
1024. $^3\sqrt{\text{PUS-}}$
pusa vuddhiyaṃ Sd 876.
pusati.
1025. $^4\sqrt{\text{PUS-}}$
pusa sineha-savana-pūra-
ṇesu Sd 1264. *pusnāti.*
1026. $^5\sqrt{\text{PUS-}}$
pusa dhāraṇe Sd 1647.
poseti posayati.
1027. $\sqrt{\text{PŪ-}}$
pū pavane Sd 544, 1246.
pavati, punāti.
1028. $\sqrt{\text{PŪJ-}}$
pūja pūjāyaṃ Dp 552,
Dm 773, Sd 1253.
pūjeti pūjayati.
1029. $\sqrt{\text{PŪṄ-}}$
pūṇa saṅghāte Sd 1429.
pūṇeti pūṇayati.
1030. $\sqrt{\text{PŪY-}}$
pūyī visarāṇe duggandhe
ca Sd 697. *pūyati.*
1031. $^1\sqrt{\text{PŪR-}}$
pūra pūraṇe Dp 244, Dm
366, Sd 711. *pūراتi.*
1032. $^2\sqrt{\text{PŪR-}}$
pūrī appāyane Sd 1581.
pūreti pūrayati.

1033. √PŪL-
pūla saṅghāte Sd 770.
pūlati.
1034. √PŪS-
pūsa pasave Sd 878.
pūsati.
1035. ¹√PE-
pe gatiyaṃ Sd 545. *peti.*
1036. ²√PE-
pe vuddhiyaṃ Sd 545.
payati.
1037. ³√PE-
pe sosane Sd 547. *pāyati.*
1038. √PEL-
pela calane Dp 280,
sañcalanādisu Dm 411,
gatiyaṃ Sd 782. *pelati.*
1039. ¹√PES-
pesu gatiyaṃ Sd 921.
pesati.
1040. ²√PES-
pesa patihaṇe Sd 1623.
peseti pesayati.
1041. √POTH-
potha pariyāpanabhāve Sd
427. *pothati.*
1042. √PLAV-
plavo gate Dm 415.
plavati.
1043. √PLU-
plu gatiyaṃ Sd 1079.
plavati.
- PH
1044. √PHAKK-
phakka nīcagatiyaṃ Sd 5.
phakkati.
1045. √PHAN-
phaṇa gatiyaṃ Sd 376.
phanati.
1046. √PHAND-
phanda kiñcicalane Dp
139, phadī tu kiñcicalane
Dm 197. *phandati.*
1047. √PHAR-
phara sampharaṇe Dm
347, pharaṇe Sd 748.
pharati.
1048. ¹√PHAL-
phala nipphattiyaṃ Dp
266, Dm 378, Sd 772.
phalati.
1049. ²√PHAL-
phala avyattasaddhe Sd
774. *phalati.*
1050. ³√PHAL-
phala visaraṇe Sd 760.
phalati.
1051. ⁴√PHAL-
phala bhede Sd 773.
phalati.
1052. √PHĀL-
phala phālane Dm 880.
phāleti.
1053. √PĀY-
phāyi vuddhiyaṃ Sd 700.
phāyati.
1054. √PHĀL-
phāla vilekhane Sd 813.
phāleti phālayati.
1055. √PHUCH-
phucha visaraṇe Sd 170.
phochati.
1056. ¹√PHUṬ-
phuṭo vikaṣanādisu Dm
110, vikaṣane Sd 296.
phuṭati.
1057. ²√PHUṬ-
phuṭa visaraṇe Sd 282.
phoṭati.
1058. ³√PHUṬ-
phuṭa vibhede Sd 1396.
phoṭeti phoṭayati.
1059. √PHUṆ-
phuṇa vikiraṇe vidhunane
ca Sd 388. *phuṇati.*
1060. √PHUR-
phura calane Dp 484,

- sañcalanādisu Dm 559, 1074. $\sqrt{\text{BAL-}}$
calanādo Dm 349. bala pāṇane Dp 273, Dm
389, Sd 815. *balati*.
1061. $^1\sqrt{\text{PHUL-}}$
phula caye Dm 569. 1075. $^1\sqrt{\text{BAH-}}$
baha vuddhiyaṃ Dp 344,
Dm 506.
1062. $^2\sqrt{\text{PHUL-}}$
phula sañcale pharaṇe ca
Sd 829. *phulati*. 1076. $^2\sqrt{\text{BAH-}}$
baha sañkhyāne Dm 493.
1063. $\sqrt{\text{PHULL-}}$
phulla vikaṣane Dp 265,
vikāṣe Dm 376, vika-
sana-bhedeṣu Sd 776.
phullati. 1077. $^1\sqrt{\text{BĀDH-}}$
bādhā bādhāyaṃ Dm 236.
1064. $\sqrt{\text{PHUḬ-}}$
phula saṃvaraṇe Sd 1073.
phuḷati. 1078. $^2\sqrt{\text{BĀDH-}}$
bādhā viloḷane Sd 507.
bādhati.
1065. $\sqrt{\text{PHIUS-}}$
phusa samphasṣe Dp 494,
Sd 983; phasṣe Dm
573. *phusati*. 1079. $\sqrt{\text{BIL-}}$
bila bhede Dm 568,
bhedane Dp 489.
1066. $\sqrt{\text{PHIŪJ-}}$
phūja vajiranepphesē Sd
196. *phojati*. 1080. $\sqrt{\text{BIḬ-}}$
biḷa akkose Sd 1045.
beḷati.
1067. $\sqrt{\text{PHIEN-}}$
pheṇa gate Dm 166.
pheṇati. 1081. $\sqrt{\text{BĪL-}}$
bīla patitthambhe Sd 763.
bīlati.
- B 1082. $\sqrt{\text{BUKK-}}$
bukka bhassane Sd 9,
1306. *bukkati*, *bukkati*
bukkayati.
1068. $^1\sqrt{\text{BAMH-}}$
bahi vuddhiyaṃ Sd 1009.
ba(m)hati. 1083. $^1\sqrt{\text{BUDH-}}$
budha avagamane Dp 414,
Sd 1132, avagamanā-
disu Dm 652. *bujjhati*.
1069. $^2\sqrt{\text{BAMH-}}$
bahi sadde ca Sd 1010.
ba(m)hati. 1084. $^2\sqrt{\text{BUDH-}}$
budha bodhane Dm 242,
Sd 517, 1139. *bodhati*,
bujjhati.
1070. $\sqrt{\text{BAD-}}$
bada theriye Sd 436.
badati. 1085. $\sqrt{\text{BUND-}}$
bundi nisāne Sd 488.
bundati.
1071. $\sqrt{\text{BADH-}}$
badha ca bandhane Dm
247, Sd 1512. *badhati*,
bādheti *bādhayati*. 1086. $\sqrt{\text{BUNDH-}}$
budhi himsāyaṃ Sd 1506.
bundheti *budhayati*.
1072. $^1\sqrt{\text{BANDH-}}$
bandha ca bandhane Dm
248, Sd 509. *bandhati*. 1087. $\sqrt{\text{BEL-}}$
belu gatiyaṃ Sd 783,
belati.
1073. $^2\sqrt{\text{BANDH-}}$
bandha saṃharise Sd 505.
bandhati.

1088. ¹√BRAH-
braha vuddhiyaṃ Dp 345,
Dm 507.
1089. ²√BRAH-
braha uggame Sd 1040.
brahati.
1090. √BRŪ-
brū vacane Dp 366, vācā-
yaṃ viyattiyaṃ Dm
593, viyattiyaṃ vācā-
yaṃ Sd 709. *brūti,*
bravīti.
1091. √BRŪH-
brūha vuddhiyaṃ Dp 346,
Dm 505, vaḍḍhane Sd
1043. *brūhati.*
- BH
1092. √BHAMS-
bhaṃsu avasaṃsane Sd
951. *bhaṃsati.*
1093. √BHAKKH-
bhakkha adane Dp 17,
537, Dm 750, Sd 1314 ;
adanamhi Dm 25. *bhak-*
khati, bhakkheti bha-
kkhayati.
1094. √BHAGAND-
bhaganda secane Dm 204.
1095. ¹√BHAJ-
bhaja vibhājane Dm 776,
puṭhakkāre Dm 523 ;
bhājana (-dānesu) Sd
1371. *bhājeti bhājayati.*
1096. ²√BHAJ-
bhaja sevā (-puṭhakkāre)
Dm 523, saṃsevane
Dm 76, sevāyaṃ Dp
61, Sd 225. *bhājeti.*
1097. ³√BHAJ-
bhaja (bhājana)-dānesu
Sd 1371. *bhājeti bhāja-*
yati,
1098. ⁴√BHAJ-
bhaja viśāse Sd 1360.
bhājeti bhājayati.
1099. √BHAJJ-
bhajja pāke Dp 79, Dm
94, Sd 230. *bhajjati.*
1100. ¹√BHAÑJ-
bhañja omaddane Dp 68,
avamaddane Dm 73,
bhajjane Sd 215. *bhañ-*
jati.
1101. ²√BHAÑJ-
bhaji bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1364.
bhañjeti bhañjayati.
1102. ¹√BHAṬ-
bhaṭa bhatiyaṃ Dp 94,
Dm 114, Sd 262.
bhaṭati.
1103. ²√BHAṬ-
bhaṭa paribhāsane Sd
289. *bhaṭati.*
1104. √BHAṆ-
bhaṇa bhaṇane Dp 111,
Sd 361 ; bhāsane Dm
162, sadde Sd 358.
bhaṇati.
1105. ¹√BHAṆḍ-
bhaṇḍa paribhāse Dp 568,
Dm 798, Sd 342 ;
bhaṇḍane Dm 143.
bhaṇḍati.
1106. ²√BHAṆḍ-
bhaṇḍi kalyāṇe Sd 1424.
bhaṇḍeti bhaṇḍayati.
1107. √BHADD-
bhadda kalyāṇe Dp 143
589 ; bhadikalyāṇa-
kammani Dm 205, 823.
bhaddati.
1108. √BHAND-
bhadi kalyāṇakammani
Dm 205, 823 ; kallāṇe
sokhiye ca Sd 462.
bhandati.

1109. √BHABB-
bhabba himsāyaṃ Sd
581. *bhabbati*.
1110. √BHAM-
bhama anavaṭṭhāne Dp
219, Dm 314. *bhamati*.
1111. √BHAR-
bhara bharaṇasmim Dm
346, posane Sd 752.
bharati.
1112. √BHAL-
bhala paribhāsana-himsā
dānesu Sd 802. *bhalati*.
1113. √BHALL-
bhalla paribhāsana-himsā-
dānesu Sd 803. *bhallati*.
1114. ¹√BHAS-
bhasa bhasmikaraṇe Dp
326, Dm 452.
1115. ²√BHAS-
bhasa adhopatane Dp 455,
adhopāte Dm 695.
1116. ³√BHAS-
bhasa gahaṇe Sd 1646.
bhāseti bhāsayati.
1117. ¹√BHASS-
bhassa bhassane Sd 893,
1191; bhassana (-ditti-
su) Sd 978. *bhassati*.
1118. ²√BHASS-
bhassa (bhassana-) dittisu
Sd 978. *bhassati*.
1119. √BHĀ-
bhā dittiyaṃ Dp 367, Dm
594, Sd 613. *bhāti*.
1120. ¹√BHĀJ-
bhāja puthakkāre Dm 777,
puthakammani Sd 1366.
bhājeti bhājayati.
1121. ²√BHĀJ-
bhāja dittiyaṃ Sd 218,
223. *bhājeti*.
1122. √BHĀM-
bhāma kodhe Sd 668,
1570. *bhāmati, bhāmeti
bhāmoyati*.
1123. ¹√BHĀS-
bhāsa vacane Dp 317,
vācāyaṃ Dm 467,
vyattāyaṃ vācāyaṃ Sd
931. *bhāsati*.
1124. ²√BHĀS-
bhāsa dittiyaṃ Dm 467,
bhāsu dittiyaṃ Sd 942.
bhāsati.
1125. √BHIMS-
bhisi bhaye Sd 946.
bhimsati.
1126. √BHIKKH-
bhikkha yāce Dp 13, Dm
26, yācane Sd 83.
bhikkhati.
1127. √BHID-
bhida vidāraṇe Dp 381,
405, Dm 616, 644,
bhijjane Sd 1124.
bhijjati.
1128. √BHIND-
bhidi vidāraṇe Sd 1089.
bhindati.
1129. √BHĪ-
bhī bhaye Dp 203, Dm
300, Sd 614. *bhāyati*.
1130. ¹√BHUIJ-
bhuija pālan' ajjhohāresu
Dp 319, pālana-bhojane
Dm 613, pālanābhya-
vahaṇesu Sd 1087.
bhuñjati.
1131. ²√BHUIJ-
bhuija koṭīlye Dp 470,
koṭīlle Dm 521, koṭīlle,
ā-vi-pubbo aññatthesu
ca Sd 234. *bhujati*.
1132. √BHUNḌ-
bhunḍi bharaṇe Sd 345.
bhunḍati.
1133. ¹√BHŪ-
bhū sattāyaṃ Dp 1, 353,

- Dm 1, 573, Sd 1,
1075^B. *bhoti bhavati.*
1134. ²√BHŪ-
bhū pattiyam Sd 1555.
bhāveti bhāvayati.
1135. ³√BHŪ-
bhū avakampane Sd 1556.
bhāveti bhāvayati.
1136. √BHŪN-
bhūṇa bhāsāyam Sd 1435.
bhūṇeti bhūṇayati.
1137. √BHŪS-
bhūsa alaṅkāre Dp 315,
623, Dm 468, 865, Sd
880, 1642. *bhūsati*
bhūseti bhūsayati.
1138. √BHEJ-
bheja dittiyam Sd 217.
bhejati.
1139. √BHES-
bhesu calane Sd 960.
bhesati.
- M**
1140. ¹√MAKKH-
makkha makkhane Dp
538, Dm 749, Sd 1316.
makkhati makkhayati.
1141. ²√MAKKH-
makkha saṅkhāte Sd 65.
makkhati.
1142. √MAKH-
makha gatyattho Sd 53.
makhati.
1143. √MAG-
maga anvesane Dp 540,
Sd 1322 ; esane Dm 31,
gavesane Dm 755.
magati.
1144. √MAGG-
magga anvesane Dp 21,
541 ; gavesane Dm 756,
Sd 1323: *maggeti*
maggayati.
1145. √MAṆK-
maki maṇḍane Dm 13, Sd
23. *maṅkati.*
1146. √MAṆKH-
makhi kaṅkhāyam Sd 70.
maṅkhati.
1147. ¹√MAṆG-
maṅga maṅgalye Dp 24.
maṅgati.
1148. ²√MAṆG-
magi gamane ca gatiyam
Sd 97. *maṅgati.*
1149. √MAṆGH-
maghi ketave ca gatiya-
kkhepe Sd 120. *maṅ-*
ghati.
1150. ¹√MAC-
maca rocane Dm 53,
macati.
1151. ²√MAC-
maca kakkane Sd 151.
macati.
1152. √MAJJ-
majja saṁsuddhiyam Dp
71, Dm 84, Sd 227,
suddhiyam Dm 635 ;
soceyyālaṅkāresu Sd
1370. *majjati, majjeti*
majjayati.
1153. ¹√MAṆC-
maci dhāraṇe Dm 60,
dhāraṇ' ucchāya-pujane-
su Sd 153. *maṇcati.*
1154. ²√MAṆC-
maṇcu gatiyam Sd 133.
maṇcati.
1155. ¹√MATH-
maṭha nivāse Sd 305.
maṭhati.
1156. ²√MATH-
maṭha soke Sd 323.
maṭhati.
1157. ¹√MAN-
maṇa saddattho Dp 116,
sadde Dm 172, Sd 359,
maṇati,

1158. ²√MAN-
maṇa' cāge Sd 387.
maṇati.
1159. ¹√MANḍ-
maṇḍa bhūsane Dp 103,
bhūsāyaṃ Dp 566,
vibhūsane Dm 141 ;
maḍi bhūsane Dm 796,
bhūsāyaṃ hasane ca Sd
1423. *maṇḍeti maṇḍ-
ayati ; maṇḍati.*
1160. ²√MANḍ-
maḍi veṭhane Sd 341.
maṇḍati.
1161. ³√MANḍ-
maḍi majjane Sd 343.
maṇḍati.
1162. √MATTH-
mattha viloṭane Sd 411.
matthati.
1163. √MATH-
matha viloṭane Dp 126,
viloṭane Dm 183, vilo-
thane Sd 426. *mathati.*
1164. ¹√MAD-
mada ummāde Dp 412,
Dm 642, Sd 1129,
santose Dm 210. *maj-
jati.*
1165. ²√MAD-
mada vittiyoḡe Sd 1484.
madeti. madayati.
1166. √MADD-
madda maddane Dp 156,
Dm 211, Sd 477.
maddati.
1167. MADH-
madhu unde Sd 516.
madhati.
1168. ¹√MAN-
mana ṇāṇe Dp 427, Dm
663, Sd 1152. *maṇṇati.*
1169. ²√MAN-
mana bodhane Dp 524 ;
manu bodhasmim Dm
- 737, bodhane Sd 1286.
manoti, manute.
1170. ³√MAN-
mana abbhāse Sd 529.
manati.
1171. ⁴√MAN-
mana thambhe Sd 1514.
māneti mānayati.
1172. √MANT-
manta guttabhāsane Dp
578, Sd 1446 ; guttabhā-
sana-janane Dm 810.
manteti mantayati.
1173. √MANTH-
mantha viloṭane Dp 127,
Sd 410, viloṭane Dm
184. *manthati.*
1174. ¹√MAND-
madi balye Dm 208.
mandati.
1175. ²√MAND-
madi thuti-moda-mada-
supana-gatisu Sd 463.
mandati.
1176. √MABB-
mabba gatiyaṃ Sd 584.
mabbati.
1177. √MABBH-
mabbha gatiyaṃ Sd 620.
mabbhati.
1178. √MAY-
maya gamanttho Dp 233,
gatimhi Dm 334, gati-
yaṃ Sd 690. *mayati.*
1179. √MAR-
mara pāṇaccāge Dp 245,
pāṇaccāge Dm 557, Sd
750. *marati.*
1180. √MARIS-
marisu sahane secane ca
Sd 899, titikkhāyaṃ
Sd 1665. *marisati, mari-
seti marisayati.*

1181. $\sqrt{\text{MAL-}}$
mala dhāraṇe Dm 395, Sd
800. *malati*.
1182. $\sqrt{\text{MALL-}}$
malla dhāraṇe Dm 396,
Sd 801. *mallati*.
1183. $^1\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masu macchere Dm 444.
1184. $^2\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa āmasane Dp 305,
Dm 436, Sd 988. *masati*.
1185. $^3\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa himsattho Sd 889.
masati.
1186. $^4\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa sadde (rose ca) Sd
919. *masati*.
1187. $^5\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa (sadde) rose ca Sd
919. *masati*.
1188. $^6\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa appībhāve Sd 1184.
massati.
1189. $^7\sqrt{\text{MAS-}}$
masa khamāyaṇi ca Sd
1184. *massati*.
1190. $^1\sqrt{\text{MAH-}}$
maha pūjāyaṇi Dp 331,
635 ; Dm 486, 877 ; Sd
1014, 1675. *mahati*.
maheti mahayati.
1191. $^2\sqrt{\text{MAH-}}$
maha sattāyaṇi Dm 432.
mahati.
1192. $^3\sqrt{\text{MAH-}}$
maha vuddhiyaṇi Sd
1017. *mahati*.
1193. $^1\sqrt{\text{MĀ-}}$
mā pamāṇe Dm 595, 723,
parimāṇe Sd 1248,
1288, māne Sd 647.
mināti, minoti, māti.
1194. $^2\sqrt{\text{MĀ-}}$
mā sadde Sd 647. *māti*.
1195. $^1\sqrt{\text{MAN-}}$
māna pūjāyaṇi Dp 593,
Dm 253, 828, Sd 1513.
māneti mānayati,
* *mānati*.
1196. $^2\sqrt{\text{MAN-}}$
māna pemane Sd 1513.
māneti mānayati.
1197. $^3\sqrt{\text{MĀN-}}$
māna vīmaṇsāyaṇi Sd
530, 1513. *vīmaṇsati*.
māneti mānayati.
1198. $\sqrt{\text{MĀP-}}$
māpa māpane Sd 1546.
māpeti māpayati.
1199. $\sqrt{\text{MĀH-}}$
māhū māne Sd 1033.
māhati.
1200. $^3\sqrt{\text{MI-}}$
mi hīmsāyaṇi Dp 502, Sd
1249 ; hīmsane Dm 725.
mināti.
1201. $^2\sqrt{\text{MI-}}$
mi pamāṇe Dm 726. *min-
āti*.
1202. $^3\sqrt{\text{MI}}$
mi pakkhepane Sd 1218.
minoti.
1203. $\sqrt{\text{MIN-}}$
miṇa hīmsāyaṇi Sd 379.
mināti.
1204. $^1\sqrt{\text{MID-}}$
mīda snehane Dp 160, 413;
sinehane Dm 228, 641 ;
snehe Sd 474, sinehane
Sd 1130, 1480. *medati*,
*mijjati, medeti me-
dayati*.
1205. $\sqrt{\text{MID-}}$
mīda medhā-hīmsāsu Sd
484 *midati*.
1206. $\sqrt{\text{MIDH-}}$
midha hīmsane Dm 536.

1207. ¹√MIL-
mila gahane Sd 827. *mil-
ati.*
1208. ²√MIL-
mila sinehane Sd 828.
milati.
1209. √MILĀ-
milā gattavināme Dp 440,
Dm 679. *milāyati.*
1210. √MILE-
mile gattavināme Sd 795.
milāyati.
1211. √MILECH-
milecha aviyattāyaṃ vācā-
yaṃ Sd 165. avyattāyaṃ
vācāyaṃ Sd 1344. *milac-
chati, (milecchati),
milecheti milicchayati.*
1212. √MILEṬ-
mileṭu ummāde Sd 252.
mileṭati.
1213. √MILEV-
milevu secane Sd 854.
milevati.
1214. ¹√MIS-
misa milane Dm 479.
1215. ²√MIS-
misu secane Sd 897. *mesati.*
1216. ³√MIS-
misa sadde Sd 918. *mesati.*
1217. ⁴√MIS-
misa rose ca Sd 918.
mesati.
1218. ⁶√MIS-
misa sajjane Sd 1658.
meseti mesayati.
1219. √MISS-
missa sammisse Dp 631,
Dm 674, Sd 1662.
misseti missayati.
1220. ¹√MIH-
miha secane Dp 342, Dm
503, Sd 1003. *mihati.*
1221. ²√MIH-
miha isahasane Dp 328.
1222. √MĪM-
mīma gatimhi Sd 665.
māmati.
1223. √MĪL-
mīla nimīlane Dp 267,
614; Dm 382, 857;
nimelane Sd 762,
nim(m)ilane Sd 1602.
mālati, māleti mālayati.
1224. √MĪV-
mīva thūliye Sd 839.
māvati.
1225. √MU-
mu bandhane Dp 503, Dm
324; bandhe Dm 727.
1226. ¹√MUC-
muca mocane Dp 376, Dm
609, Sd 1083, moce Dm
631, ppamocane Dm
765. *muñcati, moceti.*
1227. ²√MUC-
muca mukkhe Sd 1105.
muccati.
1228. √MUCCH-
muccha mohe Dp 50;
mohasmīṃ Dm 62;
moha-mucchāsu Sd 169.
mucchati.
1229. √MUJJ-
mujja mujjane Dp 70, Dm
83, osīdane Sd 240.
mujjati.
1230. √MUÑC-
muci kakkane Sd 152.
muñcati.
1231. √MUÑJ-
muji saddattho Sd 210.
muñjati.
1232. ¹√MUT-
muṭa maddane Dm 125,
pamaddane Sd 277.
moṭati.
1233. ²√MUT-
muṭa aggisadda-pakkhepa-

- maddanesu Sd 297. 1247. ²√MUS-
muṭati. musa sammose Dm 437.
1234. ³√MUT- 1248. ¹√MUH-
muṭa sañcūṇane Sd 1381. muha mucchāyaṇ Dp 343,
moṭeti moṭayati. Dm 491.
1235. √MUN- 1249. ²√MUH-
muṇa paṭiññāṇe Sd 384. muha vette Dp 460, Dm
muṇati. 701, Sd 1198. muyhati.
1236. √MUNḍ- 1250. √MŪ-
muṇḍa khaṇḍane Dp 106 ; mū bandhane Dp 216, Sd
muḍi kaṇḍane Dm 145, 648, 1250. mavati,
Sd 332. muṇḍati. munāti.
1237. √MUTT- 1251. ¹√MŪL-
mutta pa(s)savane Sd mūla paṭiṭṭhāyaṇ Dm 391,
1459. mutteti muttayati. Sd 771. mūlati.
1238. MUTTH- 1252. ²√MŪL-
muttha saṅghāte Sd 1465. mūla rothane Dm 859, Sd
muttheti mutthayati. 1603. mūleti mūlayati.
1239. ¹√MUD- 1253. ³√MŪL-
muda tose Dp 146, santose mūla lavana-plavanesu Sd
Dm 209, hasse Sd 464. 1615. mūleti mūlayati.
1240. ²√MUD- 1254. √ME-
muda saṁsagge Sd 1489. me paṭidāna-ādānesu Sd
modeti modayati. 649. meti, mayati.
1241. ¹√MUN- 1255. MEṬ-
muna ñāṇe Dm 589, Sd meṭu ummāde Sd 251.
1245. munāti. meṭati.
1242. ²√MUN- 1256. √MENḍ-
muna gatiyaṇ Sd 539. meḍi koṭille Dm 156.
munati. menḍeti.
1243. √MUBB- 1257. MED-
mubbī bandhane Sd 601. meda medhā-hiṁsāsu Sd
mubbati. 485. medati.
1244. √MUR- 1258. √MEDH-
mura saṁveṭthane Sd 745. medha hiṁsāyaṇ saṅgame
murati. ca Sd 514. medhati.
1245. √MUḶ- 1259. MEV-
muḷa sukhane Sd 1067. mev secane Sd 853.
muḷati. mevati.
1246. ¹√MUS- 1260. ¹√MOKKH-
musa theyye Dp 491, 574, mokkha mocane Dp 539,
Sd 877, 1266. musati, moce Dm 751, muccane
musnāti. Sd 43. mokkhati.

1261. ²√MOKKH-
mokkha asane Sd 1319.
mokkheti mokkhayati.
1262. √MHI-
mhi isamhasane Sd 996.
mhayati.
- Y
1263. √YAKKH-
yakkha pūjāyaṃ Sd 1317.
yakkheti yakkhayati.
1264. √YAJ-
yaja devapūjā-saṅgati-
karaṇa-dānesu Dp 62,
devaccane dānasāṅgati-
karaṇesu Dm 79, deva-
pūjā - saṅgatikaraṇa -
dānadhammesu Sd 226.
yajati.
1265. ¹√YAT-
yata yatane Dp 121, pati-
yatane Dm 175, Sd 396.
yatati.
1266. ²√YAT-
yata niyyātane Dp 580,
Dm 813, *yateti.*
1267. ³√YAT-
yata nikārōpakāresu Sd
1452. *yateti yatayati.*
1268. √YANT-
yanta saṅkoce Dm 809 Sd
1447. *yanteti yanatāyati.*
1269. √YAP-
yapa yāpane Sd 1547.
yāpeti yāpayati.
1270. √YABH-
yabha methune Dp 215,
Dm 308, Sd 621.
yabhati.
1271. ¹√YAM-
yama uparame Dp 226,
yamu uparame Dm 322,
Sd 660. *yamati.*
1272. ²√YAM-
yama parivesane Sd 672.
yamati.
1273. ²√YAM-
yama aparivesane Sd 1566.
yamati yamayati.
1274. √YAS-
yasa payatane Dp 454,
yasu ppayatane Dm 692,
Sd 1190. *yassati.*
1275. √YĀ-
yā pāpuṇane Dp 368, Dm
596, gati-pāpuṇesu Sd
680, 1169. *yāti yāyati.*
1276. √YĀC-
yāca yācane Dp 38, Dm
43, yācanāyaṃ Sd 161.
yācati.
1277. ¹√YU-
yu missane Dm 338, mis-
sane gatiyaṃ ca Sd 682.
yoli, yavati.
1278. ²√YU-
yu jigucchāyaṃ Sd 1575.
yāveti yāvayati.
1279. √YUṆG-
yugi vajjane Sd 103. *yuni-
gati.*
1280. √YUCH-
yucha pamāde Sd 171.
yucchati.
1281. ¹√YUJ-
yujo samādhimhi Dm 636,
Sd 1109. *yujjati.*
1282. ²√YUJ-
yuja saṅgamane Dp 550,
saṅyamane Dm 772,
Sd 1369. *yojati yojayati.*
1283. ³√YUJ-
yuja yoge Dp 378, Dm 612,
Sd 1086. *yujjati.*
1284. √YUṆJ-
yufja samādhimhi Dp
399. *yufjati.*

1285. √YUṬ-
yuta saṁsagge Sd 1408.
yoṭeti yoṭayati.
1286. √YUT-
yuta bhāsane Sd 397.
yotati.
1287. √YUDH-
yudha yujjhane Dm 653 ;
samphāre Dp 415, Dm
244, Sd 518, 1137.
yodhati, yujjhati.
1288. √YŪS-
yūsa hiraṁsattho Sd 892.
yūsati.
1289. √YES-
yesu payatane Sd 933.
yesati.
1290. √YOṬ-
yoṭu sambandhe Sd 250.
yoṭati.

R

1291. RAMH-
rahi gatiyaṁ Sd 1007.
ra(m)hati.
1292. √RAKKH-
rakkha pālāne Dp 18,
Sd 60 ; rakkhaṇaṁhi
Dm 27. *rakkhati.*
1293. √RAKH-
rakha gatyattho Sd 54.
rakhati.
1294. √RAŅKH-
rakhi gatyattho Sd 56.
raṅkhati.
1295. ¹√RANG-
raṅga gamanattho Dp 27,
raḡi gamne ca gatiyaṁ
Sd 93. *raṅgati.*
1296. ²√RANG-
raṅga saṅkāyaṁ Sd 105.
raṅgati.
1297. √RANGH-
raghi gatyakkhepe Sd 118.
raṅghati.

1298. √RAC-
raca patiyatane Dp 546,
Dm 762, Sd 1336. *raceti*
racayati.
1299. ¹√RAŅJ-
rañja rāge Dp 66, 398, Dm
72, 633, Sd 224, 1110.
rañjati, rajjati.
1300. ²√RAŅJ-
raji vijjhane Sd 235.
rañjati.
1301. √RAṬ-
raṭa paribhāsane Dp 86,
Dm 105, *raṭati.*
1302. √RAṬH-
raṭha paribhāsane Sd 307.
raṭhati.
1303. ¹√RAN-
raṇa saddattho Dp 115,
sadde Dm 170, Sd 356.
raṇati.
1304. ²√RAN-
raṇa gatiyaṁ Sd 373.
raṇati.
1305. √RANḍ-
raṇi hiraṁsāyaṁ Dm 148.
raṇḍati.
1306. ¹√RAD-
rada vilekhane Dp 159,
Dm 220, Sd 439. *radati.*
1307. ²√RAD-
rada bhakkhaṇe Dm 224.
radati.
1308. √RADH-
radha hiraṁsāyaṁ Sd 1141.
rajjhati.
1309. √RANDH-
randha pāke Dm 827, Sd
1502. *randheti randh-*
yati.
1310. √RAP-
rapa vacane Dp 187, vākya
Dm 266. *rapati.*

1311. ¹√RABH-
rabha ārambhe Dp 205,
Dm 301.
1312. ²√RABH-
rabha rābhasse Dm 301 ;
rābhasse, ā-pubbo himsā-
karaṇa-vāyamanesu Sd
634. *rabhati*.
1313. √RAM-
rama kīlāyaṃ Dp 224,
ramu kīlāyaṃ Dm 318,
Sd 678. *ramati*.
1314. √RAMB-
ramba avasāmsane Dp
198 ; rabi avasāmsane
Dm 283. *rambati*.
1315. √RAY-
raya gamanattho Dp 234,
gatimhi Dm 336, gati-
yaṃ Sd 693. *rayati*.
1316. ¹√RAS-
rasa snehe Dm 871,
snehane Dp 629, sine-
hane Sd 1660, sinehe Sd
914. *rasati*, *raseti rasa-*
yati.
1317. ²√RAS-
rasa assādane Dp 325,
629, Sd 913, 1659 ;
assāde Dm 871, 451, Sd
914. *rasati*, *raseti rasa-*
yati.
1318. ²√RAS-
rasa rave Dm 871, sadde
Sd 912. *rasati*.
1319. ⁴√RAS-
rasa hāniyaṃ Sd 915.
rasati.
1320. √RAH-
raha cāge Dp 339, 632 ;
cāgasmim Dm 490 ; cāge
Dm 876, Sd 1006, 1673.
rahati, *raheti rahayati*.
1321. √RAHAD-
rahada avyattasadde Sd
471. *rahadati*.
1322. √RĀ-
rā ādāne Dp 369, Dm
597, Sd 704, 1080^p.
rāti.
1323. √RĀKH-
rākha sosanālamatthesu
Sd 46. *rākhati*.
1324. √RĀGH-
rāgha sāmattiye Sd 121.
rāghati.
1325. RĀJ-
rāja dittiyaṃ Dp 60, Dm
69, Sd 222. *rājati*.
1326. ¹√RĀDH-
rādha saṃsiddhiyaṃ Dp
420, Sd 1142, 1211 ;
siddhiyaṃ Dm 656.
rādhayati, *rādhunāti*.
1327. ²√RĀDH-
rādha himsāyaṃ Dp 424,
Dm 246, 656.
1328. √RĀS-
rāsu sadde Sd 944. *rāsati*.
1329. ¹√RI-
ri santatismim Dm 351,
santāne Sd 705. *reti*.
1330. ²√RI-
ri vasane Sd 1170. *riyati*.
1331. √RĪNKH-
rikhi gatyattho Sd 59.
rīnkhati.
1332. √RĪNĠ-
rigi gatyatthadhātu Dm
34, gamane ca gatiyaṃ
Sd 39. *ringati*.
1333. ¹√RIC-
rica virecane Dp 396, Sd
1084 ; recane Dm 610,
kkharaṇe Dm 517.
rīñcati.

1334. ²√RIC-
rica viyojana-sampacca-
nesu Sd 1339. *receti*
recayati.
1335. √RIŃC-
riñca riñcane Dp 44.
riñcati.
1336. ¹√RIS-
risa hiṃsāyaṃ Sd 985.
risati.
1337. ²√RIS-
risa gatiyaṃ Sd 986. *resati.*
1338. √RĪ-
rī gati-desanesu Sd 1251.
riñāti.
1339. ²√RU-
ru sadde Dm 353, Dp
240, Sd 707, 107^a. *roti.*
1340. ¹√RU-
ru gate Dm 352, gatiyaṃ
Sd 706. *ravati.*
1341. ³√RU-
ru rosane ca Sd 706.
ravati.
1342. ⁴√RU-
ru upatāpe Sd 1210.
ruṇoti, ruṇāti.
1343. ¹√RUKKH-
rukkha varaṇe Sd 80.
rukkhati.
1344. ²√RUKKH-
rukkha phārusse Sd 1320.
rukkheti rukkhayati.
1345. ¹√RUC-
ruca dittiyaṃ Dp 37, Dm
44, Sd 158, 1080^k.
rocati.
1346. ²√RUC-
ruca rocane Dp 395, Dm
629, 764, Sd 158, 1104.
rocati, ruccati.
1347. ²√RUJ-
ruja bhaṅge Dp 469, Sd
233. *rujati.*
1348. ²√RUJ-
ruja roge Dm 524.
1349. ³√RUJ-
ruja hiṃsāyaṃ Sd 1365.
rojati. rojayati.
1350. √RUṬ-
ruṭa paṭighāte Sd 285.
roṭati.
1351. √RUTH-
ruṭha upaghāte 473, Sd
310, paghāte Dm 135.
roṭhati.
1352. √RUNṬ-
ruṭi theyye Sd 280.
ruṇṭati.
1353. √RUNTH-
ruṭhi gatiyaṃ Sd 318.
ruṇṭhati.
1354. √RUD-
ruda rodane Dp 144 ; rudi
assuvimocane Dm 216 ;
ruda assuvimocane Sd
491. *rodati, rudati.*
1355. √RUDH-
rudha āvaraṇe Dp 425 ;
rudhi āvaraṇe Dp
375, Dm 608, Sd 1082,
1147 ; āvaraṇādisu Dm
662. *rundhati, rujjhati*
1356. ¹√RUP-
rupa nāse Dm 670.
1357. ²√RUP-
rupa pakāse Dm 670.
1358. ³√RUP
rupa ropanādisu Dm 837.
1359. √RUMBH-
rumbha uppālanādisu Dm
547 ; rubhi nivāraṇe Sd
643. *rumbhati.*
1360. ¹√RUS-
rusa rose Dp 306, 450,
Dm 689 ; rosane Sd
1631. *roseti rosayati.*
1361. ²√RUS-
rusa ālepe Dm 442.

1362. ²√RUS-
rusa pārusiye Dp 626, Dm
866. *roseti rosayati.*
1363. ⁴√RUS-
rusa hirīsāyaṃ Dm 443,
Sd 984. *rosati.*
1364. √RUH-
ruha janane Dp 334, sañja-
nane Dm 496, cammani
pātubhave Sd 1032.
rūhati.
1365. √RŪP-
rūpa ruppāne Sd 1156, rū-
pakiriyaṃ Sd 1523.
*ruppati, rūpeti, rūpa-
yati.*
1366. √RE-
re sadde Sd 708.1076^E.
rāyati.
1367. √REK-
reka saṅkāyaṃ Sd 20.
rekati.
1368. √ROḶ-
roḷa anāḍare Sd. 1053.
roḷati.
1369. √ROS-
rosa bhaye Sd. 959. *rosati.*
- L
1370. √LAK-
laka assāḍane Sd. 1308.
laketi lakayati.
1371. ¹√LAKKH-
lakkha lakkhaṇe dassane
ca Dp 536; dassana-
aṅkesu Dm 748, Sd
1313. *lakkheti lakkha-
yati.*
1372. ²√LAKKH-
lakkha ālocane Sd 1318.
lakkheti lakkhayati.
1373. √LAKH-
lakha gatyattho Sd 55.
lakhati.
1374. √LAG-
laga saṅge Dp 23, Dm 30,
saṅge ca saṅkāyaṃ Sd
106. *lagati.*
1375. √LAŒKH-
lakhi gatyatthe Sd 57.
laṅkhati.
1376. √LAŒG-
laṅga gamanattho Dp 28,
lagi gamane ca gatiyaṃ
Sd 94. *laṅgati.*
1377. √LAŒGH-
laṅgha gati-sosanesu Dp
33, gatyattho Sd 1076^c;
laghi sosagatisu ca Dm
41. *laṅghati.*
1378. ²√LAŒGH-
laghi gatyakkhepe Sd 119.
laṅghati.
1379. ³√LAŒGH-
laghi bhāsane Sd 1324.
laṅgheti laṅghayati.
1380. ⁴√LAŒGH
laṅgha laṅghane Sd 1325.
laṅgheti laṅghayati.
1381. ⁴√LAJ-
laja bhassane Sd 200.
lajati.
1382. ²√LAJ-
laja pakāsane Sd 1368.
lajeti lajayati.
1383. √LAJJ-
lajja lajjane Dp 72, Dm
85, Sd 237. *lajjati.*
1384. √LAŒCH-
laṅcha lakkhaṇe Dp 54,
Dm 63. *laṅchati.*
1385. √LAŒJ-
laji dittiyaṃ ca bhassane
Sd 203. *laṅjati.*
1386. √LAṬ-
laṭa bālye ca paribhāsane
Sd 255. *laṭati.*
1387. ¹√LAND-
laḍi jiguchhane Dn 155,

- jivhāmāthane Sd 352. 1399. ²√LAS-
laṇḍati. lasa silyayoge Sd 1641.
lāseti lāsayati.
1388. ²√LAND-
laḍi ukkhepe Sd 1418. 1400. √LĀ-
laṇḍeti laṇḍayati. lā ādāne Dp 370, Dm
598, Sd 758, 1080^a.
lāti.
1389. √LAP-
lapa vākye Dm 267, 835 ;
vacane Dp 188, 599 ;
viyattiyam vācāyam
Sd 1521. *lapati, lapeti*
lapayati. 1401. √LĀKH-
lākha sosanālamatthesu
Sd 47. *lākhati.*
1390. ¹√LABH-
labha lābhe Dp 204, Dm
297, 673, Sd 635. 1402. √LĀGH-
lāgha sāmattiye Sd 122.
lāghati.
1391. ²√LABH-
labha ābhaṇḍane Sd 1557. 1403. √LĀJ-
labheti labhayati. lāja bhassane Sd 201.
lājati.
1392. √LAMB-
lamba avasāmsane Dp
199, laby avasāmsane
Dm 284, Sd 612. 1404. √LĀBH-
lābha pesane Sd 1559.
lābheti lābhayati.
1393. √LAMBH-
labhi vañcane Dm 840. 1405. √LIKH-
lambheti. likha lekhane Dp 467,
Dm 515, Sd 77. *likhati.*
1394. √LAL-
lala icchāyam Dp 620,
Dm 860, Sd 1609. 1406. ¹√LING-
ligi gatyatthodhātu Dm
35 ; gamane ca gatiyam
Sd 100. *liṅgati.*
1395. ¹√LAL-
lala vilāse Dp 351,
Dm 312, Sd 1048. 1407. ²√LIṆG-
liṅga cittakriyādisu Dm
754, cittakaraṇe Sd
1321. *liṅgeti liṅgayati.*
1396. ²√LAL-
lala upasevāyam Dp 639,
Dm 884, Sd 1636. *lāleti*
lālayati. 1408. √LIP-
lipa limpane Dp 385, Dm
619, upalepe Sd 564.
lepati.
1397. ²√LAS-
lasa kantiyam Dp 324, Sd
962, kantiyatthe Dm
450. *lasati.* 1409. √LIMP-
lipa limpane Sd 1095.
limpati.
1398. ²√LAS-
lasa silesane-kīlānesu Sd
916. *lasati* 1410. √LIS-
lisa lese Dp 444, Dm 683,
appībhāve Sd 1185.
lissati.
1411. √LIH-
liha assādane Dp 335, Sd
1038 ; assāde Dm 489.
lehati.

1412. √LI-
li silesana-dravikaraṇesu
Dp 441, silese dravikāre
Dm 681, silese Sd 1252.
lināti.
1413. √LU-
lu cchedane Dp 504, pac-
chede Dm 728.
1414. √LUJ-
luja vināse Dp 400, Dm
637, Sd 1112. *lujjati.*
1415. LUÑC-
luñca apanayane Dp 43,
Dm 57, Sd 128. *luñcati.*
1416. √LUÑJ-
luji bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1363.
luñjati luñjayati.
1417. ¹√LUṬ-
luṭa loṭane Dm 117, vilo-
ṭane Sd 269. *loṭati*
1418. ²√LUṬ-
luṭa paṭighāte Sd 286.
loṭati.
1419. ³√LUṬ-
luṭa bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1400.
loṭeti loṭayati.
1420. ¹√LUṬH-
luṭha upaghāte Dp 474,
Dm 136, Sd 311, pati-
ghāte Sd 327. *loṭhati.*
1421. ²√LUṬH-
luṭha saṅkilese Sd 329.
loṭhati.
1422. √LUNṬ-
luṭi theyye Sd 281, 1391.
luṇṭati, luṇṭeti luṇṭaya-
ti.
1423. ¹√LUNṬH-
luṭhi ālasiye ca gati-pati-
ghāte Sd 316. *luṇṭhati.*
1424. ²√LUNṬH-
luṭhi gatiyaṃ Sd 319.
luṇṭhati.
1425. √LUNTH-
luthi hiraṣā-saṅkilesesu Sd
414. *lunthati.*
1426. ¹√LUP-
lupa cchedane Dp 386,
433 ; cchede Dm 618,
669 ; vināse Dm 618 ;
acchedane Sd 1096.
lumpati.
1427. ²√LUP-
lupa adassane Sd 1162.
luppati.
1428. ¹√LUBH-
lubha lābhe Dp 434,
gedhe Dm 674, giddhi-
yaṃ Sd 1164. *lubbhati.*
1429. ²√LUBH-
lubha vimohane Sd 641.
lobhati.
1430. √LUMB-
lubi addane Sd 593, 1551.
lumbati, lumbeti, lumba-
yati.
1431. √LUḌ-
luḍa mathane Dm 510.
1432. √LŪ-
lū chedane Sd 1255 *lunāti.*
1433. √LŪS-
lūsa hiraṣāyaṃ Sd 1628.
lūseti lūsayati.
1434. ¹√LOK-
loka dassane Dp 531, Dm
744, Sd 16m 1292.
lokati, loketi lokayati.
1435. ²√LOK-
loka bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1310.
loketi lokayati.
1436. ¹√LOC-
loca dassane Dp 532, Dm
766, Sd 147, 1327.
locati, loceti locayati.
1437. ²√LOC-
loca bhāsāyaṃ Sd 1335.
loceti locayati.

1438. $\sqrt{\text{LOḶ-}}$
loḷa ummāde Sd 1054.
loḷati.
- Ḷ
1439. $\sqrt{\text{Ḷi-}}$
ḷākāsagamane Dp 361,
Dm 586.
- V
1440. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAK-}}$
vaka ādāne Dp 7, Dm 8.
Sd 26. *vakati.*
1441. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAK-}}$
vaka dittiyaṃ paṭighāte
ca Sd 27. *vakati.*
1442. $\sqrt{\text{VAKK-}}$
vakka bhāsane Sd 1297.
vakketi vakkayati.
1443. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAKKH-}}$
vakkha varaṇe Sd 81.
vakkhati.
1444. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAKKH-}}$
vakkha rose Sd 145^A.
vakkhati.
1445. $\sqrt{\text{VAGG-}}$
vagga gatiyaṃ Sd 92.
vaggati.
1446. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAṆK-}}$
vaṇka koṭīye Dp 5 ;
koṭilla-yātrāsu Dm 14 ;
koṭille Sd 14. *vaṇkati.*
1447. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAṆK-}}$
vaki gatyattho Sd 29 ;
(koṭilla-) yātrāsu Dm
14. *vaṇkati.*
1448. $\sqrt{\text{VAṆKH-}}$
vaki kaṅkhāyaṃ Sd 69.
vaṇkhati.
1449. $\sqrt{\text{VAṆG-}}$
vaṇga gamanatto Dp 29 ;
vagi gatyatthadhātu Dm
36, gamane ca gatiyaṃ
Sd 96. *vaṇigati.*
1450. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAC-}}$
vaca vyattavace Dm 42,
vyattavacane Dp 36,
viyattiyaṃ vācāyaṃ
Sd 145 ; bhāsane Dm
761, Sd 1340. *vatti,*
vacati ; vaceti vacayati.
1451. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAC-}}$
vaca dittiyaṃ Sd 156.
vacati.
1452. $\sqrt{\text{VACC-}}$
vacca dittiyaṃ Dm 59.
vaccati.
1453. $\sqrt{\text{VACCH-}}$
vacchu chadane Sd 176.
vucchati.
1454. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAJ-}}$
vaja gamane Dp 59, Dm
70 ; vaju gatiyaṃ Sd
185. *vajati.*
1455. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAJ-}}$
vaja maggana-saṅkhāresu
Sd 1356. *vajeti vajayati.*
1456. $\sqrt{\text{VAJJ-}}$
vajja vajjane Dp 547, Dm
771, Sd 1347. *vajjeti*
vajjayati.
1457. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAṆC-}}$
vaṇca palambhane Dp 543,
Dm 758 ; vaṇcu palam-
bhane Sd 1331. *vaṇceti*
vaṇcayati.
1458. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAṆC-}}$
vaṇca gamane Dp 46, Dm
49, vaṇcu gatiyaṃ Sd
130. *vaṇcati.*
1459. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAṆC-}}$
vaci dittiyaṃ Sd 157.
vaṇcati.
1460. $\sqrt{\text{VAṆCH-}}$
vachi icchāyaṃ Sd 166.
vaṇchati.
1461. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAṬ-}}$
vaṭa veṭhane Dm 106, Sd
257. *vaṭati.*

1462. ²√VAT-
vaṭa ganthe Sd 1404.
vaṭeti vaṭayati.
1463. ²√VAT-
vaṭa vibhajane Sd 1409.
vaṭeti vaṭayati.
1464. √VATT-
vaṭṭa vaṭṭane Dp 89 ;
āvaṭṭane Dm 107.
vaṭṭati.
1465. √VAṬH-
vaṭha thūlattane Dm 133,
thūliye Sd 304. *vaṭhati.*
1466. ¹√VADDH-
vaḍḍha vaḍḍhane Dp 109,
Sd 353 ; saṁvaḍḍhane
Dm 160. *vaḍḍhati.*
1467. ²√VADDH-
vaḍḍha ākirane Sd 1427.
vaḍḍheti vaḍḍhayati.
1468. ¹√VAN-
vaṇa sadde Sd 357. *vaṇati.*
1469. ²√VAN-
vaṇa gattavicuṇṇane Sd
1441. *vaṇneti vaṇṇa-*
yati.
1470. ¹√VAṆṬ-
vaṇṭa vibhājane Dp 92,
561 ; Dm 787 ; vaṭi
vibhājane Sd 279.
vaṇṭati ; vaṇṭeti vaṇṭa-
yati.
1471. ²√VAṆṬ-
vaṇṭa vaṇṭatthe Dm 108.
vaṇṭati.
1472. √VAṆṬH-
vaṇṭhi ekacariyāyaṁ Sd
322. *vaṇṭhati.*
1473. √VAṆḍ-
vaṇḍi vethane Sd 340.
vaṇḍati.
1474. √VAṆṆ-
vaṇṇa vaṇṇane Dp 572,
saṁvaṇṇane Dm 803,
vaṇṇakiriya - vitthāra -
- guṇa-vacanesu Sd 1428.
vaṇṇeti vaṇṇayati.
1475. ¹√VAT-
vatu vatthumhi Dm 181.
1476. ²√VAT-
vata yācane Sd 402.
vataṭi.
1477. ¹√VATT-
vatta vattane Dp 119, Dm
528 ; vatu vattane Sd
400. *vattati.*
1478. ²√VATT-
vatu bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1453.
vattati.
1479. √VATTH-
vattha addane Sd 1466.
vattheti vatthayati.
1480. ¹√VAD-
vada vacane Dp 134,
vyattavace Dm 194, vi-
yattiyaṁ vācāyaṁ Sd
489, bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1499.
vadati, vajjati, vadeti ;
vādeti vādayati.
1481. ²√VAD-
vadī abhivādana-thutisu
Sd 1501 ; abhivāda-tho-
mesu Dm 822. *vādeti*
vādayati.
1482. ¹√VADDH-
vaddha vaddhane Sd 511.
vaddhati.
1483. ²√VADDH-
vaddha chedana-pūraṇesu
Sd 1501. *vaddheti*
vaddhayati.
1484. ²√VADDH-
vaddha bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1510.
vaddheti vaddhayati.
1485. ¹√VADH-
vadha vuddhiyaṁ Dp 166.
1486. ²√VADH-
vadha himsāyaṁ Dp 169.
1487. ²√VADH-
vadha bandhane Dp 172,

- 384, sarīyame Sd 1505. *vadhati, vadheti vadha-yati.*
1488. ¹√VAN-
vana yācane Dp 523, yācā-
yaṃ Dm 736.
1489. ²√VAN-
vana sambhattiyaṃ Dp
174, Dm 254, Sd 527.
vanati.
1490. √VAND-
vanda abhivādanatthutisu
Dp 135, 588, Sd 461,
abhivādathomesu Dm
193. *vandati.*
1491. ¹√VAP-
vapa bījanikkhepe Dp 192,
Sd 558, bījavinikkhepe
Dm 276. *vapati.*
1492. ²√VAP-
vapa santāne Sd 549.
vapati.
1493. √VAPP-
vappa vāraṇe Dm 541.
1494. √VAPPH-
vappha gatiyaṃ Sd 576.
vapphati.
1495. √VABB-
vabba gatiyaṃ Sd 583.
vabbati.
1496. ¹√VABBH-
vabbha gatiyaṃ Sd 619.
vabbhati.
1497. ²√VABBH-
vabbha bhojane Sd 632.
vabbhati.
1498. √VAM-
vama uggiraṇe Dp 221 ;
vamu uggiraṇādisu Dm
315, uggiraṇe Sd 679.
vamati.
1499. ¹√VAMBH-
vabhī garahāyaṃ Dm
841 ; vambha garahā-
yaṃ Dp 602. *vambheti.*
1500. ²√VAMBH-
vambha viddharīsane Sd
1562. *vambheti vambha-
yati.*
1501. √VAY-
vaya gamanattho Dp 232 ;
gatiyaṃ Sd 688 ; vayo
gatimhi Dm 332. *vayati.*
1502. ¹√VAR-
vara varaṇa-sambhattisu
Dp 256, saṃvaraṇādisu
Dm 363 ; varaṇe Sd 740.
varati.
1503. ²√VAR-
vara āvaraṇ' (-icchāsu)
Dp 606, Dm 849. āva-
raṇe Sd 1592. *vāreti
vārayati.*
1504. ³√VAR-
vara (āvaraṇ'-) icchāsu
Dp 606, Dm 849, icchā-
yaṃ Sd 1582. *vāreti
varayati.*
1505. ⁴√VAR-
vara yācāyaṃ Dm 849.
vāreti.
1506. √VARAH-
varaha paribhāsana-hirṇ-
sādānesu Sd 1022, hirṇ-
sāyaṃ Sd 1672. *varaha-
ti, varaheti varahayati.*
1507. ¹√VAL-
vala saṃvaraṇe Dp 274,
Sd 798 ; nivāraṇe Dm
392. *valati.*
1508. ²√VAL-
vala vilasane Sd 826.
valati.
1509. ³√VAL-
vala calane Sd 798. *valati.*
1510. ⁴√VAL-
vala bharaṇe Sd 1608.
vāleti vālayati.

1511. $\sqrt{\text{VALAÑJ-}}$
valañja tu valañjane Dm
522. *valañjati.*
1512. $\sqrt{\text{VALAH-}}$
valaha padhāniye, paribhā-
sana-hirṇsādādānesu Sd
1023. *valahati.*
1513. $^1\sqrt{\text{VALL-}}$
valla sarīvarane Dp 275,
Sd 799 ; nivāraṇe Dm
393, *vallati.*
1514. $^2\sqrt{\text{VALL-}}$
valla calane Sd 799.
vallati.
1515. $\sqrt{\text{VALAÑJ-}}$
vaḷaji paribhoge Sd 238.
vaḷañjati.
1516. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa kanti-(nivāsesu) Dm
470. *vasati.*
1517. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa (kanti-) nivāsesu
Dm 470, nivāse Sd 966.
vasati.
1518. $^3\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa acchādane Dp 628,
Sd 1669 ; acchādanādisu
Dm 870. *vāseti vāsayati.*
1519. $^4\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa sinehane Sd 929, sine-
hana-chedāvaharaṇesu
Sd 1643. *vasati, vāseti
vāsayati.*
1520. $^5\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa sadde Sd 1192. *vas-
sati.*
1521. $^6\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa hirṇsattho Sd 888.
vasati.
1522. $^7\sqrt{\text{VAS-}}$
vasa kantiyaṃ Sd 967.
vacchati.
1523. $^1\sqrt{\text{VASS-}}$
vassa (secana-)saddane
Dm 471. *vaṣṣati.*
1524. $^2\sqrt{\text{VASS-}}$
vassa secana(-saddane)
Dm 471, secane Sd 898.
vassati.
1525. $^3\sqrt{\text{VASS-}}$
vassu sattibandhane Sd
1637. *vasseti vassayati.*
1526. $^1\sqrt{\text{VAH-}}$
vaha pāpuṇane Dp 333,
Dm 498 ; pāpuṇe Sd
1035. *vahati.*
1527. $^2\sqrt{\text{VAH-}}$
vaha vuddhiyaṃ Sd 1016.
vahati.
1528. $\sqrt{\text{VĀ-}}$
vā gamme Dp 372 ; gati-
bandhanesu Dp 442, Dm
599, 682, gati-gandha-
nesu Sd 830, 1172. *vāti,
vāyati.*
1529. $\sqrt{\text{VĀT-}}$
vāta gati-sukha-sevanesu
Sd 1455. *vātetī vātayati.*
1530. $\sqrt{\text{VĀYAM-}}$
vāyama ihāyaṃ Sd 676.
vāyamati.
1531. $\sqrt{\text{VĀḶ-}}$
vāḷa ālape Sd 1057. *vāḷati.*
1532. $\sqrt{\text{VĀS-}}$
vāsi alaṅkāre Sd 879.
vāsati.
1533. $^2\sqrt{\text{VĀS-}}$
vāsa upasevāyaṃ Sd 1654.
vāseti vāsayati.
1534. $\sqrt{\text{VĀH-}}$
vāhu payathane Sd 1026.
vāhati.
1535. $\sqrt{\text{VI-}}$
vi tantusantāne Dm 424.
1536. $\sqrt{\text{VIC-}}$
vica vivecane Dm 47, 632.
1537. $^1\sqrt{\text{VICCH-}}$
viccha gatiyaṃ Sd 175.
picchati,

1538. ²√VICCH-
viccha bhāsāyaṁ Sd 1346.
viccheti vicchayati.
1539. √VIJ-
vija bhaya-calanesu Dp
471 ; viji bhaye calane
Dm 95 ; vijī bhaya-ca-
lesu Dm 520, bhaya-
calanesu Sd 236, 1111.
vejati, vijjati.
1540. √VIṬ-
viṭa sadde Sd 271. *veṭati.*
1541. √VITH-
vithu yācane Sd 416.
vethati.
1542. ¹√VID-
vida lābhe Dp 383, Dm
214, 617, Sd 1093, 1478.
vindati, vedeti vedayati.
1543. ²√VID-
vida nāṇe Dp 476, 584 ;
Dm 817, Sd 490 ;
jānane Dm 534. *vidati.*
1544. ³√VID-
vida sattāyaṁ Dp 411, Sd
1128 ; sattā (-vicintane)
Dm 647. *vijjati.*
1545. ⁴√VID-
vida (sattā-) vicintane
Dm 647.
1546. ⁶√VID-
vida tuṭṭhiyaṁ Sd 1094.
vindati.
1547. ⁶√VID-
vida cetanākhyaṇa-nivā-
sesu Sd 1485. *vedeti
vedyati.*
1548. ¹√VIDH-
vidha bādhāyaṁ Dp 168.
1549. ²√VIDH-
vidha vedhane Dp 171,
422 ; Dm 245 ; vedhe
Dm 660, vijjhane Sd
1144 *vijjhati,*
1550. ³√VIDH-
vidha kampane Dm 826.
1551. ¹√VIND-
vidi avayave Sd 449. *vin-
dati.*
1552. ²√VIND-
vidi lābhe Sd 495. *vin-
dati.*
1553. √VIRĪḶ-
virīla lajjāyaṁ codane ca
Sd 1203. *virīḷati.*
1554. √VILĪ-
vilī vilinabhāve Sd 1171.
vi-ḷiyati.
1555. ¹√VIS-
visa ppavese Dp 492 Sd
987 ; pavesa (-pharaṇe)
Dm 571. *visati.*
1556. ²√VIS-
visa pharaṇe Dm 571.
visati.
1557. ³√VIS-
visu secane Sd 896. *vesati.*
1558. ⁴√VIS-
visa vippayoge Sd 1263.
visnāti.
1559. ¹√VĪ-
vī tantusantāṇe Dp 281,
tantasantāṇe Sd 1253.
nināti.
1560. ²√VĪ-
vī gamane Dp 371 ; paja-
na - kanti - asana-khā-
dana-gatisu Sd 831.
veti.
1561. ³√VĪ-
vī himsāyaṁ Sd 1254.
vināti.
1562. √VĪJ-
vīja vijane Dp 80, Dm 96.
vijati.
1563. √VĪBH-
vībha katthane Sd 623.
vibhati.

1564. $\sqrt{\text{VĪR-}}$ vīra vikkantiyam Sd 1587. sañcalanādisu Dm 412, gatiyaṃ Sd 778. *velati*.
vīreti vīrayati.
1565. $\sqrt{\text{VĪL-}}$ vīla lajjāyaṃ Dm 879. vīleti velayati.
1566. $\sqrt{\text{VU-}}$ vu saṃvaraṇe Dp 516, Dm 426, Sd 1219; saṃvare Dm 714. *vuṇoti vuṇāti*.
1567. $\sqrt{\text{VUDH-}}$ vudhu ca vuddhiyaṃ Dm 239.
1568. $\sqrt{\text{VUL-}}$ vula nim(m)ajjane Sd 1601. *voleti volayati*.
1569. $\sqrt{\text{VUS-}}$ vusa pagabbhiye Sd 1223. *vusunāti*.
1570. $^1\sqrt{\text{VE-}}$ ve tantusantāne Dm 423, tantasantāne Sd 832. *vāyati*.
1571. $^2\sqrt{\text{VE-}}$ ve saṃvaraṇe Dm 425. *vāyati*.
1572. $^3\sqrt{\text{VE-}}$ ve sosane Sd 833. *vāyati*.
1573. $\sqrt{\text{VEKKH-}}$ vekkha vekkhaṇe Sd 64. *vekkhati*.
1574. $\sqrt{\text{VEṬH-}}$ veṭha veṭhaṇe Dp 562, Dm 128, 792, Sd 321. *veṭhati*.
1575. $\sqrt{\text{VEN-}}$ veṇu fāṇa-cintā-nisāma-nesu Sd 377. *veṇati*.
1576. $\sqrt{\text{VEP-}}$ vepa calane Dp 185, vepu kampane Dm 274. *vepati*.
1577. $^1\sqrt{\text{VEL-}}$ vela calane Dp 276, velu
1578. $^2\sqrt{\text{VEL-}}$ vela kālopadeso Sd 1613. *veleti velayati*.
1579. $\sqrt{\text{VELL-}}$ vella saṃvaraṇe Dm 400. *vellati*.
1580. $\sqrt{\text{VES-}}$ vesu dāne Sd 990. *vecchati*.
1581. $\sqrt{\text{VEH-}}$ vehu payatane Sd 1024. *vehati*.
1582. $\sqrt{\text{VYATH-}}$ vyatha dukkha-bhaya-calanesu Dp 130, Sd 420; bhīti-calesu Dm 188. *vyathati*.
1583. $\sqrt{\text{VYADH-}}$ vyadha tālāne Sd 1150. *vyajjhati*.
1584. $^1\sqrt{\text{VYAY-}}$ vyaya khaye Sd 1576. *vyayeti vyayayati*.
1585. $^2\sqrt{\text{VYAY-}}$ vyaya vitta-samussagge Sd 1577. *vyayeti vyaya-yati*.
1586. $\sqrt{\text{VYAS-}}$ vyasa ussagge Sd 1632. *vyāseti vyāsayati*.
1587. $\sqrt{\text{VYĀ-}}$ vyā ummissane Sd 681. *vyāti*.
1588. $\sqrt{\text{VYĀC-}}$ vyāca vyājjikaraṇe Sd 144. *vyācati*. (v.l. $\sqrt{\text{VYAC-}}$);
1589. $^1\sqrt{\text{VYE-}}$ vye saṃvaraṇe Sd 683. *vyayati*.
1590. $^2\sqrt{\text{VYE-}}$ vye pavattiyaṃ Sd 684. *vyeti*.
1591. $\sqrt{\text{VHE-}}$ vhe avhāne Dp 329, sad-

damhi hasane Dm 508.
avhāyane phaddhāyaṃ
sadde ca Sd 1000. *vheti,*
vhāyati.

S

1592. ¹√SAMS-
saṃsa pasam̐sane Dp 319,
Dm 459, thutiyam̐ Sd
923. *samsati.*
1593. ²√SAMS-
saṃsa hiraṃsāyaṃ ca Sd
923. *samsati.*
1594. ³√SAMS-
saṃsa kathane Sd 927.
samsati.
1595. ¹√SAK-
saka sattiyam̐ Dp 508,
518, 520, Sd 1278 ;
sattimhi Dm 708, sat-
tismim̐ Dm 733.
sakkati.
1596. ²√SAK-
saka sām̐tthiye Sd 1206.
sakkuṇāti.
1597. ¹√SAKK-
sakka gamanatto Dp 9,
gate Dm 15. gatyatto
Sd 30, 1076A. *sakkati.*
1598. ²√SAKK-
sakka bhāṣane Sd 1296.
sakketi sakkayati.
1599. √SAGH-
sagha hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 1228.
saghuṇāti.
1600. √SAṆK-
saṅka saṅkāyaṃ Dp 4,
saki saṅkyaṃ Dm 6, Sd
21. *saṅkati.*
1601. √SAṆKASE-
saṅkase acchane Sd 994.
saṅkasāyati.
1602. √SAṆG-
sagi gamane ca gatiyaṃ
Sd 102. *saṅgati.*

1603. √SAṆGĀM
saṅgāma yuddhe Dp 605,
Dm 847, Sd 1573. *saṅ-*
gāmeti saṅgāmayati.
1604. ¹√SAC-
saca samavāye Dp 41,
samavāyane Dm 56.
1605. ²√SAC-
saca viyattiyaṃ vācāyaṃ
Sd 149. *sacati.*
1606. ¹√SAJ-
saja saṅge Sd 1108. *saj-*
jati.
1607. ²√SAJ-
saja vissagga-parssaj(j)-
an'-abbhukkiraṇesu Sd
232. *sajati.*
1608. ¹√SAJJ-
sajja nimmāne Dm 89,
sajjane Sd 1359. *sajjati,*
sajjeti sajjayati.
1609. ²√SAJJ-
sajja ajjane Dp 74, 549,
Dm 88, 768, Sd 190.
sajjati, sajjeti, sajjayati.
1610. ³√SAJJ-
sajja gatiyaṃ Sd 182.
sajjati.
1611. ¹√SAṆJ-
saṅja saṅge Dp 67, 397,
Dm 77, 634, Sd 213.
saṅjati.
1612. ²√SAṆJ-
saṅja vissajjane Dp 64,
Dm 82. *saṅjati.*
1613. ³√SAṆJ-
saṅja ālingane Dp 64, Dm
82, parissage Sd 220.
saṅjati.
1614. ⁴√SAṆJ-
saṅja nimmāne Dp 64,
Dm 82. *saṅjati.*
1615. ⁵√SAṆJ-
saṅja khalane Dm 634.

1616. ¹√SAT-
saṭo visaraṇe Dm 789 ;
rujā-visaraṇa-gatyavasā-
raṇesu Sd 256. *saṭati.*
1617. ²√SAT-
saṭa avayave Sd 268.
saṭati.
1618. √SATṬ-
saṭṭa himsā-bala-dāna-
niketanesu Sd 1385.
saṭṭeti saṭṭayati.
1619. ¹√SATH-
saṭha ketave Dp 100, Dm
137, Sd 313, 1415.
saṭhati saṭheti saṭhayati.
1620. ²√SATH-
saṭha himsā-saṅkilesesu
Sd 313. *saṭhati.*
1621. ³√SATH-
saṭha saṅkhāra-gatisu Sd
1410. *saṭheti saṭhayati.*
1622. ⁴√SATH-
saṭha silāghāyaṃ Sd 1413.
saṭheti saṭhayati.
1623. ⁵√SATH-
saṭha asammābhāsane Sd
1414. *saṭheti saṭhayati.*
1624. ¹√SAN-
saṇa dāne Sd 375, 1432.
saṇati saṇeti saṇayati.
1625. ²√SAN-
saṇa avyattasaddhe Sd 381.
saṇati.
1626. √SAND-
saṇi gumbattha-m-īraṇe
Dm 157 ; rujāyaṃ Sd
347. *saṇḍati.*
1627. ¹√SATT-
satta gatiyaṃ Sd 1448.
satteti sattayati.
1628. ²√SATT
satta santānakiriyaṃ Sd
1457. *satteti sattayati.*
1629. ¹√SATH-
satha seṭhille Sd 417.
sathati.
1630. ²√SATH-
satha dubbalye Sd 1470.
satheti sathayati.
1631. ³√SATH-
satha bandhane Sd 1474.
satheti sathayati.
1632. √SAD-
sada visaraṇa-gaty-avasā-
danesu Dp 150, visaraṇ'
-ādāna-gamane cāva-
sādane Dm 217 ; sādane
Sd 481 ; assādane Sd
1491. *sadati, sādeti
sādayati.*
1633. √SADD-
saddu haritase Dm 207,
kucchite sadde Sd 473,
saddane Sd 1486. *sad-
dati, saddeti saddayati.*
1634. ¹√SADH-
sadhu saddakucchiyaṃ Sd
512. *sadhati.*
1635. ²√SADH-
sadhu unde Sd 515.
sadhati.
1636. ³√SADH-
sadhu pahasane Sd 1509.
sadheti sadhayati.
1637. ¹√SAN-
sana sambhattiyaṃ Dp
175, Dm 255, 528.
sanati.
1638. ²√SAN-
sana dāne Dp 522, sanu
dānamhi Dm 735.
saneti.
1639. √SANT-
santa āmappayoge Sd
1449. *santeti santayati.*
1640. √SANTH-
santha santhambhane Sd

1475. *santheti santha-yati.* upasame Sd 1166. *sam-mati.*
1641. $\sqrt{\text{SAND-}}$ sanda passavane Dp 149, Sd 476, passavanādisu Dm 212. *sandati.* 1653. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama khede Dp 436, Dm 676 ; khede nirodhe ca Sd 1167 ; parissame Dp 220, Dm 321, *sammati.*
1642. $\sqrt{\text{SANDHĀ-}}$ sandhā sandhimhi Sd 1134. *san-dhiyati.* 1654. $^3\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ samu savana-dassane Dm 842 ;
1643. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAP-}}$ sapa akkose Dp 184, Dm 268, Sd 557. *sapati.* 1655. $^4\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama adassane Sd 671. *samati.*
1644. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAP-}}$ sapa samavāye Sd 550. *sapati.* 1656. $^6\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama velambe Sd 674. *samati.*
1645. $\sqrt{\text{SAPP-}}$ sappa gamane Dp 194, gatimhi Dm 4, gatiyaṃ Sd 1076. *sappati.* 1657. $^5\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama sadde Sd 673. *samati.*
1646. $^1\sqrt{\text{SABB-}}$ sabbā gamane Dm 291, sabba gatiyaṃ Sd 588, 591. *sabbati.* 1658. $^7\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama vitakke Sd 1567. *sāmeti sāmāyati.*
1647. $^2\sqrt{\text{SABB-}}$ sabba hiraṃsāyaṃ ca Sd 591. *sabbati.* 1659. $^8\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama ālocane Sd 1568. *sāmeti sāmāyati.*
1648. $^3\sqrt{\text{SABB-}}$ sabba pūraṇe Sd 605. *sabbati.* (v. 1. $\sqrt{\text{MARV-}}$) 1660. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAMB-}}$ samba maṇḍane Dp 201, Dm 288, sabi maṇḍane, maṇḍale Sd 1549. *sambati, sambeti sambayati.*
1649. $\sqrt{\text{SABBH-}}$ sabbha kathane Sd 631. *sabbhati.* 1661. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAMB-}}$ samba sambandhe Sd 1548. *sambeti sambayati.*
1650. $\sqrt{\text{SABH-}}$ sabhu hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 615. *sabhati.* 1662. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAMBH-}}$ sambha viṣṣāse Dp 214, Dm 307, Sd 640. *sambhati.*
1651. $\sqrt{\text{SABHĀJ-}}$ sabhāja pīti-dassanesu Dp 553, Dm 778, sīti-sevanesu Sd 1367. *sabhājeti sabhājayati.* 1663. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAMBH-}}$ sambhu hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 616. *sambhati.*
1652. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAM-}}$ sama upasama (-khede-su), Dp 436 ; Dm 676, 1664. $\sqrt{\text{SAMBHU-}}$ sambhu papūṇane Dp 512, Dm 712, pāpune Sd

1215. *sambhūṇāti, sambhāveti.*
1665. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara hiṁsā(yaṁ) Dp 248,
Dm 348. *sarati.*
1666. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara gati(yaṁ) Dp 248,
Dm 348, Sd 714. *sarati.*
1167. $^3\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara cintā(yaṁ) Dp 248,
Dm 348, Sd 719. *sarati.*
1668. $^4\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara sadde Dm 348, 718.
sarati.
1669. $^5\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara akkhepe Sd. 1583.
sareti sarayati.
1670. $^6\sqrt{\text{SAR-}}$
sara upatāpe Sd 718.
sarati.
1671. $\sqrt{\text{SARAT-}}$
(sa)raṭa paribhāsane Sd
254. (sa)raṭati (v.
1. $\sqrt{\text{RAT-}}$).
1672. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAL-}}$
sala gamanatto Dp 258,
gatyatto Dm 372, gati-
yaṁ Sd 785, gamane Sd
818, āsurā-gatiyaṁ Sd
791, calane Sd 797,
kampane Sd 1081^c,
salati.
1673. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAL-}}$
sala sarivaraṇe Sd 797.
salati.
1674. $\sqrt{\text{SALL-}}$
salla āsurā-gatiyaṁ Sd
792. *sallati.*
1675. $\sqrt{\text{SAḬ-}}$
saḷa avyattasaddhe Sd 1075.
saḷati.
1676. $\sqrt{\text{SAV-}}$
sava gatiyaṁ Sd 843.
savati.
- sasa gati(yaṁ) Dp 301,
1677. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAS-}}$
Dm 435. *sasati.*
1678. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAS}}$
sasa hiṁsā(yaṁ) Dp 301,
Dm 435, sasu hiṁsāyaṁ
Sd 922. *sasati.*
1679. $^3\sqrt{\text{SAS-}}$
sasa pāṇane Dp 301, Dm
354, Sd 969. *sasati.*
1680. $^4\sqrt{\text{SAS-}}$
sasa susane Sd 968. *sasati.*
1681. $^1\sqrt{\text{SAH-}}$
saha marisaṇe Dp 341, Sd
1031, kkhame Dm 494 ;
parisaṇane Sd 1618. *sa-
hati, saheti sahayati.*
1682. $^2\sqrt{\text{SAH-}}$
saha sattiyaṁ Sd 1199.
sayhati.
1683. $^1\sqrt{\text{SĀ-}}$
sā tanūkaṇe Dp 458, Dm
699, tanukaṇe Sd
1177, 1272. *siyati siyati.*
1684. $^2\sqrt{\text{SĀ-}}$
sā avasāṇe Dp 458, Dm
698 ; samattiyaṁ Dm
602, antakammaṇi Sd
1178. *siyati.*
1685. $^3\sqrt{\text{SĀ-}}$
sā assāde Dm 697, Sd
1179. *sāyati.*
1686. $^4\sqrt{\text{SĀ-}}$
sā pāke, Sd 859, 1257.
sāti, sināti.
1687. $\sqrt{\text{SĀKH-}}$
sākha vyāpane Sd 50.
sākhati.
1688. $\sqrt{\text{SĀTH-}}$
sātha balakkāre Sd
308. *sāthati.* (v. 1.
 $\sqrt{\text{HATH-}}$)
1689. $\sqrt{\text{SĀD-}}$
sāda assādane Dp 147,

- assādanādīsu Dm 221. 1701. √SĪMS-
sādāti. sirīsa icchāyaṁ Dp 296,
Dm 463. *siṁsati*.
1690. √SĀDH-
sādhā saṁsiddhiyaṁ Dp 421, Sd 1143, 1212 ; si-
ddhimhi Dm 250,
siddhiyaṁ Dm 659.
sādhayati, sādhuṇāti.
1691. √SĀN-
sāna tejane Sd 535. sā-
nati.
1692. √SĀM-
sāma svāntane āmantane
Sd 1573. sāmeti sāmā-
yati.
1693. √SĀY-
sāya sāyane Dp 229, Dm
343, sāyati.
1694. √SĀR-
sāra dubbalye Sd 1584.
sāreti sārāyati.
1695. √SĀS-
sāsa anusitthiyaṁ Dp 300,
Dm 456, Sd 971.
sāsati.
1696. ¹√SI-
si saye Dp 374, Dm 484,
601.
1697. ²√SI-
si sevāyaṁ Dp 289, Sd
860, 1275 ; sevane Dm
485. sevati, sevīyate.
1698. ³√SI-
si bandhane Dp 505, 528,
Dm 729, Sd 1221, 1256 ;
bandhe Dm 741, 873.
sinoti, sināti.
1699. ⁴√SI-
si gati-buddhisu Sd 861.
seti.
1700. ⁴√SI-
si nisāne Sd 1222. siṇoti,
siṇāti,
1702. √SIKKH-
sikkha vijjādāne Dp 12,
Sd 82 ; vijjaggahe Dm
28. sikkhati.
1703. √SINGH-
siṇha ghāyane Dp 34,
āghāyane Dm 40,
āghāne Sd 116. siṇ-
ghati.
1704. √SIC-
sica kkharāṇe Dp 377 ;
gharāṇe 163 ; paggha-
raṇe Sd 1085 ; sica seke
Dm 611. secati, siṁcati.
1705. √SICC-
sicca kuṭṭane Sd 1330.
sicceti siccayati.
1706. √SIṬ-
siṭa anādare Sd 259.
seṭati.
1707. √SIT-
sita vaṇṇe Sd 399. setati.
1708. ¹√SID-
sida pāke Dp 162, 408
Dm 206, 645.
1709. ²√SID-
sida siṅgāre Dm 206.
1710. ³√SID-
sida mocane Sd 475.
sidati.
1711. ¹√SIDH-
sidha gamane Dp 170,
gatiṁhi Dm 243, gati-
mhi D 243, gatiyaṁ Sd
501. sedhati.
1712. ²√SIDH-
sidha saṁsaddhiyaṁ Dp
419, Dm 658.
1713. ³√SIDH-
sidhu satthe Sd 502.
sedhati,

1714. ⁴√SIDH-
sidhu maṅgalye ca Sd 502.
sedhati.
1715. ⁵√SIDH-
sidhu samrādhane Sd 1140. *sijjhati.*
1716. √SINĀ-
sinā soceyye Dp 426, Dm 666.
1717. √SINIḤ-
siniha piṇane Dp 463,
pītiyaṃ Dm 705, Sd 1202. *siniyhati.*
1718. √SINEH-
sineha sinehane Sd 1671.
sineheti sinehayati.
1719. √SIND-
sidi sītiye Sd 460. *sindati.*
1720. √SIL-
sila uñchane Dm 567,
uñche Sd 823. *silati.*
1721. √SILĀGH-
silāgha katthane Dp 30,
Dm 37, Sd 124.
silāghati.
1722. ¹√SILIS-
silisa ālīngane Dp 443, Sd 1182, ālīnganādisu Dm 685. *silissati.*
1723. ²√SILIS-
silisu (u)padāhe Sd 902.
silesati.
1724. √SILES-
silesa silesane Sd 1627.
sileseti silesayati.
1725. √SILOK-
siloka saṅghāte Dp 8, Dm 5, Sd 17. *silokati.*
1726. √SILOṆ-
siḷoṇa saṅghāte Sd 365.
siḷoṇati.
1727. √SIL-
siḷa seḷane Sd 1687. *seḷeti seḷayati.*
1728. ¹√SIV-
siva tantusantāne Dp 390,
Dm 23, tantasantāne
Sd 1173. *sibbati.*
1729. ²√SIV-
sivu gati (-sosanesu) Sd 1178. *sibbati.*
1730. ³√SIV-
sivu (gati-) sosanesu Sd 1178. *sibbati.*
1731. ¹√SIS-
sisa visesane Dp 630, Dm 872, asabbappayoge Sd 1661. *seseti sesayati.*
1732. ²√SIS-
sisa hīmsattho Sd 885.
sisati.
1733. √SĪ-
sī saye Sd 862. *seti, sayati.*
1734. √SĪK-
sika āmasane Sd 1312.
siketi sīkayati.
1735. √SĪD-
sīda visaraṇa-gaty-āvasā-
danesu Sd 482. *sidati.*
1736. √SĪBH-
sībha katthane Sd 622.
sībhati.
1737. ¹√SĪL-
sīla samādhimhi Dp 268, Dm 383, Sd 765.
silati.
1738. ²√SĪL-
sīla upadhāraṇe Dp 615,
Dm 858, Sd 1612. *sileti sīlayati.*
1739. ¹√SU-
su savane Dp 514, 513,
Dm 707, Sd 864, 1204.
savati, sunoti.
1740. ²√SU-
su hīmsā(yaṃ) Dm 480,
Sd 1258. *sunāti.*
1741. ³√SU-
su pasave Dp 291, Sd 865,

- kulasandhāne Dm 480,
passave Dm 481. *savati*.
1742. ⁴√SU-
su abhisave Dp 529, Sd
1220, abhissavane Dm
742. *suṇoti, suṇāti*.
1743. ⁵√SU-
su passavane Dp 290, Dm
483.
1744. ⁶√SU-
su sadde Dm 482.
1745. ⁷√SU-
su gatiyaṃ Sd 863, yātrā-
disu Dm 480. *savati*.
1746. √SUK-
suka gatiyaṃ Sd 8. *sokati*.
1747. √SUKKH-
sukkha anādare Sd 67.
sukkhati.
1748. √SUKH-
sukha takriye Dm 752,
takkiriyaṃ Sd 41.
sukhati.
1749. √SUC-
suca soke Dp 39, Dm 45,
Sd 125. *socati*.
1750. √SUTT-
sutta anādare Sd 1383.
sutteti sutṭayati.
1751. ¹√SUTH-
sutha gatipatighāte Sd 314.
soṭhati.
1752. ²√SUTH-
sutha ālasiye Sd 1411.
soṭeti soṭhayati.
1753. ¹√SUNTH-
suthī ghose Dm 129.
1754. ²√SUNTH-
suthi sosane Sd 317, 1412.
1755. √SUTT-
sutta avamocane Sd 1458.
sutteti sutṭayati.
1756. √SUTH-
sutha hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd 421.
soṭhati.
1757. √SUDH-
sudha soceyye Dp 417,
Sd 1139, Dm 655.
sujjhati.
1758. √SUN-
suna sadde Sd 532.
sunati.
1759. √SUP-
supa saye Dp 481, Dm
281, 543, sayane Sd
559. *supati*.
1760. √SUPP-
suppa māne Sd 1532.
suppeti suppayati.
1761. √SUBH-
subha sobhane Dp 207,
Dm 299, dittiyaṃ Sd
636, 1080¹. *sobhati*.
1762. ¹√SUMBH-
sumbha saṃsumbhane Dm
306, 548, hiraṃsāyaṃ Sd
617, pahāre Sd 1099.
sumbhati, (sumbhoti).
1763. ²√SUMBH-
sumbha bhāsane ca Sd 61.
sumbhati.
1764. √SUR-
sura issariya-dittisu Sd
742. *surati*.
1765. √SULL-
sulla sajjane Sd 1606.
sulleti sullayati.

1766. $\sqrt{\text{SUS-}}$
susa sosane Dp 457, Sd
1194, sose Dm 694.
sussati.
1767. $\sqrt{\text{SUH-}}$
suha sattiyam Sd 1200.
suyhati.
1768. $^1\sqrt{\text{SŪ-}}$
sū pāṇagabbhamocane Sd
866, pāṇippasave Sd
1180. *sūti, sūyati.*
1769. $^2\sqrt{\text{SŪ-}}$
sū perane Sd 867. *sūti.*
1770. $^1\sqrt{\text{SŪC-}}$
sūca pesuñṇe Dm 763, Sd
1337. *sūceti sūcayati.*
1771. $^2\sqrt{\text{SŪC-}}$
sūca gandhane Sd 1342.
sūceti sūcayati.
1772. $^1\sqrt{\text{SŪD-}}$
sūda kkharane Dp 151,
Dm 219, paggharane
Sd 470. *sūdāti.*
1773. $^2\sqrt{\text{SŪD-}}$
sūda āsevane Sd 1487.
sūdeti sūdayati.
1774. $\sqrt{\text{SŪY-}}$
sūya dosāvikarane Dp
238.
1775. $\sqrt{\text{SŪR-}}$
sūra vikkantiyam Sd 1586.
sūreti.
1776. $\sqrt{\text{SŪL-}}$
sūla rujāyam Dp 272, Dm
388, 768. *sūlati.*
1777. $^1\sqrt{\text{SE-}}$
se khaye Sd 868, 107*1.
siyati, sāyati.
1778. $^2\sqrt{\text{SE-}}$
se pāke Sd 869. *seti.*
1779. $^3\sqrt{\text{SE-}}$
se gatiyam Sd 870, 1079^B.
*seti, *sayati.*
1780. $\sqrt{\text{SEK-}}$
seka gatyattho Sd 33.
sekati.
1781. $\sqrt{\text{SEC-}}$
seca secane Sd 148. *secati.*
1782. $\sqrt{\text{SEL-}}$
selu gatiyam Sd 784.
selati.
1783. $\sqrt{\text{SEV-}}$
seva sevane Dp 285, Dm
420, secane Sd 848.
sevatī.
1784. $\sqrt{\text{SO-}}$
so antakammani Sd 1273.
sīyati.
1785. $\sqrt{\text{SOṬ-}}$
soṭu gabbe Sd 249. *soṭati.*
1786. $^1\sqrt{\text{SON-}}$
soṇa vaṇṇe Dm 163,
vaṇṇa-(gatisu) Sd 363.
soṇati.
1787. $^2\sqrt{\text{SON-}}$
soṇa gatiyam Sd 363.
soṇati.
1788. $^3\sqrt{\text{SON-}}$
soṇa saṅghāte Sd 364.
soṇati.
1789. $\sqrt{\text{SNIH-}}$
sniha piṇane Dp 464, Dm
706.

- H
1790. $\sqrt{\text{HAMS-}}$
hamśa tuṭṭhiyaṁ Dp 309.
1791. $\sqrt{\text{HAṬ-}}$
haṭa dittiyaṁ Sd 267.
haṭati.
1792. $\sqrt{\text{HAṬH-}}$
haṭha balakkāre Dp 101,
Dm 138. *haṭhati.*
1793. $^1\sqrt{\text{HAD-}}$
hada uccārussagge Dm
535, karīssosagge Sd
465, Sd 1477. *hadati.*
hadeti hadyati.
1794. $^2\sqrt{\text{HADA-}}$
hada cintāyaṁ Dm 535.
hadati.
1795. $^1\sqrt{\text{HAN-}}$
hana hirīsāyaṁ Dp 363,
429, Dm 590, 665, Sd
536, 1155. *hanti, hanati*
haññati.
1796. $^2\sqrt{\text{HAN-}}$
hana gatiyaṁ Dm 590,
655, Sd 536. *hanti,*
hanati.
1797. $^3\sqrt{\text{HAN-}}$
hanu apanayane Sd 1284.
hanoti hanute.
1798. $\sqrt{\text{HAMM-}}$
hamma gatimhi Sd 664.
hammati.
1799. $\sqrt{\text{HAY-}}$
haya gatiyaṁ Sd 685.
hayati.
- 1800¹ $\sqrt{\text{HAR-}}$
hara haraṇamhi Dm 350,
haraṇe Sd 730, apa-
nayane Sd 731. *harati.*
1801. $^2\sqrt{\text{HAR-}}$
hara adāne Sd 732. *harati.*
1802. $\sqrt{\text{HARĀ-}}$
hara lajjāyaṁ Dp 438,
lajjane Dm 677.
1803. $\sqrt{\text{HARIY-}}$
hariya gati-gelaññesu Sd
686. *hariyati.*
1804. $\sqrt{\text{HARE-}}$
hare lajjāyaṁ Sd 738.
harāyati.
1805. $\sqrt{\text{HAḶ-}}$
haḷa silāghāyaṁ Sd 1060.
haḷati.
1806. $^1\sqrt{\text{HAS-}}$
hasa hasane Dp 310, Sd
908, hasansmim Dm
446. *hasati.*
1807. $^2\sqrt{\text{HAS-}}$
hasa sadde Sd 910. *hasati.*
1808. $^3\sqrt{\text{HAS-}}$
hasa pītiyaṁ Dm 457.
1809. HĀ-
hā cāge Dp 327, Dm 509,
604, Sd 995, parihāne
Dp 462, hāne Dm 700,
parihāniyaṁ Sd 1196.
jahati, hāyati.
1810. $\sqrt{\text{HĀS-}}$
hāsu āliṅge Sd 907.
hasati.
1811. $^1\sqrt{\text{HI-}}$
hi gatiyaṁ Dp 525,
gatimhi Dm 713, gate
Dm 738, gatiyaṁ Sd
1225. *hinoti.*
1812. $^2\sqrt{\text{HI-}}$
hi buddhiyaṁ Sd 1225.
hinoti.
1813. $^3\sqrt{\text{HI-}}$
hi upatāpe Sd 1225.
hinoti.

1814. √HIMS-
himsa himsāyaṃ Dp 387,
vihimsāyaṃ Dm 621,
hisi himsāyaṃ Sd 871,
Sd 1655; vihimśāyaṃ
Sd 1098. *himsati*, *himi-*
seti himsayati.
1815. ¹√HIKK-
hikka avyattasadde Sd 34.
hikkati hikkate.
1816. ²√HIKK-
hikka himśāyaṃ Sd 1304.
hikketi hikkayati.
1817. √HIṆḍ-
hiṇḍa āhiṇḍane Dp 108,
Dm 153, hiṇḍi gatiyaṃ
Sd 338. *hiṇḍati*.
1818. √HIRI-
hiri lajjāyaṃ Dp 437,
lajjane Dm 678
1819. √HIL-
hila hāve Dm 566,
hāvakarane Sd 822.
helati.
1820. √HILĀD-
hilāda sukhe Dp 152, 591;
hilādi tu sukhe Dm 824,
218, Sd 472. *hilādati*,
hilādeti.
1821. √HIS-
hisu sadde Sd 911. *hisati*.
1822. √HĪḶ-
hīḷa nindāyaṃ Dp 637,
gārahiye Dm 881,
anādare Sd 1061. *hīḷati*.
1823. ¹√HU-
hu dāne pi ca ādāne apy
adane ca vattati Dm
603, hu dāne Sd 997.
havati.
1824. ²√HU-
hu pasajjakarane Sd 998.
hāvati.
1825. √HUCCH-
huccha koṭille Sd 168.
hucchati.
1826. √HUNḍ-
huḍi saṅghāte Sd 336
hunḍati.
1827. √HUR-
hura koṭille Sd 717. *hura-*
ti.
1828. √HUL-
hula gamanattho Dp 259,
gatyattho Dm 373,
calane Sd 807, kampane
Sd 1081^D. *hulati*.
1829. √HUḶ-
huḷa gatiyaṃ Sd 1051.
huḷati.
1830. √HŪ-
hū sattāyaṃ Dp 352, Dm
578, Sd 999, 1075^A.
hoti.
1831. √HEṬṬH-
heṭṭha bādhāyaṃ Dm 127,
791, vibādhāyaṃ Sd
326. *heṭṭhati*.
1832. ¹√HEḶ-
heḷa veṭthane Sd 1063.
heḷati.
1833. ²√HEḶ-
heḷa anādare Sd 1055.
heḷati.
1834. ¹√HES-
hesu gatiyaṃ Sd 937.
hesati.
1835. ²√HES-
hesu avyatte sadde Sd
939. *hesati*.
1836. ¹√HOḶ-
hoḷa gatiyaṃ Sd 1052.
hoḷati.
1837. ²√HOḶ-
hoḷa anādare Sd 1056.
hoḷati.
1838. √HVO-
hvo avhāne Dm 427.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF PALI WORDS

*Illustrating the meanings of the Dhātus contained in the Dhātupāṭha,
Dhātumañjūsā and the Saddanīti.*

- Akkosa** : kur⁻¹, kus⁻³, khurns-, ciṭ⁻¹,
biḷ-, sal-.
- akkosana** : khurns-.
- akkhepa** : sar-.
- agga-gamana** : pur-.
- aggi-samyoga** : dham-.
- aggi-sadda** : muṭ-.
- agghana** : aggh-.
- anika** : ikkh-, lakkh-.
- accana** : acc-. Cf. *devaccana*.
- acchana** : saṁkase-.
- acchādana** : kap-, kubb-, kumb-,
nivās-, vas⁻³.
- acchedana** : lump-.
- ajjana** : ajj-, sajj⁻².
- ajjava** : uj-.
- ajjhayana** : i-, cacc-.
- ajjhāna** : i-.
- ajjhena** : i-, cacc-.
- ajjhoharāṇā** : gil-.
- ajjhohāra** : bhuj⁻¹.
- aṭana** : aṭ-.
- aṇḍa (tṭha)** : aṇḍ-.
- atisajjana** : dis⁻¹.
- adana** : as⁻¹, udrabh-, kur⁻³, gal-,
gas-, gil-, ghas-, cabb-, cam-, camb-,
cham⁻², jam-, jim-, jham-, ñam-,
tiṇ-, bhakkh-, hu-.
- adassana** : antaradhā-, nas-, lup-,
sam-.
- addana** : gandh-, tumb-, tumh-, div-,
dumb-, dumh-, lumb-, vatth-.
- adda-bhāva** : kilot-, tim-.
- adho-gati** : tir-.
- adho-pātana** : bhas⁻².
- adho-pāta** : bhas⁻².
- adho-mukhi-karaṇa** : kujj-.
- anata-bhāsaṇa** : kund-.
- anavatṭhāna** : bham-.
- anādara** : aṭṭ-, tand-, dhṭ-, patth-,
roḷ-, siṭ-, sukkh-, suṭṭ-, hīḷ-, heḷ-,
hoḷ-.
- anukaraṇa** : anuvindhā-.
- anusiṭṭhi** : sās-.
- antakamma** : so-.
- anvesana** : mag-, magg-.
- anvicchā** : giles-.
- apanayana** : oṇ-, luñc-, han-, har-.
- aparivesana** : yam-.
- apavāraṇa** : chad-, jal-.
- appabhāva** : cutṭ-, puṭ-.
- appasāda** : kūṭ-.
- appāyana** : pūrī-.
- appikriyā** : thus-.
- appīta** : dus-.
- appīti** : dis⁻³, dus-.
- appibhāva** : koc-, cut-, mas-, lis-.
- abbhukkirāṇa** : saj-.
- abhikaṁkhā** : gaddh-, gidh-.
- abhikkhaṇa** : is-.
- abhitthava** : thu-.
- abbhāsa** : man-.
- abhibhava** : ji-.
- abhimaddana** : purñs-.
- abhivāda** : vad-.
- abhivāda(na)** : vand-.
- abhisava** : su⁻⁴.
- abhissavaṇa** : su⁻⁴.
- abhyāvaharaṇa** : bhuj-.
- abhyaśa** : guṇ-.
- alamkaraṇa** : bhūs-.
- alamkāra** : piḷandh-, bhūs-, majj-,
vās-.
- alamattha** : okh-, dākh-, dhākh-,
rākh-, lākh-.
- avakampana** : kap-, bhū-.
- avakkhepa** : kucch-.
- avakhaṇḍana** : dā⁻³, dān-.
- avagahana** : budh-.
- avagāhana** : pāḷ-.

avatthāna : dhar-
avadāraṇa : kan-², khan-
avabodhana : ñā-
avamaddana : kiñc-, bhañj-
avamocana : sutt-
avayava : khind-, pis-, vind-, saṭ-
avasamsana : pañs-, bhañs-, ramb-,
 lamb-
avasādana : sad-
avasādiya : tam-².
avasāna : sā-².
avassandana : naṭ-
avaharaṇa : vas-
aviddhañsana : dhar-
aviyattā (*vācā*) : milech-
avyatta-sadda : kuñj-, kūj-, khij-,
 guj-, guñj-, des-, nad-, niñj-, phal-,
 rahad-, sañ-, saḷ-, hikk-, hilād-,
 hes-
avyattā (*vācā*) : milech-
avhāna : kad-, kand-, kaland-, kus-³,
 vhe-, hvo-
avhāyana : vhe-
asamsaya : car-
asadda : kall-
asana : mokkh-, vī-
asabbapayoga : sis-
asammābhāsana : saṭh-
asahana : khid-
assāda : amb-, rasa-², lih-, sā-³.
assādana : dak-, ras-, lak-, lih-, sad-,
 sā-, sād-
assuvimocana : rud-.

Ākaḍḍhana : kaḍḍh-
ākassana (v. l. for *kassana* q. v.) :
 thūl-
ākāsagamana : ḍī-, ṭī-
ākiraṇa : vaḍḍh-
ākoṭana : kuṭ-³.
ākhyāna : vid-
āghāta : taḷ-
āghāna : siñgh-
āghāyana : siñgh-
āṇa : daṇḍ-.

ādara : patth-
ādāna : as-, kuk-, cīv-, day-, diph-,
 dis-, me-, rā-, lā-, vak-, varah-,
 valah-, sad-, har-, hu-
āpavaṇa : khund-, bhal-, bhall-
ādesa : dikkh-
ābhaṇḍana : labh-
āmantaṇa : ket-, sām-
āmappayoga : sant-
āmassana : cik-, mas-², sīk-
āyāma : añch-
āyāsa : dāgh-
ārambha : rabh-
ālāpa : vāl-
ālasiya : kuñṭh-, tand-, luṇṭh-, suṭh-
āliṅga : hās-
āliṅgana : sañj-, silis-
ālepa : rus-².
ālōcana : lakkh-, sam-
āvattana : vaṭṭ-
āvaraṇa : kaṭ-, kūl-, rudh-, var-
āsimsana : nāth-
āsimsā : nāth-, nādh-
āsum-gati : sal-, sall-
āsecana : cut-
āsevana : sūd-
āhiṇḍana : hiṇḍ-.

Icchana (v. l. *icchā* q. v.) : lal-
icchā : āsims-, is-, kañkh-, kam-¹,
 chad-, chand-, dañkh-, dhañkh-,
 pañh-², pih-, lal-, vañch-, var-
 sims-
issariya : īs-, tap-, nāth-, nādh-, sur-
issā : iss-
issera : nāth-.

Isamhasana : mhi-
isamadhiyāsana : āgam-
isahasana : mih-¹.
ihana : ghaṭ-².
ihā : ghaṭ-², vāyam-.

Ukkhepa : laṇḍ-
ukkhēpa(na) : dul-
uggama : al-, kubh-, gar-, gav-, brah-,

uggirāṇa : vam-
uccārussagga : had-¹.
uccārāṇa : dis-¹, paṭh-.
uccāya : mañc-.
ujjhāṇa : chand-.
uñcha : uñch-, is-, uddhas-, dhas-,
 sil-.
uñchāṇa : uñch-, sil-.
uḍḍāṇa : ḍi-.
uttāsa : ciṭ-².
uttāsana : khiṭ-.
unda : madh-, sadh-.
upakāra : yaṭ-.
upaghāta : uṭh-, ruṭh-, luṭh-.
upacaya : diḥ-.
upatāpa : kilis-, klis-, tan-, nāth-,
 nādh-, sar-, hi-.
upadāha : us-, palus-, pis-, pus-, silis-.
upadhāraṇa : sil-.
upanaya(na) : dikkh-.
uparama : yam-.
upalepa : limp-.
upalepāṇa : gom-.
upavesana : āṣ-.
upasama : sam-¹.
upasevā : laḷ-, vās-.
upādāṇa : gah-.
uppaṇḍāṇa : paṇḍ-².
uppāda : jan-.
uppiḷāṇa : rumbh-.
ubbega : tap-², tas-², tras-.
ummāda : mad-, mīḷeṭ-, meṭ-, loḷ-.
ummāṇa : tul-.
ummissana : vyas-, vyā-.
ussagga : ujjh-, vyas-.
ussāha : dek-, dhek-.
ussaya : taṭ-.

Ekacariyā : vaṇṭh-.
ekasayana : tuvaṭ-.
esana : mag-.

Ogguṇṭhāṇa : guṇṭh-.
omaddāṇa : bhaffj-.
osidāṇa : mujj-,

Kamsa : khaṭ-.
kakkana : cap-, mac-, muñc-.
kakkasa : kaḷ-.
kañkhāṇa : kañkh-.
kañkhā : kañkh-, dañkh-, dhañkh-,
 vañkh-.
kaḍḍhāṇa : kaḍḍh-.
kaṇḍāṇa : muṇḍ-.
kaṇḍūvana : kaṇḍūv-.
kaṇṇabheda : chidd-.
katthāṇa : vībh-, saṁs-, silāgh-, sībh-.
kathāṇa : kath-, khā-, khyā-, sabbh-
 (silāgh-).
kanti : añj-, i-, kan-¹, kam-¹, cand-,
 div-, las-, vas-, hī-.
kanṭikarāṇa : ghos-, dhūs-.
kampāṇa : iñj-, ir-, īr-, ej-, khal-³,
 cal-, dhu-, dhū-, vidh-, vep-, sal-, hut-.
kammasamatti : tīr-.
kammasam(p)atti : tīr-, pār-.
karāṇa : ārabh-, kar-.
karīsussagga : gu-.
karisossagga : had-.
karuṇā : kap-.
kalahakamma : tuṭ-.
kalila : al-¹, kal-².
kalyāṇa : bhaṇḍ-, bhadd-.
kalyāṇakamma : bhand-.
kallāṇa : bhand-.
kassana : thūl-, kass-.
kāḍhinna : khil-.
kāma : anurudh-.
kālopadesa : vel-.
kiñcicala : kamp-.
kiñcicalāṇa : phand-.
kiriya : vaṇṇ-.
kilamāṇa : nitamm-.
kiledāṇa : und-.
kilesāṇa : dhikkh-, dhukkh-.
kilāṇa : kil-, las-.
kiḷā : ud-, kud-, kumār-, khud-, gud-.
kucchāṇa : kalaha-, garaha-.
kucchā : ku-, nid-, nind-, ned-.
kucchita : kadd-, ku-, sadd-
 (= *kucchita-sadda*).

kucchita-gamana : dā-

kuṭila-gati : ak-, ag-, agg-

kuṭumbadhāraṇa : tant-

kulasandhāna : su-².

ketava : maṅgh-, saṭh-

koṭīya : see *koṭilla*.

koṭilla : kanth-, kuc-, kuñc-, kuṭ-,
tuṇ-, nas-, bhuḥj-², meṇḍ-, vañk-,
hucch-, hur-.

kodha : kudh-, khi-, bhām-

kopa : kudh-, kup-, caṇḍ-

klesa : pac-⁴.

Khaṇḍa : khaṇḍ-

khaṇḍana : muṇḍ-

khanti : khamp-

khanda : tij-

khama : sah-

khamā : tij-, mas-

khaya : khar-, khī-, khe-, je-, thap-,
vyay-, se-

kharana : cut-, ric-, sic-, sūd-

khalana : sañj-¹.

khādana : khā-, vī-

khipana : dī-

kheda : sam-².

khepa : as-, īr-, kal-, khip-, khoṭ-,
nud-

khepana : aj-, as-³, īr-, nud-

Gata : añc-, am-¹, ar-, iṇ-, kaṭ-²,
kaṣ-, ṭik-, tañk-, paj-, paṇḍ-, path-¹,
pad-, panth-, pal-, plav-, phen-,
rah-, ru-¹, sakk-, hi-

gati : a(r)h-, aṅg-, aj-, añc-, aṇj-, aṭ-,
aṇṭh-, add-, abb-, abbh-, am-, ay-,
ar-, i-, iṅg-, iñkh-, iṭ-, iṇ-, il-, is-,
īj-, īr-, īs-, ukh-, es-, kañk-, kaṭ-,
gam-, gā-, cañc-, cabb-, cay-, car-,
cu-, cet-, cham-, ju-, juḥ-, jes-, ṭik-,
kan-, kabb-, kamp-, kal-, kas-, kass-,
kiṭ-, kel-, khañj-, khand-, khabb-,
khimp-, khī-, khel-, gaṇ-, gabb-,
dī-, taṅg-, tañc-, tay-, tik-, til-,
dakkh-, daph-, dam-, damp-, day-,

div-, du-, duṇ-, dhañs-, dhak-,
dhaj-, dhañj-, dhu-, nakh-, nakkh-,
nay-, nes-, paṭ-, paṇḍ-, pat-, path-,
panth-, pad-, pabb-, pay-, par-,
pal-, palu-, pilah-, pilu-, pis-, pe-,
pel-, pes-, plu-, phaṇ-, makh-, mang-,
mañc-, mand-, mabb-, mabbh-,
may-, mīm-, mun-, yā-, yu-, rañh-,
rakh-, rañkh-, raṅg-, raṇ-, riñkh-,
ring-, ris-, rī-, ru-, runṭh-, lakh-,
lañkh-, laṅg-, laṅgh-, liṅg-, lunṭh-,
vagg-, vañk-, vaṅg-, vaj-, vañc-,
vapph-, vabb-, vabbh-, vay-, vā-,
vāt-, vicch-, vī-, vel-, sakk-, saṅg-,
sajj-, satt-, sad-, sapp-, sabb-, sar-²,
sal-, sav-, sas-¹, si-, sidh-, siv-, su-,
suk-, se-, sek-, sel-, soṇ-, han-²,
ham-, hay-, hariy-, hi-, huṇḍ-, hul-,
huḥ-, hes-, hoḥ-

gati-koṭilla : agg-

gaticāturiya : dhor-

gatinivatti : thā-

gatinivutti : thā-

gati-paṭighāta : ghor-

gati-paṭighāta : kuṇṭh-, khol-, lunṭh-,
suṭh-

gativinivutti : thā-

gativuddhi : du-².

gativekalya : khañj-

gativekalla : khañj-

gatisuddhi : dhāv-

gattavināma : jabh-, jambh-, nacc-,
milā-, mile-

gatyakkhepa : maṅgh-, raṅgh-,
laṅgh-

gatyattha : ṭek-, laṅgh-, sakk-

gatyavasādana : sid-

gatyavasāraṇa : saṭ-

gantha : gādh-, guph-, cat-, paṭ vaṭ-

ganthana : ganth-, dambh-

gandha : nal-

gandhana : vā-, sūc-

gandhopādāna : ghā-

gabba : soṭ-

gamana : aṅg-, aj-, añc-, aṭ-, abb-¹,

am-¹, ay-, ar-, iṅg-, ghuṇ-, ghuṇṇ-,
ṭik-, taṅg-, du-², dev-², nay-, paṭ-,
pat-, path-¹, pad-, pay-, palu-,
pall-, pilu-, pis-², maṅg-, may-,
raṅg-, ray-, riṅg-, laṅg-, liṅg-,
vaṅg-, vaj-, vañc-², vay-, vā-, vī-²,
sakk-, saṅg-, sad-, sapp-, sabb-,
sal-, sidh-¹, hul-.

gamanamatta : dī-

gamanavuddhi : dhāv-

gamanavekalla : khañj-

garahā : nind-, vambh-

gavesana : mag-, magg-

gahana : gah-, ādā-, ghaṇṇ-, ghiṇṇ-,
ghuṇṇ-, bhas-, mil-

gārahiya : hīl-

giddhi : lubh-

giraṇa : gir-

gilāna : kilam-, klam-

guṇa : vaṇṇ-

guttabhāsana : mant-

gumba(ttha) : saṇḍ-

gumbana : abb-², gumb-

gedha : gidh-, lubh-

gelaṇṇa : k(i)lam-, hariy-

gopana : gup-

gopanaka : gup-

Ghaṁsana : ghaṁs-

ghaṭana : īh-, ghaṭ-, ghaṇṭ-

ghaṭṭana : ghaṭṭ-¹.

gharaṇa : sic-

ghasana : kūl-, khu]

ghāṭana : ghaṭ-¹.

ghāyana : siṅgh-

ghosa : kuṇṭh-, ghuṭ-, suṇṭh-

Caṇḍikka : caṇḍ-

camma(n) : ruh-

caya : ci-, phul-

carana : car-

cala : khubh-, vij-, vyath-

calana : kamp-, kel-, khal-, khel-,
ghaṭṭ-², cel-, pel-, phur-, bhes-, vat-,
vall-, vij-, vijj-, vel-, vyath-, sal-,
hul-

cavana : cu-

cāga : oh-, caj-, maṇ-, rah-, hā-

cittakarana : citt-

cittakriyā : ling-².

cittikarana : liṅg-².

cintana : cint-

cintā : cint-, jhā-, jhe-, veṇ-, sar-³,
had-².

cunṇana : cuṇṇ-, piṁs-

cumbana : ni(m)s-, nikkh-

cetanā : vid-

cetanātulya : cev-

cetā : īh-, ghaṭ-, ceṭ-, tand-

coriya : then-

Chaṭṭana : chaṭṭ-

chaḍḍana : chaḍḍ-

chijjana : chid-

chida : kat-, kaṇḍ-, kapp-², khaṇḍ-,
kuṭṭ-², khur-, char-, lup-, vas-

chedana : kat-, kant-, kapp-², kuṭ-,
kuṭṭ-, koṭṭ-, khaṇḍ-, khur-, cut-,
cuṇ-, cuṇṭ-, chu-, chuṭ-, cho-, taṭṭ-,
tuṭ-, dav-, lu-, lup-, lū-, vucch-,
(vacch-?).

Janana : jan-, ruh-

jambhana : jambh-

jaya : ji-

java : ju-

jānana : mant-, vid-².

jāni : jī-

jigimsana : dubh-

jigimsā : dubh :

jigucchana : gup-, laṇḍ-

jigucchā : yu-

jighamsā : (v. 1. for *jigimsā*) dubh-

jighacchā : khud-

jivhāmatthana : laṇḍ-

jiraṇa : jar-

jivana : dhikk-, dhukk-

juti : div-

Nāṇa : kit-, man-, mun-, vid-², veṇ-

Dāha : (v. 1. for *dāha* : q. v.)'

Takka : kapp-².

takkalagandha : kapp-.

takkiriya : dukkh-, sukh-.

(*takriya* : dukkh-, sukh-.)

tajjana : jhajj-, tajj-.

tanukaraṇa : tacch-, sā-¹.

tanukriya : tacc-.

tantasantāna : ūy-, vī-, ve-, siv-.

tantusantāna : vī-, ve-, siv-.

tapana : takkh-.

tappana : pi-.

tarana : tar-.

tāyana : amb-.

tāḷana : jas-, taḷ-, vyadh-.

titikkhā : maris-.

titti : cak-, tis-.

tuṭṭhi : tus-, ha(m)s-.

lejana : tij-, sām-.

lemana : tim-.

toḍana : tuṇḍ-.

toḷana : taṇḍ-, tuṇḍ-, tuḷ-.

tosa : ṇap-, tus-, mud-.

tosana : ṇā-, ṇāp-, mud-.

Thapana : op-, thap-.

thambha : man-.

thava : thu-.

thuti : ṭl-, thu-, div-, nu-, paṇ-, mand-,
vad-, vand-.

thūlātana : vaṭh-.

thūli : vaṭh-.

thūliya : tiv-, nīv-, pīv-, mīv-.

theyya : cur-, mus-, ruṇṭ-, luṇṭ-.

theyyakaraṇa : kuj-, khuj-, galoc-,
goc-.

theriya : dhu-, bad-.

thoma : paṇ-, vand-.

thomita : div-.

Damsana : khadd-, ḍaṁs-, daṁs-.

daṇḍana : daṇḍ-.

daṇḍavinipāta : daṇḍ-.

ḍappa : kabb-, khabb-, gabb-.

ḍabbavinimaya : kī-.

dama : dam-.

damana : dam-.

davana : dav-.

dasana : ḍaṁs-, daṁs-.

dassana : ikkh-, is-, cakkh-, citt-,
daṁs-, lakkh-, lok-, loc-, sabhāj-,
sam-¹.

dāna : khañj-, caṇ-, tuñj-, day-, da-¹.
dās-, piñj-, bhaj-, yaj-, ves-, saṭṭ-,
saṇ-, sad-, san-², hu-.

dāraṇa : ṭaṁk-, dar-¹.

dāva : dā-².

dāha : us-, kuṇḍ-, kūt-, jhap-, jham-,
dar-².

diṭṭhūpasamhāra : andh-.

ditti : as-, indh-, ej-, kac-, kañc-,
kan-¹, kāś-, kus-, gñiṇ-, cand-, jal-,
jut-, jhe-, tap-, thiv-, dal-², dip-,
dīdh-, dīp-, bhass-, bhā-, bhās-²,
bhāj-, bhej-, rāj-, ruc-¹, lañj-, vak-,
vacc-, vañc-, subh-, sur-, haṭ-.

dīnabhāva : khid-.

dīniya : khid-.

dukkha : vyath-.

duggati : dal-³, dalidd-.

duggandha : pūy-.

dubbalya : sath-, sār-.

dubballa : kip-.

devaccana : yaj-.

devana : dīdh-, dev-².

devapūjā : yaj-.

devasadda(na) : gad-, than-.

desana : rī-.

doṣana : dus-.

doṣāvikaraṇa : usūy-, sūy-.

dravikaraṇa : ḷi-.

dravikāra : ḷi-.

dvedhākaraṇa : chid-, ched-.

dvedhākāra (v. l. for *dvedhākaraṇa*) :
chid-.

Dhamšana : dhaṁs-.

dhañña : jay-, dhan-.

dhamana : dham-, pum-.

dhamā : yaj-.

dhāraṇa : ubb-, grabbh-, dadh-,

dah-, dhar-, dhā-, pīth-, pus-,
 mañc-, mal-, mall-.
dhiti : khad-.
dhovana : ācam-, dhov-.

Nacca : naṭ-.
naccana : nacc-.
nati : naṭ-.
nama : nam-.
namana : nam-.
naya : nar-, ni-.
nayana : nar-.
nāṭya : naṭ-.
nāsa : ar-, khar-, duh-², yam-, rup-¹.
nāsana : jambh-, dhakk-, nakkh-,
 pañs-.
nikāra : yat-.
niketana : tuñj-, puñj-, pubb-, saṭṭ-.
nikkarisa : tūl-.
nigaraṇa : gar-², gir-.
nigiraṇa : gir-.
niggiraṇa : gir-.
nicchubha : chubh-.
niṭṭhubhana : op-, ṭhubh-, dhimh-.
niṭṭhunana : thu-.
nidampāna : nidamp-.
niddakkhaya : jāgar-, dāh-.
niddākhaya : jagg-, jāgar-.
niddassana : khiv-, ṭhiv-.
nindā : garah-, diph-, hīl-.
niṇna : pall-.
nipajjā : tuvatt-.
nipuna : pūṇ-.
nippāka : kath-.
nippatti : phal-.
nimilana : kaṇ-¹, mīl-.
nimelana : mīl-.
nimmajjana : vul-.
nimmāna : sajj-¹, sañj-.
nimmīlana : mīl-.
niyyātana : yat-².
nirasana : khiv-, ṭhiv-.
nrodha : sam-.
nivāraṇa : rumbh-, val-, vall- (v. 11).
 bal-, ball-).

nivāsa : kit-, khi-, maṭh-.
nivāsana : kit-, vas-, vid-.
nisāna : nāp-, nā-, tij-, bund-, si-.
nissāmona : cāy-, veṇ-.
nissaya : gādh-.
nīcagati : phakk-.

Pakathana : khā-, khyā-.
pakampāna : īr-.
pakampā : dhu-.
pakāsa : rup-².
pakāsana : khā-, laj-.
pakkhandana : khand-.
pakkhepa : muṭ-.
bakkhepaṇa : mi-.
baggharaṇa : sic-, sūd-.
paccheda : lu-.
pacchedana : lu-.
pajjana : up-.
pañha : pucch-.
paṭikkama : kuc-.
paṭighāta : khott-, ghuṭ-, cak-, thak-,
 dhak-, ruṭ-, lut-, vak-.
paṭiñāna : muṇ-.
paṭibandha : khamb-, thamb-.
paṭidāna : me-.
paṭitthambha : bīl-.
paṭidāna : niyāt-.
paṭibandha : khamb-, thamb-.
paṭiyatana : yat-¹, rac-.
paṭisajjana : ajj-.
paṭiharaṇa : pes-.
paṭighāta : ghuṭ-, thak-, dhak-, luṭh-.
patti : bhū-.
padavikkhepa : kam-².
padhamsiya : dhañs-.
padhāniya : varah-, valah-.
papūraṇa : duh-¹.
pamaddana : muṭ-.
pamāṇa : mā-, mi-.
pamāda : yucch-.
pamocana : muc-.
payantana : jeh-, yas-, yes-, vāh-,
 veh-.
paramissariya : ind-.

parikatthana : cah-.
parikūjana : div-.
parighāta : khand-.
paritāpa : du-¹, dū-.
paritakkana : jus-.
parideva : kilind-.
paridevana : kilind-.
paribhāsa : paṇḍ-², bhaṇḍ.
paribhāsana : cacc-, cat-, jacc-,
 jhajj-, deṭ-, bhaṭ-, bhaṇḍ-, bhal-,
 bhall-, raṭ-, raṭh-, laṭ-, varah-,
 valah-, laṭ-, saraṭ-.
paribhoga : valañj-.
paribbhamana : ciṅgul-.
paribrūhana : thūl-.
parimāṇa : nikk-, mā-.
pariyāpanabhāva : poth-.
pariyesa : is-².
pariyesana : is-².
parivattana : gul-², ghuṭ-.
pariveṭhana : gudh-.
parivesana : yam-.
parisakkana : cah-.
parisagga : sañj-.
parisajja : saj-.
parissama : sam-².
parissahana : sah-.
parihāna : ūn-, hā-.
parihāni : ūn-, hā-.
parihāsa : paṇḍ-.
palambhana : vañc-¹.
pavana : pu-, pal-, pū-, mūl-.
pavesa : vis-¹.
pavesana : vis-¹.
pasamsana : saṁs-.
pasajjakarāṇa : hu-.
pasāda : thuc-.
pasava : su-³, pūs-.
pasavana : und-, mutt-, sand-, su-⁵.
passava : su-³.
passavana : sand-, su-⁵.
pahasana : sadh-.
pahāra : sumbh-.
pahāsana : dhas-.
pāka : kaṭh-, kuth-, pac-¹, bhajj-,

randh-, sã-, sid-, se-.
pāgabbhiya : gabbh-¹, vus-.
pāṇagabbhamocana : sū-.
pāṇacāga : mar-.
pāṇadhārāṇa : jīv-.
pāṇana : an-, pis-, bal-, sas-³.
pāṇippasava : sū-.
pātubhāva : jan-.
pāna : chūs-, dhe-, pā-¹.
pāpakarāṇa : agh-.
pāpaṇa : nī-.
pāpana : nī-.
pāpuṇa : ap-, ap(p)-, vah-, sambh-.
pāpuṇana : ap-, nī-, yā-, vah-,
 sambhu-.
pārusiya : rus-¹.
pālana : av-, taggh-, tā-, tāy-, tujj-,
 te-, de-, bhuj-¹, rakkh-.
piñchana : piñch-.
pipāsana : tas-¹.
pipāsā : ucch-, tas-¹.
piṇana : tap-³, piṇ-, sinih-, snih-.
pīti : jus-, sabhāj-, sinih-, snih-,
 ha(rn)s-.
pītikkhaya : gile-.
pītiya : kil-.
pīlana : par-.
pucchana : pucch-.
pucchā : pañh-¹.
puñchana : puñch-.
puthakamma(n) : bhāj-.
puthakkarāṇa : bhaj-¹, bhāj-.
pūjana : añc-, mañc-.
pūjā : acc-, añc-, arah-, cāy-, pūj-,
 mah-¹, mān-.
pūtibhāva : kuth-.
pūraṇa : ubh-, ubbh-, umbh-, kus-²,
 tūṇ-, pabb-, par-, pubb-, pūr-,
 vaddh-, sabb-.
pekkhana : dis-².
pemana : mān-.
peraṇa : il-, khip-, knep-, cuṇṇ-, juḷ-
 nud-, sū-.
pesa : pis-².
pesana : āṇ-, ciṭ-¹, pis-, lābh-.

pesuñña : sū-

posa : pus-

posana : pus-, bhar-

plavana : tar-

plutaḡati : dev-

Phaddā : nis-, vhe-

pharaṇa : phar-, phul-, vis-².

phassa : chup-, phus-

phassana : has-

phārusa : rukkh-

phāḡana : phal-

Bandha : kīt-, kīl-, tij-, mu-, si-³.

bandhana : ad-, ant-, and-, al-, kac-,

kīl-, khac-, juḡ-, tank-, nah-, pas-,

badh-, bandh-, mū-, mubb-, vadh-³,

vā-, samyuj-, satth-, si-³.

bandhu : kul-

bala : tujj-, tuñj-, piñj-, pis-, saṡṡ-

balakkāra : sath-, haṡṡ-

balya : mand-

bahutta : nam-, sadd-

bādhana : kilis-, pas-

bādhā : pīḡ-, bādh-, vidh-¹, heṡṡ-

bālya : khul-, laṡ-

bijānikkhepa : vap-

bijavīnikkhepa : vap-

buddhi : es-, si-, hi-

bodha : man-

bodhana : budh-, man-

Bhakkhaṇa : ad-¹, as-¹, khajj-,

khād-, kheṡ-, car-, cas-, jakkh-,

rad-².

bhaṇḡa : ruj-

bhajjana : bhañj-

bhaṇana : bhaṇ-

bhaṇḡana : bhaṇḡ-

bhati : bhaṡ-

bhaya : dabh-, dar-, bhirṡs-, bhī-,

vij-, vijj-, vyath-

bhayacalana : vyath-

bharana : bhar-, bhunḡ-, val-

bhasmīkaraṇa : dah-¹, bhas-¹.

bhassana : taji-, bukk-, bhas-, laj-,
lañj-, lāj-

bhājana(ttha) : karaṇḡ-, bhaj-

bhāsana : jut-, bhaṇ-, yut-, laṅgh-,
vakk-, vac-, sakk-, sumbh-

bhāsā : kurṡs-, kup-, gup-, ghaṡ-,
ghaṡṡ-, cīv-, takk-, turṡs-, tuñj-,
daṡs-, dhūp-, nad-, paṡ-, piṡs-,
piñj-, puṡ-, puth-, bhañj-, bhūṇ-,
luñj-, luṡ-, lok-, loc-, vatt-, vad-,
vaddh-

bhijjana : bhid-

bhīti : yvath-

bhīma : ghur-

bhīmattha : ghur-

bhū : as-².

bhūsana : al-, maṇḡ-

bhūsā : maṇḡ-

bheda : kaṇḡ-, khaḡ-, caṡ-, puṡ-, phal-,
phull-, bil-

bhedana : kaṇḡ-, khaṇḡ-, caṡ-, puṡ-,
bil-

bhojana : as-¹, bhuj-², vabbh-

Makkhana : añj-, makkh-

maggana : es-, gaves-, vaj-

maggasaṡvaraṇa : paj-

maṇḡalya : maṅḡ-, sidh-

macchera : mas-¹.

majjana : cul-, maṇḡ-

mañṇanā : cine-

maṇḡana : maṅk-, samb-

maṇḡala : samb-

mada : kaḡ-, khīv-, gaṇḡ-, maṇḡ-

maddana : kaṡ-¹, kiñc-, khajj-, gaḡ-,
madd-, muṡ-

maṡhana : luḡ-

mandagata : cup-

mandagati : cup-

mandagamana : cup-

maṡyana : kele-

marana : fā-

marisana : sah-

mahatta : pul-

māna : gabb-, mā-, māh-, sup-

māpana : māp-.
māraṇa : māp-.
missana : yu-.
mīlana : kaṇ⁻¹, mis-.
muccana : mokkh-.
mucchā : mucch-, muh-.
mujjana : mujj-.
muṇḍiya : dikkh-.
mūlātana : vaṭh-.
methuna : yabh-.
medha : mid-, med-.
mokkha : guḷ⁻¹, muc-.
moca : muc-, mokkh-.
mocana : muc-, mokkh-, sid-.
moda : ud-, mand-.
moha : mucch-.

Yatana : yat⁻¹.
yāca : bhikkh-.
yācana : atth-, add-, cat-, cad-, dhan-,
nāth-, bhikkh-, yāc-, vat-, van-,
vith-.
yācanā : atth-, patth-, yāc-.
yācanādi : nādh-.
yācā : van⁻¹, var-.
yāta : am⁻¹, kaṅk-, pac⁻².
yātrā : add-, kam⁻², dhuv-, vaṅk-,
su⁻².
yāpana : yap-.
yujjhana : yudh-.
yuddha : jaj-, jañj-, diph-, saṅgām-.
yoga : yuj-.

Rakkhaṇa : av-, khañj-, gup-, jaṃs-,
nay-, pā⁻², pāl-, rakkh-.
rakkhā : guḷ-, day-, pāl-.
rāga : rañj-.
rava : ras⁻¹.
rābhassa : rabh-.
rāsikarāṇa : puñj-.
riñcana : riñc-.
rujā : ūs-, saṭ-, saṇḍ-, sūl-.
ruppana : rupp-.
rūpakriyā : rūp-.
recana : ric-.

roga : am⁻², jar-, ruj-.
rogāpanayana : kit-.
rocana : mac-, roc⁻².
rodana : kad-, kand-, kaland-, kus-,
rud-.
ropana : rup⁻².
rosa : rus⁻¹, mas-, mis-.
rosana : gudh-, ru-, rus-.
rohana : mūl-.

Lakkhaṇa : añk-, lakkh-, lañch-,
pār-.
laṅghana : laṅgh-.
lajjana : lajj-, harā-, hirī-.
lajjā : virīḷ-, vīḷ-, harā-, hare-, hirī-.
lavana : pal-, mūl-.
lābha : edh-, labh-, vid⁻¹, vind-.
līṅgavekalla : paṇḍ⁻¹.
līmpana : lip-.
lekhana : likh-.
lesa : lis-.
loṭana : luṭ-.
logha : lubh-.
lolātana : kaṅk-.
loliya : kaṅk-.

Vaṁsa : gotth-.
vacana : īr-, cikkh-, jap-, japp-, brū-,
bhās⁻¹, rap-, lap-, vaṇṇ-, vad-.
vajiranigghosa : phūj-.
vajiranipphesa : phūj-.
vajjana : cacc-, jacc-, juṅg-, yuṅg-,
vajj-.
vañcana : lambh-.
vaṭṭana : vaṭṭ-.
vaḍḍhana : brūh-, vaḍḍh-.
vaṇṭa(ttha) : vaṇṭ⁻².
vaṇṇa : kav-, nīl-, sit-, soṇ-.
vaṇṇana : vaṇṇ-.
vata : dikkh-.
vatādesa : dikkh-.
vattana : iriy-, vatt-.
vattekadessa : gaṇḍ⁻¹.
vatthu : vat-.
vadanasaṃyoga : cumb-.

vadanekadesa : gaṇḍ-
vadha s gabbh-².
vaddhana : vaddh-.
vandanānati : namass-.
vamana : chadd-.
vayohāni : jar-.
varaṇa : vakkh-, var-, rukkh-,
valañjana : valañj-.
vasanā : cil-, ri-.
vassa : kaṭ-.
vākya : rap-, lap-.
vākyappabandha : kath-.
vākyappabandhana : kath-.
vāca : cikkh-.
vācā : īr-, bhās-¹.
vāyamana : ārabh-.
vāraṇa : tas-, vapa-, var-.
vāsa : kit-, cil-.
vikaraṇa : phuṇ-.
vikasana : pupph-, phuṭ-, phull-.
vikāsa : phull-.
vikiraṇa : kir-.
vikkanti : vīr-, sūr-.
vikhyāna : path-.
vicintatana : jhā-, vid-².
vijigimsā : div-.
vijjaggaha : sikkh-.
vijjhana : rañj-, vidh-.
vitakka : ūh-, kapp-², takk-, sam-.
vitakkana : takk-.
vittasamussagga : vyay-.
vittiyaga : mad-.
vitthāra : tan-, pac-², pacic-, path-.
 pas-, puth-, vaṇṇ-.
vidāraṇa : dar-¹, dal-¹, bhid-.
viddhamasana : vambh-.
vidhunaṇa : phuṇ-.
vidhūnaṇa : khamāy-, dhū-.
vidhi : kapp-.
vinandhana : nandh-.
vināsa : khar-, luj-, lup-.
vinandana : garah-.
vinimaya : ki-.
vippayoga : vis-.
vibādha : eṭh-, bādth-, heṭh-.

vibādhana : kilis-.
vibhājana : bhaj-¹, vaṇṭ-¹.
vibhūsana : tam-¹, maṇḍ-.
vibheda : caṭ-, cuṭ-, puṭ-, phuṭ-.
vimohana : lubh-.
vimhāpana : kuh-.
viyatti (vācā) : gad-, cakkh-, cikkh-,
 path-, brū-, lap-, vac-, vad-.
viyojana : ric-.
virecana : ric-.
vilasana : val-.
vilāsa : laḷ-.
vilikhana : khur-.
vilimpana : opuñj-.
vilinabhāva : vilī-.
vilekhana : kas-, khur-, kuc-, phāl-,
 rad-¹.
vilotaṇa : math-, manth-, luṭ-.
vilothana : math-.
vilotaṇa : gāh-, bādth-, math-, manth-.
vivecana : vic-.
visaddana : ghus-.
visaraṇa : dal-, dāl-, dhāl-, pūy-,
 phal-, phuch-, phuṭ-, saṭ-, sad-, sid-.
visesana : añc-, sis-.
visagga : saj-, sañj-².
vissajjana : sañj-².
vissāsa : bhaj-, sambh-.
vihāra : kāl-, khāl-.
vihāyasagati : ḍī-.
vihimsā : nabh-, hims-.
vijana : vij-.
vimamsā : mān-.
vuddhi : idh-, edh-, da(m)h-,
 dakkh-, pāy-, pus-, pe-, phāy-,
 bah-¹, brah-, ba(m)h-, brūh-,
 vadh-¹, (vaddh-), vah-, vudh-.
vekalya : (cf. *gati*-; *gomana*-; *linga*-).
vekkhana : vekk-.
vecitta : muh-.
veṭha : guṇḍ-.
veṭhana : kuṇḍ-, guṇth-, the-, maṇḍ-,
 vaṭ-, vaṇḍ-, veṭh-, heḷ-.
vedha : vidh-².
vedhana : vidh-².

velamba : kand-, ṭal-, ṭul-, tham-, sam-.

vehāsagamana : ḍi-, ḷi-.

vohāra : div-, paṇ-.

vyattavaco : gad-, jap-, japp-, paṭh-, vac-, vad-.

vyattavacana : gad-, vac-.

vyattā(vācā) : bhās-.

vyatti : añj-.

vyattīkarana : pac-⁵.

vyathana : kajj-, khajj-, cakk-, cukk-, tud-.

vyathā : tud-.

vyayagati : añc-.

vyavahāra : div-, paṇ-.

vyāḷīkarana : vyāc-.

vyāpāna : as-, āp-, sākh-.

Saṁhyama : vadhi-.

saṁhyamana : pacc-, yuj-.

saṁrādha : rādh-¹.

saṁrādhana : sidh-.

saṁvaḍḍhana : vaḍḍh-.

saṁvaṁṁana : vaṁṁ-.

saṁvara : vu-.

saṁvarana : kaṭ-², kamb-, khattṭ-, gup-, guh-, chad-, thag-, thul-, dis-, dvar-, phul-, var-, val-, vall-, vu-, ve-, vye-, sal-.

saṁvethana : mur-.

saṁsagga : mud-, yuṭ-.

saṁsadda(na) : kitt-.

saṁsiddhi : idh-, rādh-¹, sādhi-, sidh-².

saṁsuddhi : majj-.

saṁsumbhana : sumbh-.

saṁsevana : bhaj-³.

saṁharana : vell-.

saṁharisa : ghus-, bandh-.

saṁkalana : kal-¹, gaṇ-.

saṁkā : tam-¹, tim-, raṅg-, rek-, lag-, saṁk-.

saṁkilesa : kunth-, piṭh-, punth-, luth-, lunth-, saṭh-.

saṁkilesana : puṭ-.

saṁkoca : kuc-¹.

saṁkocana : kuc-¹, kuṇ-, cūṇ-, yant-.

saṁklesana : kuth-.

saṁkhāta : akkh-, makkh-.

saṁkhāna : kal-, hul-.

saṁkhāra : vap-, saṭh-.

saṁkhyāna : kal-¹, gaṇ-, bah-².

saṁga : lag-, sajj-, sañj-.

saṁgatakarana : yaj-.

saṁgatīkarana : yaj-.

saṁgama : medh-.

saṁgamana : yuj-.

saṁghaṭṭana : ghaṇṭ-.

saṁghāta : aṁs-, ghaṭ-, ghaṇṭ-, jaṭ-, jhaṭ-, ṭhe-, ḍap-, ḍip-, thim-, thīn-, the-, dhum-, piṭ-, piṇḍ-, pun-, pul-, pūṇ-, pūḷ-, mutth-, silok-, siloṇ-, soṇ-, huṇḍ-.

sajjana : nah-, mis-, sajj-, sull-.

sajjhāyana : kuṭ-¹.

saṁcaya : khal-¹.

saṁcala : khubh-, phul-.

saṁcalana : kel-, khal-³, khubh-, khel-, ghaṭṭ-², cel-, taṇḍ-, pel-, phur-, vel-.

saṁcinana : khal-.

saṁcunṇana : cuṇṇ-, piṁs-, pis-, muṭ-.

saṁcitana : cit-.

saṁcodana : cud-.

saṁchedana : khur-.

saṁjana : ruh-.

saṁñāna : cit-.

sattā : khāy-, bhū-, mah-², vid-¹. hū-.

satti : sak-, sah-, suh-.

sattibandhana : vass-.

sattha : sidh-.

sadda : aṇ-, amb-, ambh-, u-, uc-, kaṇ-², kaṇūy-, kā-, ku-, kuc-², kuṇ-, kur-, ke- kvaṇ-, khav-, khu-, kho-, gaj-, gajj-, gadd-, gav-, gā-, gāy-, gi-, gu-, ge-, ghu-, ghur-, ghus-, gho-, jan-, ṭhe-, tan-, tus-, than-, the-, damb-, dambh-, dek-, debh-, dhan-, dham-, dhis-, dhek-, nadd-, nās-, pan-, piṭ-, ba(m)h-, bhan-, maṇ-, mas-, mā-, mis-, raṇ-, ras-, rās-, ru-², rē-, vaṇ-, vas-, vit-,

- , vhe-, samsar-⁴, su-⁶, sun- has-,
 his-.
saddakucchā : kas-.
saddakucchi : sadh-.
sadda (lāra) : koc-.
saddattha : kuñj-, gajj-, gajj-, muñj-,
saddana : kall-, kās-, gajj-, gi-, vass-¹,
 sadd-.
saddopakaraṇa : kuṇ-.
santati : ri-.
santappana : tapp-.
santāna : tāy-, ri-, vap-.
santānakiriyā : satt-.
santāpa : tap-¹, dhūp-, nāth-.
santāpana : dhūp-.
santāḷana : taṇḍ-.
santosa : tus-, mad-, mud-.
santhambha : ganth-, budh-, santh-.
santharāṇa : thar-.
sandīpana : id-, dhikk-, dhukk-.
sandhi : sandhā-.
sannicaya : gaṇḍ-².
samatti : sã-².
samavāya : uc-, sac-, sap-.
samavāyana : sac-.
samādhī : nis-, yuj-, sil-.
samiddhi : nand-.
samuṣṣaya : pul-.
sampaccana : kuc-, ric-.
sampahāra : yudh-.
sampāka : pac-.
sampucchana : pucch-.
sampūjana : cāy-.
sampharāṇa : phar-.
samphassana : chup-, phus-.
sambandha : nakkh-, yot-, samb-.
sambhatti : van-², var-, san-¹.
sambhama : tar-, van-², san-¹.
sammissa : miss-.
sammosa : mus-².
saya : si-¹, sī, sup-.
sayana : sup-.
sarāṇa : dav-.
sava : und-, sup-.
savana : kaṇṇ-, pus-, su-¹, sam-¹,
sahana : kham-, maris-.
sātacca : kand-.
sātacca-gaṇana : at-.
sādana : sad-.
sāntva : cap-, tam-².
sāntvana : cap-, sam-¹.
samattha : kapp-¹.
sāmtthiya : kapp-¹, omā-, dāgh-, pār-,
 rāgh-, lāgh-, sak-.
sāyana : sãy-.
sāsana : has-.
singāra : sid-.
siddhi : idh-, rādh-¹, sād-, sidh-².
sineha : pus-.
sinehana : til-, mid-, mil-, vas-, sineh-.
silāghā : katth-, thom-, saṭh-, haḷ-.
silesa(na) : las-, lī-, siles-.
silyayoga : las-.
siḡhatta : dhakk-.
sīti : sabhāj-, sind-.
sukha : vāt-, sukh-, hilād-.
sukhana : pul-, muḷ-.
suttajanana : kant-.
suddhi : dā-, niñj-, majj-.
supana : dā-⁴.
supinakkhaya : jāgar-.
subha kamma(n) : puṇ-.
subhakriya : puṇ-.
susana : sas-.
sūcana : gandh-.
secana : ukkh-, kaḷ-, kev-, khev-,
 gar-¹, gev-, gilev-, ghar-, nis-,
 bhagand-, maris-, mis-, milev-,
 mih-, mev-, vass-², vis-, sec-,
 sev-.
seṭhilla : kattar-, cill-, sath-.
sevana : kev-, jus-, vāt-, sabhāj-, si-²,
 sev-.
sevā : bhaj-², si-².
selana : sil-.
soka : kaṇṭh-, kuṇṭh-, maṭh-, suc-.
sokhiya : bhand-.
soca : khal-², nahā-, sinā-, sudh-.
soceyya : kudh-, khaḷ-², nhā-, nahā-,
 majj-, sinā-, sudh-.

sodhana : da-, dā-, de-.

sobhana : subh-.

sosa : kaṇṭh-, laṅgh-, sus-.

sosana : okh-, kaṭh-, khand-, dākh-,

dhākh-, pe- rākh-, laṅgh-, lākh-, ve-,

siv-, suṇṭh-, sus-.

sneha : til-, mid-, ras-².

snehana : mid-, ras-².

svāntana : sām-.

Hantyartha : ghaṭ-.

haraṇa : kūs-, har-.

harita : sadd-.

haritasa : sadd-.

havyadāna : hu-(?).

hasana : kakkh-, kakh-, jakkh-, jaggh-,

tak-, maṇḍ-, vhe- has-.

hassa : mud-.

hāna : hā-.

hāni : caj-, ras-.

hāva : hil-.

hāvakaṇa : cuḍḍ-, cull-, hil-.

hāvakriya : cull-.

hāsa : dap-.

hāsakkhaya : gilā-.

himsattṭha : kas-, jas-, jūs-, thah-,

dah-, dis-, mas-, vas-.

himsana : pīṭh-, mi-¹, midh-.

himsā : add-, abb-, ārabh-, is-, ubb-,

eraṇḍ-, kath-, kapp-², kas-, ki-, kiv-,

kuth-, kunth-, khad-, khas-, khi-,

khiṇ-, khuṇ-, cat-, cir-, jas-, jir-,

jhas-, tacc-, tajj-, tand-, tik-, tig-,

tuj-, tuñj-, tup-, tuph-, tubb-,

thub-, thubb-, dakkh-, day-, dās-,

dikkh-, diph-, du-, duṇ-, dubb-,

dū-, dhubb-, nabh-, piñj-, piṭh-,

puṭ-, bundh-, bhabb-, bhal-, bhall-,

mi-¹, miṇ-, mid-, mū-, med-,

medh-, raṇḍ-, radh-, rādh-², ris-,

ruj-, rus-¹, lunth-, lūs-, vadh-²,

varah-, valah-, vī-, saṁs-, sagh-,

saṭṭ-, saṭh-, sabb-, sabh-, sambh-,

sar-¹, sas-², su-², suth-, sumbh-,

han-¹, hims-, hikk-.

hilādāna : cand-.

hīḷana : cham-¹.

hucchana : dhur-.

CASE VARIATION IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA¹

I.—THE DATIVE AND ITS VARIANTS.²

By

E. D. KULKARNI

The importance of the critical edition of India's Great Epic from the point of view of literature, history and sociology has been clearly recognized by the number of papers which have appeared on these different aspects. Even from the purely descriptive linguistic basis the constituted text serves as the source for a new grammar of the Epic language. With the large number and variety of Mss. utilized from the different places in India we have in the *apparatus criticus* a rich mine of variants the value of which has yet to be demonstrated from the point of historical linguistics. The approach to this subject is naturally two-fold : that of the text-critic looking at the variants on the basis of the *stemma codicum* and constituting his critical text ; and that of the historical linguist trying to interpret the origin of these variants on the basis of linguistic history and geographical location of the groups of variants recorded.

It was pointed out by Prof. KATRE in his Presidential Address at the Linguistic Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference³ at Trivandrum that a rich field was awaiting investigation for Indo-Aryan linguists in the recorded variants of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which would open up a new vista in the history of Indian Linguistics by paving a permanent way towards linguistic geography. The same point was again emphasised by him in his review of BLOOMFIELD-EDGERTON'S *Vedic Variants*⁴ wherein he suggested that Prof. EDGERTON should undertake an investigation into the variants of the Mhb. The present series is an humble attempt to touch one small aspect

¹ Edited by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and published at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927 ff. I have to thank Professor S. M. KATRE for giving me this subject for investigation and helping me substantially at every stage with his guidance and books.

² This paper is based on the critical edition of the *Adiparvan* by Dr. SUKTHANKAR. It is intended to make use of the *Udyoga* and part of *Vanaparvan* for the whole thesis. The present series will deal individually with only one type of variants discussed below.

³ *Proceedings*, pp. 866-867.

⁴ *Oriental Literary Digest* 2, 69-72.

of the whole problem, from the statistical, historical and geographic points of view, in the light of Prof. KATRE'S remarks.

At the present stage of our investigations it is not possible to point out any positive results. They will automatically arise from the complete classification of the entire material on the statistical basis. The study of the variants naturally falls into several divisions and classes according to the nature of the variants taken up for study. In the present thesis only case variation as part of Epic syntax is taken up for investigations. Even here we have two aspects to consider : (a) case variation within the critically constituted text and (b) case variation with reference to the variants recorded in the *apparatus criticus*.

The first part, namely case variation within the constituted text, will define the region of mutual relationship between the different cases considered with reference to stylistics, idiom, and particularly syntax of the Epic age. The second—and by far the more important for linguistic history and geography—helps us in studying the psychology of the variants and possibly fixing up of chronology or location or both of the usages observed. The greatest factor here is the statistical method of grouping the variants under different heads with reference to the Mss. sources.

Incidentally the study of these variants will also clear much ground for the text critic as similar instances of any particular phenomenon will be brought out in this study. In the present paper I am taking into account only the variants of the second type with reference to the Dative, the first type being reserved for another paper. The whole series will deal with each individual case and then bring the results together for a proper conclusion to be arrived at. Even if such a result cannot be achieved the study will have served as an analysis of the entire material from the Ādiparvan from one point of view at least, helping comparative linguists in their wider formulations for a proper history of Indian Linguistics.

A few principles may be considered here. If a particular type of variant is found in a fixed group of Mss. and if further proof of that type is found in the normal syntax of the geographically attested languages of the region from which the Mss. group hails, it will at once be evident that that type was a living reality within the area and affected the Mss. tradition of the Mbh. Such definable types of variants then would give us both the approximate period and place of their origin with reference to the Mss. utilized. This would then be a beginning in the linguistic geography of India solely with reference to the Mss. traditions of the Mbh. A similar study applied to other groups of texts like the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas or even classical works like those of Kālidāsa and others would help us in building up a new science of Linguistic Geography as applied to Indian conditions. Ordinarily there

has been so much interborrowing between the different Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages that attempts purely on isolated linguistic factors have not yielded a correct method of linguistic geography.

If the group of variants is spread over several versions or recensions of the text the same type of result will not be apparent. But the inter-relationship between the versions and recensions linguistically speaking becomes much more apparent. This approach does not make any possible change in the constitution of the text, because the two are more or less independent, having different aims and different methods. The success of the statistical approach to the variants of the Mbh. is not to be measured merely by the positive results attained ; it lies rather in clarifying the genesis of the variants from the stylistic and linguistic points of view, fixing where possible the geographical location and the probable time when such types were actually living factors in the languages of the copyists.

With regard to case variation within the critically constituted text a method similar to that used by Prof. Hanns OERTEL in his recently published volumes on *Kasusvariation*⁵ has to be followed. Intercomparison of both types will ensue from this study which will ultimately throw light on Epic Syntax as a whole. Even for this result the contemplated study of case variation will form the ultimate basis of analysis.

I.—*Dative and Nominative.*

- (a) The adjective used either with the nominative subject or the dative object.

- (1) I. 5. 18 paścāt tv imām pitā prādād Bhṛgave 'nṛtakārīṇe (NV₁ anṛtakārakah)
- (2) I. 6. 9 kenāsi rakṣase tasmai kathiteha jihṛṣave (G₂ jihṛṣitā).
- (3) I. 96. 8 āhūyadānaṁ kanyānām guṇavadbhyaḥ (T₂G₂. 4, 3 G₃ guṇavad dhi and guṇavac ca) smṛtaṁ budhaiḥ
- (4) I. 216. 3. somena rājñā yad dattaṁ dhanuś caiveṣudhī ca te (N₁ V₁ B₃ tau)

- (b) Stylistic change⁶ owing to analogical disturbance.

- (1) I. 16 40. tatas tad amṛtaṁ tasyai dadus te mūḍha-cetasah | striyai G₁₋₅ striyah) dānavadaiteyāḥ sarve tad gatamānasah ||

- (c) Interchange of the dative and the nominative adjectives of a similar type.

- (1) I. 99. 26 tasmai pūjāṁ tato 'kāṣṭ purodhāḥ (G₆—purodhāya paramatapaḥ) pramaṣaye

⁵ *Zu den Kasusvariationen in der vedischen Prosa I-III*, 1937-1939 [< Stz. d. Bay. Ak. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Abt.], München.

⁶ It is also termed as "Transfer of the epithet": *Vedic Variants* by M. BLOOMFIELD and F. EDGERTON, introduction P. 20 (Volume III).

- (d) The dative of purpose as a nominative adjective agreeing thus with the subject.

- (1) I. 143. 6 So 'yam abhyāgataḥ kālo bhavitā me *Sukhāya* vai [N₂V₁BD, except D₆] *Sukhodayaḥ*, s. *Sukhāvahāḥ*] |
- (2) I. 144. 8 na viśādo 'tra kartavyaḥ sarvaṃ etat *sukhāya* vaḥ | (G₁₋₂ M₆₋₈ *Sukhāvaham*).
- (3) I. 155. 40.
bhayāpaho rājputraḥ pāñcālānāṃ yaśaskaraḥ |
rājñāḥ śokāpaho jāta eṣa *dronavadhāya* vai ||
(B₆—*dronavināśakṛt*)

II.—Dative and Accusative.

- (a) The dative object as the accusative object.

- (1) I. 13. 1 sarpasatreṇa sarpānāṃ gato 'ntarī tad vadasva *me* | (Ko. ₂ *mām*)
- (2) I. 47.3 pratikuryāṃ yathā tasya tad bhavanto bruvantu *me* | (K₃ *mām*)
- (3) I. 58.3 tat tu te kathayiṣyāmi namaskṛtvā *svayambhuve* (G₃ *pinākinam*)
- (4) I. 78. 38 jarāṃ tv etāṃ tvam *anyasmai* (K₂ *tvam apy anyam*)
saṃkrāmaya yadicchasi |
- (5) I. 123. 25 yathāvr̥ttarī ca te sarvaṃ *dronāyācakhya*ḥ adbhuta-
tarī (N₁ *dronamācakhya*°)
- (6) I. 124. 5 tathā tathā *vidhāmāya* (D₄ *tathā vidhāmam tat sar-
vam*) svayam ājñāpayasva mām |
- (7) I. 154. 11 prayogaṃ caiva sarveṣāṃ dātum arhasi *me* (S₁
mām) bhavān |
- (8) I. 168. 12 *apatyāy epsitām* (Ko N₂V₁ BDG₃ *apatyaṃ ipsitam*)
mahyarī mahiṣīṃ gantum arhasi |
- (9) I. 189. 2 tato yamo dīkṣitas tatra rāja-
nn āmārayat kimcid api *prajābhyaḥ* |
(T₃G₄ *prajā hi*)
- (10) I. 190. 3 yathaiva kṛṣṇoktavatī purastān-
naikān patīn *me* (K₃ *mā*) bhagavān dadātu |

- (b) The indeclinable with case termination used for the dative of purpose.⁷

- (1) I. 16.8 tam ūcur *amṛtārthāya* (N₃ M₁₋₄ *amṛtārtham*)
nirmathīṣyāmahe jalarī |
- (2) I. 94. 59 santānasyāvināśāya (Ko *avināśārtham*, S *nāsam tu*)
kāmaye bhadram astu te |
- (3) I. 123. 35 na hi kim me *gurave* (T₂ G_{1.4.5}
gurvartham) brahmavittama |

⁷ *Sanskrit Syntax* by Dr. J. S. SPEIJER p. 62, § 84.

- (4) I. 123. 77 *tad vadhāya* (K₂. 4 *tad vadhārtham*) prayuñjīthās tadāstram idam āhave |
- (5) I. 137. 3 pāṇdavānām *vināśāya* (G₄ *vināśārtham*) ity evaṁ cakruśur janāḥ |
- (6) I. 189. 48 svargaśrīḥ *pāṇdavārthāya* (N₂. 3 BD except D₅ *pāṇdavārtham tu*) samutpannā mahāmakhe |
- (7) I. 201. 22 trailokyavijayārthāya (Ś₁K₁. 3. 4. N₁ V₁ D₅ °*vijayārtham*) bhavadbhyām āsthitam tapah |
- (8) I. 221. 17 rocatām eṣa vopāyo *vimokṣāya* (K₂. 3 N₂B except B₆ ; D except D_{1.2.5} *mokṣārtham ca* ; N₃ *vimokṣārtham*) hutāsanāt |
- (c) The same idea expressed with karmapravacanīya.
- (1) I. 33. 9 janamejayasya sarpānām *vināśakaraṇāya* hi |
(T₂G₂. 3-6 M₁₋₃. 5 °*karaṇam prati*)
- (2) I. 48. 17 prasādito mayā pūrvam *tavārthāya* (D₅ *tavārtham pra-*) pitāmahaḥ |
- (d) The dative of time as the accusative of time.
- (1) I. 45. 16 tatas tvaṁ puruṣaśreṣṭha dharmena pratipedivān idam *varṣasahasrāya* (N₁. 2 V₁ °*sahasrāṇi* ; T₁G₅ °*stram tu* ; M₁. 5 °*srāntam*) rājyaṁ kurukulāgatam |
- (e) The dative of purpose as the accusative of destination.
- (1) I. 80. 25 dattvā ca purave rājyaṁ *vanavāsāya* (D₅ °*vāsam tato gataḥ*) dikṣitaḥ |
- (2) I. 96.46 bhrātur vicitravīryasya *vivāhāyopacakrame* (S except M₃ *vivāhamupa*°)
- (f) The dative of purpose as the accusative of time.
- (1) I. 80. 27 puros tu paura vaśo yatra jāto 'si pāṛthiva | idam *varṣasahasrāya* (N₁. 2. B₃ Dn D₁. 4 °*sahasrāṇi*) rājyaṁ kārayitum vaśi ||

III.—Dative and Instrumental.

- (a) Stylistic change owing to analogical disturbance.
- I. 3. 117 sa tām uvāca | ete kuṇḍale gurvarthaṁ *me*
(D₅ *mayā*) bhikṣite dātum arhasīti ||
- (2) I. 6. 9 kenāsi *rakṣase* tasmai (G₂. 3 *rakṣasaitarme*) kathiteha jihṛṣave |
- (3) I. 96. 8 āhūya dānaṁ kanyānām *guṇavadbhyaḥ* (T₁ *guṇavadbhiḥ*) smṛtaṁ budhaiḥ |
- (4) I. 104. 3
agrajāteti tām kanyām agryānugraha-kāṅkṣine |
(G₂. 4. 5 *ugro nugraha-kāmyayā*, G₆M₅ °*kāṅkṣayā*) pradadau kuntibhojāya sakhā sakhye mahātmane ||

- (b) The dative of purpose used as the instrumental of manner.
- (1) I. 18. 4 ehi sārddham mayā dīvyā dāsibhāvāya (K₁G₂ dāsa-bhāvena) bhāmini |
 - (2) I. 18. 5 evaṁ te samayaṁ kṛtvā dāsibhāvāya (K₁ dāsa-bhāvena) vai mithaḥ |
jagmatuḥ svagṛhān eva śvo drakṣyāva iti sma ha ||
 - (3) I. 221. 14 mā vai kulavināśāya (D₁. 2 kulavināśena) snehaṁ kārṣiḥ suteṣu naḥ |

IV. Dative and Ablative.

- (a) The dative of interest used as the ablative of separation.
- I. 95.59 santānsyā vināśāya (N₃ °nāśāt tu) kāmāye bhadram astu te |
- (b) The following example is doubtful about the dative variant with the ablative. I. 152.16 prāpayiṣyāmy ahaṁ tasmai (K₂₋₄ N₃T₁ G except G₅ tasmād) idam annaṁ durātmane |

V. Dative and Genitive.

- (a) The genitive object used for the dative object with the verbs like *dā*, meaning 'to give'
- (1) I. 3.163 te cāsyai (D₆, 7 cāsyāḥ) kuṇḍale prāyacchat |
 - (2) I. 30.7 asmāṁs te hi prabādheyur yebhyo (N₁ B₁₋₃ Da yeṣāṁ) dadyād bhavān imam |
 - (3) I. 30.8 na dāsyāmi samādātum somaṁ kasmaicid apy ahaṁ |
(T₂ G₁₋₄₋₅ M kasyaci°)
 - (4) I. 50.8 naiṣāṁ jñātum vidyate jñātum adya dattaṁ yebhyo (N₃ G₃₋₆ M_{1.3.5} caiṣāṁ) na prapāsyet katharṁcit |
 - (5) I. 76.29 namas te dehi mām asmi (B₆ māmasya) nānyaṁ lokaḥ patim vṛṇe |
 - (6) I. 77.20 dātavyaṁ yācamānebhyah (S dāsyāmi yācato ; G_{1.2} °cito) iti me vratam āhitam |
 - (7) I. 79.29 yauvanaṁ bhavate (G₃ M₆₋₈ bhavato) dattvā cariṣyāmi yathāttha mām |
 - (8) I. 88.10 sarve pradāya bhavate (D₂ G_{2.4-6} M bhavato) gantāro narakāṁ vayam |
 - (9) I. 98.29 avamānya dadau mūḍhā sūdrāṁ dhātreyikāṁ hi me |
S1D except D_{2.4.5} mama)
 - (10) I. 103. 12 ātmānaṁ ditsitaṁ cāsmāi (T G₂₋₅ M tasya) pitrā mātṛā ca bhārata |
 - (11) I. 123.2 andhakāre 'rjunāyānnaṁ (KO₄ T₂ G₄₋₅ °rjunasyānnaṁ) na deyaṁ te katharṁcana |
 - (12) I. 158.40 dadau sa viśvāvasave mahyaṁ (KO₂₋₃N₁ V₁ BD mama) viśvāvasur dadau |
 - (13) I. 163.5 dadau saṁvaranasyārthe vasisthāya (M₅ vasiṣṭhasya) mahātmane |

- (14) I. 189.44 *dadau tasyai* (Ko *tasyaiva* ; \bar{N}_1 *ca tasyāḥ*) *sa deveśas*
taṁ varaṁ prītimāns tadā |
- (15) I. 213.49 *rāmaḥ pādagrāhaṇikaṁ dadau pārthāya* (V_1 *pārth-*
asya) *lāṅgalī* |
- (b) The genitive object used for the dative object with the verbs like \sqrt{vac} , $\sqrt{cakṣ}$, \sqrt{man} , etc. meaning 'to tell, to speak,' etc.
- (1) I. 3.40 *bhagavate* (D_6 T_2 M_1 *bhavato*) *nivedya pūrvam*
aparaṁ carāmi |
- (2) I. 38.16 *ācakhyau parivīśrānto rājñe* ($K_{3.4}$ $\bar{N}_{1.2}$ V_1 *BD* except
 D_5 , T_1 G_1 *rājñah*) *sarvam aśeṣataḥ* |
- (3) I. 39.33 *hasann eva ca bhogena takṣakenābhiveṣṭitaḥ* |
tasmāt phalād viniṣkramya yat tad rājñe (S_1K $M_{1.5}$ *rājño*)
niveditam ||
- (4) I. 41.29 *yathādṛṣṭam idaṁ cāsmāi* (G_5 *cāsyā*) *tvayākhyeyam*
aśeṣataḥ |
- (5) I. 46.36 *anantaram ahaṁ manye takṣakāya durātmane* (D_1
 G_1 *takṣakasya durātmanah*).
- (6) I. 70.16 *sā vai tasyābhavan mātā pitā ceti hi nah śrutam* |
 $(G_{1.2}$ *nah śrutih*).
- (7) I. 89.37 *nivedya sarvam ṛṣaye satkāreṇa suvarcase* | (\bar{N}_3 *Da*
 D_1 , *°varcasah*).
- (8) I. 101.23 *śighram ācakṣva me* (*S tanmamācakṣva tatvena*) *tat*
tvaṁ paśya me tapaso balam |
- (9) I. 122.20 *ācakṣadhvaṁ ca bhiṣmāya* (K_3 *bhiṣmasya*) *rūpeṇa*
ca guṇaiś ca mām |
- (10) I. 124.33 *viduro dhṛtarāṣṭrāya gāndhāryai* (\bar{N} *B Da Dn D_{1.4}*
before corre. gāndhāryāḥ) *pāṇḍavāraṇiḥ* |
nyavedayatāṁ tat sarvaṁ kumārāṇāṁ viceṣṭitam |
- (11) I. 184.3 *bhaikṣaṁ caritvā tu yudhiṣṭhirāya* (*S. except T_1*
°ṣṭhirasya) *nivedayāñcakrur adīnasatvāḥ* |
- (12) I. 210.12 *tīrthānāṁ darśanaṁ caiva parvatānāṁ ca bhārata* |
āpagānāṁ vanānāṁ ca kathayāmāsa sātivate || (\bar{S}_1 K_1 *M*
except M_5 sātivate).
- (c) The genitive object used for the dative object with verbs like \sqrt{hi} ,
 $\sqrt{āp}$, \sqrt{yuj} , meaning 'to send, to get, to be united with,' etc.
- (1) I. 1.84 *ājahārānjuno rājñe* (K_1 V_1 *m B_1* (*m* as in the text).
 $(D_3$ (except D_{6-12} , D_{13} missing) $G_{1-3.6.7}$ *rājñah*) *rājasūyaṁ*
mahākratum |
- (2) I. 38.11 *tat kariṣye 'dya tātāhaṁ preṣayīṣye nṛpāya vai* | (*S*
except T_1 nṛpasya vai).
- (3) I. 39.23 *tatas tāpasarūpeṇa prāhiṇot sa bhujarṅgamān* |
phalapatrodakāṁ ghṛhya rājñe (\bar{S}_1 $K_{1.4}$ $G_{4.5}$ *rājño*, M_{1-3-5} *tasya*
rājñotha) *nāgo 'tha takṣakah* ||

- (4) I. 39.25 upaninyus tathā *rājñe* (M_{1.3.5} *rājño*) darbhān āpaḥ phalāni ca |
- (5) I. 68.10 *bhartre* (Ñ₃ Dn S (G₂ omits) *bhartuḥ*) prāpayatād-yaiva sarvalakṣaṇapūjitām |
- (6) I. 152.16 prāpayiṣyāmyaham tasmai idam annam *durātmane* (Ko *durātmanah*).
- (7) I. 158.11 ārāt tiṣṭhata māmahyam samīpam upasarpata (TG ca (T₁ G₂ pra-) *tiṣṭhatā* G₃ ° to *smākaṁ*).
- (d) The genitive of possession used for the dative of relation.
- (1) I. 45.5 tathā tena pitā mahyam (Ko *yathāsmākaṁ*; K_{2.4} B₄ D₅ *pitāsmākaṁ*) pūrvam dagdho viśāgninā |
- (2) I. 65.18 yathāyam āgamo mahyam (M₆₋₈ *thā mamā*) yathā cedam abhūt purā |
- (3) I. 88.1 prcchāmi tvām vasumanā rausadaśvir yad yasti loko divi mahyam (Ñ B D (except D₅) S M₆₋₈ *me*) narendra |
- (4) I. 100.17 tasmādeṣa sutas tubhyam (Ñ₁₋₂ B D except D₅ *sutaste vai*; K₂ *tasmāttavaṣa tanayah*, pāṇḍureva bhaviṣyati |
- (5) I. 100.22 ṛtukāle tato jyeṣṭhām vadhūm tasmai nyayojayat Kṣ *tasya na* (?) *read niyojayat*).
- (e) The genitive object used for the dative object with verb √kṛ with *prasādam*.
- (1) I. 67.31 *tasmai* (S *tasya*) sasacivāya tvām prasādam kartum arhasi |
- (f) The genitive object used for the dative object with verbs having causal forms.
- (1) I. 120.15 sa *rājñe* (K_{2.3} B_{3.5} D (except Dn₃ D₄) T₂ G except G₁ *rājño*) darśayāmāsa mithunam saśaram tadā |
- (2) I. 189.2 tato yamo dīkṣitas tatra rājannāmārayat kiricid api *prajābhyah* | (Ñ_{2.3} B_{2.6} D (except D_{4.5}) G₁ *prajānām*).

VI.—Dative and Locative.

- (a) The stylistic change owing to the influence of the analogical disturbance.
- (1) I. 3.117 sa tāmuvāca | ete kuṇḍale gurvartham *me* (G₁ *mayi*) bhikṣite dātum arhasīti ||
- (2) I. 57.12 na *te 'stya viditām* (B₅ G₈ M₆₋₈ *teṣvavi*°) kiricit triṣu lokeṣu yad bhavet |
- (b) The indeclinables with case termination as the dative of purpose.
- (1) I. 16.8 tam ūcur *amṛtārthāya* (TG °*tārthe*) nirmathīṣyāmahe jalam |
- (2) I. 48.17 prasādito mayā pūrvam *tavārthāya* (K₂ *tavārthe sa*) pitāmahaḥ |
- (3) I. 112.4 *apatyāya* (K₂ °*tyārthe*) ca mām gaccha tvam eva kurunandana |

- (4) I. 115.12 gurūn abhyupagachanti *yaśaso 'rthāya* (K_1 *yaśa-serthe*) *bhāmini* |
- (5) I. 201.5 trailokya *viṣayārthāya* (S °*viṣaye yattau*) *saṁsthāyaikaniścayaṁ* |
- (c) The influence of the same verb on both the cases concerned.
I. 49.4 tata ācaṣṭa sã *tasmai* (B_6 m as in the text Da, *tasmin*) *bāndhavanām hitaiṣiṇi* |
- (d) The inclusive dative object used as the selective locative.
(1) I. 77.20 dātavyaṁ *yācamānebhyaḥ* (Da °*māneṣu*) *iti me vratam āhitam* |
(2) I. 189.2 tato yamo dīkṣitas tatra rājan nāmārayat kimcid api *prajābhyaḥ* | (K_1 *prajāsu*).
- (e) The dative object as the locative of destination.
(1) I. 78.38 jarām tv etām *tvam anyasmāi* (\bar{N} $B_{3-5.6}$ Dn $D_{1.4.5}$ *tvam anyasmān*) *saṅkrāmaya yadicchasi* |
(2) I. 96. 20 te tv iṣūn daśasāhasrāṁs *tasmai* (\bar{S}_1 K \bar{N}_1 V_1 Dn $D_{1.5}$ *tasmin*) *yugapad ākṣipān* |
(3) I. 225.13 dadau ca *tasmai* (K_1 *tasmiṁśca*) *devendras taṁ varam prītimāns tadā* |
- (f) The dative of purpose as the locative of occasion.
(1) I. 88.18 adadād *devayānāya* (K_2 D_2 *devayātrāyān*) *yāvad vittam avindata* |

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES OF THE MARĀTHĀ COUNTRY*

By

IRAWATI KARVÉ

PART. I. *The Kinship terminology.*

The collection of terms denoting relationship used among a people is spoken of as the system of kinship terminology of that people. Such systems contain a definite body of social facts, which can be described and classified. A comparison of one such system with another shows that they vary greatly because the principles of classification of relations underlying such systems are different among different people. Thus one people, e.g. the English, may lump together such relatives as the mother's brother and the father's brother and designate them by the term "uncle". Most of the peoples in India, however, make a sharp distinction between these two relatives and have distinct terms for each e.g. *māmā* and *kākā*. The study of the principles underlying a given system of kinship terms gives us a clue to the social organisation of the people using that system.

The importance of this study was first demonstrated by Lewis MORGAN in his epoch-making book "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" written in 1871. The book was hotly criticised, but the method of research has now secured recognition from all sociologists. The same method was pursued with brilliant results by W. H. R. RIVERS, in 1914, in his investigations in Melanesia. RIVERS, following MORGAN, but modifying him in certain respects, has given the following systems of kinship terminology.

1. The most important of these systems is the *Classificatory system*. The special feature of this system is the application of its terms to large groups of persons, so that in its most complete form no single term can be used as the means of distinguishing one individual. The classificatory terminology shows a peculiar reciprocity in the use of kinship terms, which suggests that these terms denote relationships rather than relatives. In Marāṭhī the term, *mehuṇe* applied by cross-cousins to each other, the term *sāḍū* applied to the husbands of two sisters are such reciprocal terms. In this system, the terminology is different when the speakers are of different sex. Thus, for example, a

* I have to thank the Syndicate of the University of Bombay for a research grant, which enabled me to meet a part of the expenses incurred in connection with this investigation.

man calls his brother's child *putanyā*, while a woman calls her brother's child *bhācā*. Another feature of the classificatory system is that relatives receive different names, according to whether they are younger or older by age or status than the speaker. This feature is found predominantly in the languages of the people of South India. It is also found to a much lesser degree among the Marāṭhas. A woman calls her husband's elder brother *bhāvā* and the younger brother *ḍira*. A man calls the elder sister of his wife *akkaḍ-sāsū* and the younger sister *mehūṇī*. These and other features of the classificatory system will become clear in the following paper.

2. A fully *descriptive system* would contain a number of terms denoting single persons, or, very small groups of persons and all other relatives would be named by combinations of these primary terms. The Prakrit terms *piucchā* and *māucchā*, for the father's sister and the mother's sister respectively, are descriptive terms. They are formed of the primary terms *piu*—father, *māu*—mother and the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *svasā*—sister.

3. RIVERS distinguishes a third system and calls it the *family system*. In this system all the kinship terms have reference to the single biological family, comprised of man, wife and the children. Terms for other relatives, not included in this unit, are vague and indefinite in their content. I have shown in a previous paper¹ that the vedic system of relationship is also a family system. It implies, however, not an atomic single family of the present-day western Europe, but a big joint family, in which collaterals belonging to different generations live together in one common household. It is what the Germans call the "Grossfamilie".

Kinship usages are reflected in kinship terminology. A study of the latter, gives us a picture of the duties and the rights of each individual in his kinship group. When a kinship term does not reflect the current kinship usage, the very disharmony between the word and the usage becomes a significant social fact, useful for the construction of the cultural history of a people. Cultural contacts, the domination of a foreign element, or a change in the social structure, may be inferred from such cases. Certain communities in the Marāṭhā country, practising the cross-cousin marriage, use the word *bhāvaṇḍa* i.e. brother and sister, for the cross-cousins instead of the usual word *mehūṇā* meaning mate. This discrepancy raises the question, as to whether the community is influenced in its use of the term by certain other people in *Mahārāṣṭra*, who do not practise cross-cousin marriage. On the other hand, social institutions may change, while the words denoting them re-

¹ "Kinship usages and kinship terminology in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda"—*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, October 1938, January 1939 and April 1939.

main the same. An example of this process is the Hindu family. Two generations ago, for a Hindu woman, husband's brothers and their wives, and children, husband's father and mother, were as much the members of her family, as her own children and husband. To-day in cities, the atomic individual family of western Europe is becoming the normal family. The word family has remained the same, but the whole social and psychological content of the word has changed. Behind this change lies the history of conflict of cultures, and of great changes in the economic foundations of a community. The language of a people is thus intimately bound up with their culture.

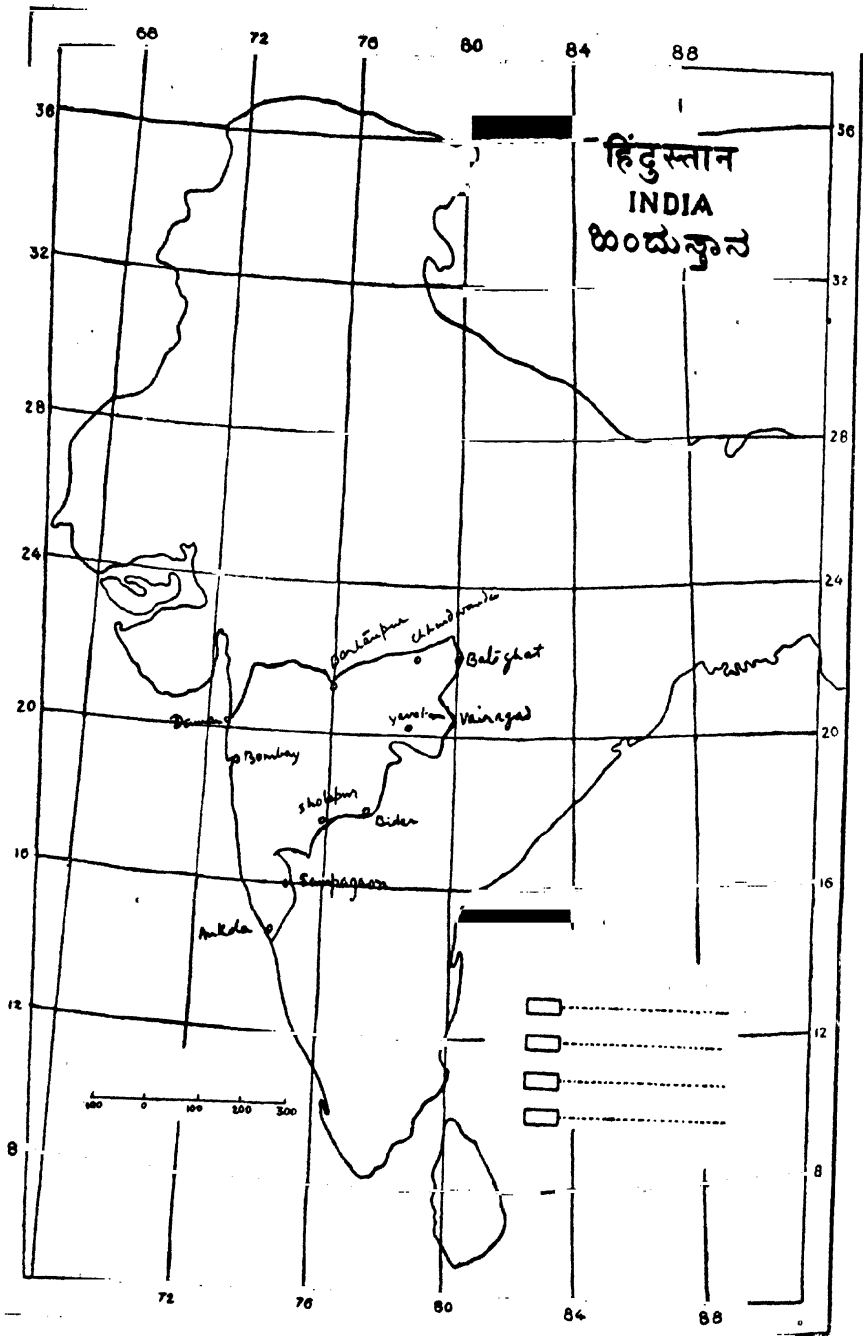
India has been a corridor of human migrations since the very dawn of human history. The *Sivālik* hills at the foot of the Himalayas have disclosed the remains of anthropoid apes in the Tertiary age². In Java has been found the " *Pithecanthropus Erectus* ", a being, which, though very much like an ape, can yet be called the ancestor of human beings. The time at which this being lived in Java is estimated as about 500,000 years ago³. Since those ancient days up to the present, different ethnic groups have crossed India, each leaving its traces in the present population, while others have permanently settled in the land. Different bloods and different cultures have mixed together to such an extent, that trying to study the culture pattern of one area may seem to be an impossible task ; but the mingling of cultures is not like the mingling of different rivers, which flow afterwards in one undifferentiated system. Human cultures and human physical traits have an individuality and a tenacity, which is very remarkable. The modern biological theory of heredity explains the immortality of the physical traits of human beings. Empirical observation has confirmed the longevity of their cultural traits. There is never a complete and a uniform mixture of human races and human cultures. Generally a stratification takes place, so that zones or regions of lesser and greater contact can be distinguished. The analysis of the elements, which make a particular pattern in a country like India, requires the joint labour of such disciplines, as anthropology, sociology, archæology and history. One sociological method of such an analysis is the study of the kinship terminology and the kinship usages of a given people.

The kinship terminology reflects the social organisation of a people ; and the slight variations and discrepancies, found between a system of relationship terms and the relationship usage, reflect clearly a story of culture contacts, assimilations and stratifications. The Vedic kinship terminology is studied and described by me in a paper published in the *Annals of the Bhandārkar Oriental Research Institute*⁴. In this

² WEINERT, *Menschen der Vorzeit*, 1930, p. 5, 7.

³ *ibid*, p. 10.

⁴ cf. (1) p. 2.



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paper I propose to describe and interpret the kinship terms and kinship usages of the Marāṭhā country. The Marāṭhā country or Mahārāṣṭra is that contiguous area of land in India where Marāṭhī with its many dialects is spoken. It stretches from the Arabian Sea in the West to the *Vaingāṅgā* river in the east ; and from Tāpi valley to the north, up to a point near Ankola in the south. Its greatest east-west breadth is reached in the north, while it tapers to a point in the south. It is a triangle with its base on the Arabian sea coast and its apex on the *Vaingāṅgā* river and comprises nearly one hundred thousand square miles of land (cf. map attached herewith). If one looks at the geological map of India, the Marāṭhā country is roughly coincident with the Deccan trap formation shown in the map. The Marāṭhā people occupy a very interesting position, between the northern Indian cultures dominated by the Vedic tradition and the pre-Vedic South Indian cultures. In skin, colour and stature they come very near to the South Indians and their social organisation is a compromise between the mother clans of the South and the patriarchal family of the north ; they speak, however, an old dialect of the Indo-germanic family of languages. The first traces of written Marāṭhī, the language of this people, goes back to 978 A.D. Unfortunately this great cultural and linguistic area has been divided in three parts and allotted to different provinces, owing partly to the historical accident of the dates of the conquest by the British of its different parts, and to the blindness to cultural and anthropological facts displayed by the rulers of the British Empire in all their possessions and colonies.

The words discussed in the following pages have been collected from different sources. 1. Marāṭhī literature, both old and new. 2. Proverbs and folk-songs, some of which were collected by me. 3. Information obtained from representatives of various castes and groups in different parts of the Marāṭhā country. Printed forms containing about a hundred terms in English were prepared and the equivalent in Marāṭhī, as spoken by the caste or group to which the informant belonged, were obtained by personal questioning mostly by myself or in some cases through the kind help of friends.*

FATHER :—The following words are used for father in the Marāṭhā country :

Pitā, pītā, pītājī, tāta, tātyā, tātubā, bāpa, bāpus, bāpusu, bāpu, bābā, bāvā, ābā, abā, āpā, dādā, dājī, dādulā, annā, ānu, vaḍil, mhātārā, tirtharūpa, janaka, kartāra.

The word *pitara* is used in the plural to denote both the parents as also the dead ancestors. Abstract names like *bāpapaṇā, dādulepaṇā,*

* I am indebted to Prof. V. B. KOLTE of Amraoti and to Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI of Poona for help in collecting information and in translating some Konkani proverbs contained in XXVI respectively.

tātaṣaṇā, *vaḍilaṣaṇa* are also used in literature, the expression *bāpyā hone* is used very often in speech.

The words *pitā*, *pitā*, *pitāji* are all formed from the Sanskrit word *pitṛ*. They are not generally used in daily speech, but are found in folk songs as well as in the Marāṭhī classical literature from the 12th century onwards.

⁵तुझा पती आम्हा पीता नाठवे वीचारू
(your husband is our father (*pitā*), no other thought touches us).

⁶माता पिता सरली = (mother and father (*pitā*) died).

⁷सुंदराणं मांडीले मेघराय पीत्याच (Let us remember the father (*pitā*) cloud).

The suffix *ji* is added to many kinship terms as a mark of respect and so *pitāji* is the same as *pitā* with the suffix added.

The words *tāta*, *tātyā* and *tātubā* are also directly connected with the Sanskrit word *tāta*. In Marāṭhī the unchanged Sanskrit form *tāta* is found in literature and songs only, while the other two forms *tātyā* and *tātubā* are found also in the daily speech of the people. The words *tātyā* and *tātubā* have become in modern times mere nicknames and are used as pet names for other male relatives, such as uncles or brothers (generally elder brothers).

⁸रुक्मिणी म्हणे ताता उपेक्षेलिये कृष्णे गोपाळे
(Rukminī said father (*tāta*), Krishna Gopala has discarded (us)).

⁹सीता बाळालीण वनांत तिची न्हाणी । दोनी नेत्र झांकुनी तातुबा घाली पाणी
(Sītā was in childbed, her bathroom in the woods, the father (*tātubā*) poured water over her, with his two eyes shut.) [Sītā was abandoned in the forest, and taken care of by the sage Vālmiki, who is referred to here as her father. A man should not see a woman bathing, but as Sītā had no female attendants, Vālmiki had to do the duties of a midwife, which he did, shutting his eyes.]

Bāpa, *bāpu*, *bāpus*, *bāpusu*, *bābā*, *bā*, *bāvā*, are the words used oftenest for father. *Ābā* and *Āpā*, derived from *bābā*, are used for the father as also for other male relatives generally older than the speaker. These words have no equivalent in the Sanskrit language, though both *bābā* and *pāpā* are found in other Indo-germanic languages, as also in other languages.

The forms ending in *u* and *s* are those used on the western coast to-day and in older literature. These words are used sometimes without any kinship connotation, while addressing a man. Though the term *bū* or *bābā* is generally used for an elderly man, it is also used for children. This use of the term is similar to the use of the word *tāta* in

Note—For Roman numbers in the references see p. 59.

⁶ II, p. 62. 2.

⁶ IV, 52. 152.

⁷ XXIII, 134.

⁸ II, 10. 4.

⁹ XXII, 412.

a famous passage in a Sanskrit classic, where an older man begins a didactic speech to a much younger man with the words “*tāta candrā-pīḍa*=son, *Candrāpīḍa*... The terms *bāpu*, *bābu* and *bābā* are also used as nicknames for children.

आई जेऊं देईना व बाप भीक मागूं देईना (The mother would not give food ; the father (*bāpa*) would not let me beg). [This is a very popular proverb in *Marāṭhi*].

¹⁰बापु तो नेणे माय मी नाठवे. (I do not know the father (*bāpu*) and cannot remember the mother).

Bāpāji is used in certain folksongs and women's songs.

¹¹सासुऱ्याचे बोल । कडूकारेतीचा पाला । गूळ घालोनी गोड केला बापाजीहो ॥
(The talk of the father-in-law is like a bitter vegetable. O father (*bāpāji*), it is sweetened by *gūl*). [A girl is asking her father not to mind the harsh words of her father-in-law]. The word *bābā* is used generally in direct speech while addressing the father. The words *bā* and *bāvā* are in use among non-Brahmins.

¹²बाबा, बाबा, गूळ खा, पाणी प्या. (Father (*bābā*), eat *gūl* and drink water).

The words *bā*, *bābā* and *bāvā* are used also without any kinship connotation as a mode of address.

¹³बा पैला गांवा जाते (Sir (*bā*), I am going to the town yonder). The words *abā*, *ābā* and *āpā* are used for father, as also for other male relatives.

Dādā, *dādulā* and *dājī* are derived from the words *tāta* or *tātā*. These words are used of other elderly relatives also. The word *dādulā* or *dādlā* is used also for husband or man in certain castes. Other words derived from these like *dādulepanā* and *dādāgiri* denote, exercising of power (cf. below).

¹⁴दादो तुम्ही, तुमची निंदा कोणही न करी (You are an old man (*dādo*), nobody will cast aspersions against you).

¹⁵तयांसी येवोनी कान्होबा पुसत । दादाची ते मात सांगा मज ॥
(Kanhoba came and inquired, “what is the news about my father (*dādā*) ?)

Just like *bā*, *dādā* is used as a term of address, but that it stands for father or brother is made clear in the following :

¹⁶वैराळ दादा गा । दादा म्हणूं नकस । अहो वैराळ कारबारी । कारबारी म्हणावं ॥

(“O *Vairāl*—*dādā* (father).” “Do not call me *dādā* (father).”

“O *Vairāl-kārabārī* (husband) thus you should address me as *kārbārī* (husband).”)

¹⁰ VIII, 2729.

¹⁸ IV, 24. 77.

¹⁵ XIII, p. 131.

¹¹ XIX, vol. 2, p. 67.

¹² XVII, p. 3.

¹⁴ IV, 59. 182.

¹⁶ XXXII, p. 200.

Anṇā, *ānu*, *vaḍil* and *mhātārā* are all words meaning an older man or an elderly person. *Anṇā* is a word of Dravidian origin and is used in the Kannaḍa language for older male relatives, its feminine form being used for female relatives older than the speaker. It is borrowed in Marāṭhī and used for two or three relatives (cf. further the word “*vahinī*”).

ānu is a diminutive of affection derived from the word *anṇā*.

Vaḍil is an adjective meaning old or big. It is also used substantively for father and other elderly relatives.

¹⁷दीसू बडिले होती (days become lengthened.)

¹⁸भटोबासांचे वडिल पुत्र महेश्वर पंडित आले (The eldest (*vaḍil*) son of Bhaṭobāsa, Maheśwar Pandit arrived).

¹⁹तरी आम्ही कां जन्मावें । कवणालागी जियावें । जे वडिलां यां चिंतावें । विरुद्ध मनें ॥
(Why should we be born, why should we live if we are to plan evil to these our elders (*vaḍila*) ? [in this poem the reference is to uncles and grand-father etc.]

²⁰जेथे वडीलधारे नाही । तेथें बोळवण कोई । कुवारी कवणे ठायी । दीधली देखा ॥
(Where there is no elderly relation (*vaḍil-dhāre*) why send a girl there ? Just see in what a household the girl is given !) [It is supposed to be very improper to marry a girl to a man, who has no elderly relatives living with him].

²¹एक दीस घरीं । पुस्तक वाचितां । कांहीं आले चित्ता । वडिलांच्या ॥

तीर्थस्वरूपांनी । घातले ताडन । गीतार्थ नमन करूं नको ॥

(One day while I was reading at home my father (*vaḍila*) suspected me. The father (“*his sacredness*”—*tīrthasvarūpa*) gave me a chiding and told me not to read *Gītā*). [The word *tīrtharūpa* is used as an honorific title for the father and other elder relatives].

The word *janaka* is purely Sanskrit and used in literature only. The word *kartāra* meaning the doer, the master, is given by a man of Gosāvi caste and is really a Hindī word and not used by Marāṭhī-speaking people generally.

The word *mhātārā* is used among agriculturists, especially those of the west coast, and means simply “the old one”. It is used also of grandfather.

Joint words like *māyabāpa*, *āibāpa* etc. are used to denote both the parents, the word for mother generally forming the first word in the compound. The word *pitara* is used in literature for father and mother.

²²ब्रीपुरुषे मायबापा म्हणती सर्व देवाते । मामाजी हरिहराते न म्हणती ॥

(Men and women call the gods their parents (*māyabāpa*), nobody calls the gods by the name of father-in-law.)

¹⁷ VI, 630.

²⁰ VIII, 2729, 13.

¹⁸ IV, p. 80, 1.

²¹ XXII, p. 244.

¹⁹ III, 1, 214.

²² XII, 72, 11, 49.

²³श्रावणे पितरे कावडी ठेवितां । हे तंव समूल अबद्ध कथा ।

(That *Śravaṇa* placed his parents (*pitare*) in carrying baskets, is a false story). In an old Marāṭhī song a curious term occurs for parents. I have never heard the term used, nor found it elsewhere in song and literature. The term is *jācannā* in singular, and *jācanne* in plural. In its singular it stands for father, while in its plural use it means both the parents. It is however an old song and I have heard it sung every year on a certain auspicious occasion by Brahmin women.

²⁴दोई आयुष्य बळिया जाचन्ना आस पुरवी । (become long-lived, your father (*jācannā*) will give you whatever you shall wish.)

²⁵इतके. या अवसरी एक संघ निघाला । दोघे जाचन्ने एकला श्रवणू जो आला । (At that time a group of pilgrims started. In it were the two parents (*jācanne*) and *Śravaṇū*, their only son).

²⁶चला जाऊं सावित्री जाचन्ने प्राण त्यागिती । (Come, *Sāvitri*, let us go, otherwise the parents (*jācanne*) will give up their life.)

²⁷काल मेला न आज पितर झाला (died yesterday and became a *pitara* (dead ancestor) to-day). Ancestor-worship demands that the dead are fed and respected. A man, who may not have been respected in his lifetime, becomes so immediately he is dead. This is a popular proverb in Marāṭhī.

The father's house is called *bāpaghar* in a few places, though the word used most frequently is *māhera*, i.e. mother's house.

²⁸मग आपघर त्यागूनी बापघरी केली वस्ती । (She left her own house (husband's house), and lived with her father). आपघर कीं बापघर is a proverb, which means that a woman has but two shelters, (either own house i.e. husband's house, or father's house). Many of the words used for father denote manhood, or the power of manhood, as will be clear from the following abstract nouns and verbs derived from the words *bāpa*, *vaḍil*, *dādā* etc.

²⁹जो ज्ञानियांचा बाप । देखण्यांचिये दिठीचा दीप । जया दादुल्याचा संकल्प । विश्व रची । (He who is the father of the wisest of all), he who is like a lamp to the eyes of the seers and by whose powerful (*dādulā*) plan the world was constructed.)

³⁰देवाचेया दादुलेपणाचा उबारा न साहावेची साताही सागरा । भेण वोसरोनी राजभरा । दीधली द्वारावती ॥ (The seven seas could not bear the lustre of the god's power (*dādulepanā*). They were afraid and receded and gave to him the royal city of *Dwārakā*).

³¹तातपण नीकें केलें । जे रूपू न दाखवीसी ची आपुले । कांई वीरू घेतले । ते तू जाणैसी ॥ (You have indeed showed your fatherliness (*tātapana*—beha-

²³ IX, 1. 56, p. 5.

²⁵ XVIII, part 3, p. 62.

²⁷ XXI,

³⁰ IV, 37, 38, 113.

²⁴ XVIII, part 3, p. 59.

²⁶ XVIII, part 3, p. 91.

²⁸ XII, 7, 2, 11.

²⁹ III, 6, 108.

³¹ VI, 105,

viour of a superior to an inferior) inasmuch as you are not showing yourself to me. You alone know why you have this enmity towards me.)

³²तेथ आम्ही ची कांई केले । जरि निगो राउळाचेनी बोले ॥

तरी बापपण आयुले । कां दाविजेना ॥

³³आंगिचेनी सुगंधपणे । कस्तुरीमृगे सी करौनी साजने । उमानिती डोळेआंचेनी वडिलपणे । कृष्णकुमरी ॥ (The women by the fragrance of their body showed their kinship to the muskdeer. By the superiority (*vaḍilapaṇā*) of their eyes they became standards of comparison to the blue lotuses.)

In modern Marāṭhī the plural of the word *bāpa* is used to denote men. The verbal expression *bāpyā honē* means to become an adult male. There is a term *dādāgiri* derived from the word *dādā*, much used in modern journalism. It means unjust oppression of the weaker by a powerful party or man. The father idea thus seems to be connected in the Marāṭhī language with the ideas of power and manhood—even oppressive power—as is abundantly clear from the words derived from the words for father.

MOTHER :—The following words are found for the mother in Marāṭhī :

Ammā, mātā, māya, mae or māye, loc. of *māya, māi māyabāi, māvali, māuli, mātā*, (in compound), *mātuḥśrī mātōśrī, āis, āiyā, āya, yāi, āvsu or āvasu, āvaī, bā, bāi, janani, sūti*.

The words *mā* and *ammā* are not used by the Marāṭhī speaking people generally. The word *mā* was given to me by a man of the Gosāvi caste and is really a Hindustānī word. *Ammā* is used by the Chitrapur *Sāraswats*, who live in the extreme south of the *Marāṭhā* country and is probably borrowed from the neighbouring people, who use the word *ammā* or *ammal*.

The words *mātā, māyā, māya, mayē, māi, māyabāi, māvali, māuli* and *māta* all correspond to the Sanskrit word *mātṛ*. All these words are used in Marāṭhī literature as also in the daily speech and folksongs.

³⁴दात्याची जे कान्ता । ते मागत्याची माता ॥ (She who is the wife of a generous man, is the mother (*mātā*) of all beggars.)

³⁵हं सुंभरण मांडल...धरतरी बा मातेचं ॥ (Let us remember our mother (*mātā*) earth).

³⁶जावळाची माता गा हाळ्या मारूं लागली.
(The mother of the twins began calling the others).

³⁷मायविरहीत जेसे । कुंजतु बाळकू आपैसे । धांवा फोकरीतु बोले तैसे । दीशांप्रति ॥
(Like a child sobbing without its mother (*māyā*), I cry out for help in all the quarters).

³² VII, 34, 199. (Meaning not clear to me.)

³³ VI, 342.

³⁴ VIII, 2319, 91 p. 652.

³⁵ XXIII, p. 134.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 140.

³⁷ VII, 37, 25.

³⁸मायबाई तूझं पोट । सोन्या परीस पिवळं । हिरा जन्मला केवळ । भाई माझा ॥
(Mother, (*māyabāi*) your stomach is better than gold inasmuch as from it was born this jewel, my brother.)

³⁹उचकी लागे माय । कांहीं केल्यानं राहीना । काढीशी आठवणी । सुखी माय तुझी मैना ।
(I am suffering from hiccough O mother (*māya*), it does not stop. Are you thinking of me, mother, your Mainā is happy). [There is a superstition that a hiccough denotes that somebody is thinking about you. The bride in her husband's house thinks that her mother is thinking about her and so says these verses].

दे'माय धरणी ठाय (mother (*māya*) earth make a room for me). This is a popular saying in Marāthī. When a person has no protection, he is supposed to ask mother earth to make room for him in her bowels. [cf. the story of Rāma and Sītā.]

⁴⁰भणानि आम्हा कवण आहे । कवणाते पुसो बापु माए । कवणा बंध सोडियाचे पाए ।
धरुनि राहो ॥ (whom have we got ? To whom can we turn, O father and mother (*bāpu mātē*) ? Who is the deliverer whose feet we should hold ?) The word *māi* is used for a sister, as also for the step-mother.

Māvali and *māuli* are diminutives of the word *māya* and are used very frequently of the god by the worshippers of Viṭhobā. They are also found often in women's songs.

⁴¹तू माझी माउली । तू माझी साउली । पाहातो वाटुली । पांडुरंगे ॥
(You are my mother (*māuli*), you are my shelter. I am waiting for you, O Paṇḍuraṅgē (the god is addressed as a woman ; the usual name is Paṇḍuraṅga but here the feminine form is used to emphasize his motherliness.)

⁴²ना तरी बाळक बोबडा बोली । कां वाकुडा विचुकां पाउली । चोज करुनी माउली । रिझे जेवी ।
(Like a mother (*māuli*), who fondly rejoices at the lisping words and at the awkward attempts at walking by her child.)

⁴³सासुरवासे शीणली । तिये.भंटे जेवी माउली । असो हे तैसी परि जाली ।

. श्रीरुद्रिपुर देखिले आं ॥

(As a girl tired after a long stay at the father-in-law's house at last meets her mother (*māuli*), so did I feel when I saw the town of Rddhi-pura.)

⁴⁴बाळातीण झाली मावलीच्या घरीं । एक महिना झाला । बसुं दीना परवरीं ॥
(She delivered at her mother's (*māvali*) house. A month passed and still she was not allowed to sit on the front veranda). [A woman in childbirth has to remain indoors for three months and is taken care of. Such care can be taken only by the mother.] The word *mātā* is written as *māta* in some places.

⁴⁵शोकुळी टाकुनी तातमात । मयुरेसी गेला सिधुजामात ॥

³⁸ XX, p. 100, song 8.

³⁹ XXV, p. 195.

⁴⁰ VII, 28, 163.

⁴¹ X. Tukārāma, 74, 1026.

⁴² III, 9, 6.

⁴³ VII, p. 11,

⁴⁴ XXII, p. 417.

⁴⁵ XIV, p. 5.

(Leaving behind his father and mother (*tāta māta*), the son-in-law of the ocean went to Mathurā.) The words *māthuhśrī* or *mātośrī* are used as very honorific titles for the mother. It is parallel to the word *tirthasvarūpa* for the father.

⁴⁶आज्ञा वंदुन मातोश्रीची । अश्व घेउनी करी । आला अजुन जवळ सत्तरी ॥
(He took leave of his mother, took to horse and came near Arjuna). *Āi* is the word used most frequently throughout the Marāṭhā country in all castes. *Āis*, *āiya*, *āya*, *yāi*, *āvsū*, *āvaśi*, *avai* are all derived from the common word *āi* and *āu*. The forms ending in *s*, and *u* are used on the west coast. In older literature the words *āi* or *āis* are used without any kinship connotation as terms of address or in narrative form for women generally.

⁴⁷आई कवणा गावां जातां (mother (woman), to which town are you going ?)

⁴⁸उत्तमा आईया । महदाई बाईया । धवळी कृष्णराया गाईयेला ॥
(The best of women (*āiyā*), the lady Mahadāi has sung about Śrī-kṛiṣṇa in her songs of marriage.)

⁴⁹एके लेंकुरवें श्रीचक्रधरु ऐसे उच्चारिले: ते आईकोनी महदाइसा...सुख जाले: तयाते कडिये घेऊनी आळंगिले: सरिसि आईसे होती: तेहीं म्हणितले: हां आई ऐसे काई केले: महदाइसी म्हणितले: सप्रीमध्ये देवो दुर्लभ कां देवांते आठवी तो दुर्लभ ॥
(A child said "Śrī Cakradharu." Mahadāisā heard it...was greatly pleased. She lifted the child up and embraced it. Nearby was a woman (*āis*). She said "mother (woman, *āi*), what are you doing?" Mahadāisā replied, "In this world what is rare? God, or he who remembers God?"

असत्याचा बाप, नसत्याची आई (Marāṭhī proverb). (Father is to him who has, mother (*āi*) to him who has nothing). [The father loves the child who earns, but the mother loves a child which is unable to do so.]

आई मेली कीं बाप मावसा (Marāṭhī proverb.) (After mother's death the father becomes uncle, i.e. marries the mother's sister.) [Cf. further on kinship usages.] *Yāi* was given as the word for mother by a Gondi woman in Berar. It is the same as *āi*.

The words *āis*, *āvay* are not found generally in literature, though they are used in the daily speech of the west-coast people. The form *āvai* was found in one place in old Mahānubhāva literature. It is the vocative of *āvay*.

⁵⁰भटोबासी आबाइसाते म्हणितले: आवै तुम्ही बजोबाच्या गांवी रहा.
(Bhaṭobasa said to Ābāisā, "mother (*āvai*), go and live in the town of Baijobā.")

आवै सोशीत बापुस पोशीत. (A west-coast proverb.) (The mother (*āvai*) endures, the father feeds.)

⁴⁶ XVIII, part 3, p. 45.

⁴⁷ IV, 77.

⁴⁸ II, ii—161.

⁴⁹ IV, 19, 62,

⁵⁰ IV, 25, 83,

The word *bāi* is used for the step-mother, sister and other female relations. It is but rarely used for mother, though it was given to me by one Marāthā. It is used as a term of address for all women. The word *bayā* is used for mother in many a folksong and by the agriculturists in the Deccan.

⁵¹भरल्या बाजारातु वळकिली गोतावळा । बयासारखा तोंडावळा ।

(In the crowded market place he is recognised as belonging to a certain family. His face is like that of his mother.) [It is supposed to be lucky when a son has his mother's looks and the daughter her father's.]

⁵²बयाच्या घरा गेली बया नाही घराइतु । भावज गुजर म्हणइति कोण पावणी दाराइतु ।

(I went to the mother's house. The mother was not at home. The pretty wife of my brother says, "who is the guest at the door?") [This is a complaint against the sister-in-law. As long as the mother was there, I was received as a family member, says a girl, now in the same house, I am not even recognised.] The word *bā* is really a Gujarātī word meaning mother. It is not used in Mahārāṣṭra, by any people except the Rājputs, who have settled in Khandesh and are almost completely marāthised. They have however kept some of their old kinship terms intact. One such term is *bā* for mother. *Didi* is also a non-Marāthī term, not used in this country, though given by a Rājput settled in Poona.

The word *jananī* is purely Sanskrit and is used often in literature.

⁵³जननी आणि जनके । तिये संसारदायिके । परी नव्हेती भवबंध छेदके । श्रीगुरुवाचोनी ।

(Mother (*jananī*) and father introduce one to this world, but nobody except the religious preceptor can deliver one from the bonds of this earthly life.)

The usual word for step-mother is *sāvatna-āi*. The step-mother is addressed as *bāi* or *māi*. One of my informants however gave *culata āi* or *māvaśi* for step-mother. In Ardhamāgadhi literature the terms *culla-māi* or *culla-māüyā*—are used for the step-mother and mean the little or smaller mother. The first wife is always the chief wife and all other wives are inferior in status to the chief, who is the mother of all children. The other mothers are therefore called *culla-māi*, i.e. *kṣulla-māṭṭ*=the inferior mother. The Marāthī word *culata-āi*, seems to be on par with the *culla-māi* in the Ardhamāgadhi literature. The word *māvaśi* generally means the mother's sister. It is also applied to the step-mother and thus gives support to the proverb आई मेली की बाप मावसा (after the death of the mother, the father becomes an uncle i.e. mother's sister's husband) already quoted above. A song gives the same meaning to the term *māvaśi*.

⁵⁴धुव, पितयाचे अंकि बैसला । तव माउशियेनें ढकलिला ।

⁵¹ XXII, p. 419.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ I, ch. I, 77.

⁵⁴ कथ कल्पतरु 7. 10. 8. quoted in Marāthī compose.

(Dhruva sat on his father's lap and was pushed away by his step-mother (*māūśi*)).

We have seen, that in the Marāṭhā country the father-idea is connected with the idea of prowess, even of oppression. As a contrast to that, the mother is nothing but love and a place of protection and shelter. From the earliest times upto the present, the god, though he is a masculine god like Viṭhobā or Viṣṇu, or Śrīkrṣṇa, is addressed as mother. The religious preceptor, who delivers one from the bonds of this world and helps one to attain the highest bliss, is also termed mother (*guru māūli*). Every year, when thousands of pilgrims from all over Mahārāṣṭra gather on the shores of the river Candrabhāgā near the shrine of Paṇḍharpur, their cry is for their mother Viṭhābāi—येग येग वीठाबाई, माझे पंढरीचे आई. (come Viṭhābāi, my mother of Paṇḍharpur) or विठाबाई माउली ग माझी (Viṭhābāi, my own mother) are the songs sung frequently by these pilgrims. The mother and her house are remembered with affection in hundreds of folksongs sung by married girls. It is not the father's house that is mentioned. It is always the mother's house, *māhera*, which is described with yearning. Many a proverb bears witness to the preference of a girl for her mother's house *māhera*, as against the house of her father-in-law, *sāsara*. And the male members of the mother's house who are commemorated in songs are the mother's brother and the own brother. (cf. p. 18, where the words for maternal uncle are discussed).

आंबळा खावा, पाणी प्यावे, माहेरी जावे. (A popular saying). (Eating the āvlā fruit and drinking water after it, is like going to mother's house.) [After eating this fruit, water tastes sweet. Everything agreeable is likened to the pleasant sojourn at the mother's house.]

माहेरची पेज सर्वांगस तेज. (The rice-water of the mother's house makes the body strong). [A Marāṭhī proverb.]

ऊमझुम पांखरा, जा माझ्या माहेरा. कमानी दरवाजा, त्यावर बस जा, मायेला सांग जा ... (A popular girl's song). (O pigeon, go to my mother's house ; there is a big arched doorway ; perch on it and tell my mother this message.)

The Marāṭhī literature from the 12th century onwards and the Marāṭhī folksongs are a monument raised to honour, or rather to show affection to the mother. One would be hard put to it to find even a hundred references of affectionate remembrance for the father alone, whereas, almost every other page gives expression to the love felt for the mother.

ASCENDANT MALES BEYOND FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S GENERATION :—

The father's father and mother's father, father's and mother's grandfather etc. are generally not distinguished from each other in Mahārāṣṭra. Out of my informants five people have given a different terminology for the mother's father and grandfather, as distinguished from the father's father and grandfather. They are (1) Paradeśī

Govaṇḍī (2) Ṭhākūr, Rajput (3) Cavāṇ, Bhangī (4) Harigīr Gosāvi and (5) Hirāmāṅsing Lodhā Paradeśī. All these belong to northern India and have kept the terminology of their original home, whether it was Gujarāt, Kathiawar or U. P.

The terms given by them are as follows.

Father's father :—*dādā* by 1, 3 & 4, *baré bābā* the big father, by 2, and *ājā*, the usual Marāṭhī term by no. 5.

Grandfather's father :—*Paṇajā* by no. 1, 3 and 5 ; *paradādā* by no. 4.

Grandfather's father's father :—*Niṇajā* by no. 1, 3 and 5 ; *saradādā* by no. 4.

Mother's father :—*nānā* by all.

Mother's grandfather :—*paranānā* or *paṇajā nānā*.

Mother's great-grandfather :—*saranānā* or *niṇajā nānā*.

Among the Gonds of C. P. differentiation is made between the mother's father and the father's father. The former is called *akko* or *akkho* and the latter is called *dādā*. They have clan exogamy and cross-cousin marriage. They distinguish the *akkomāmā* clans, or the clans in which one may marry, as against the *dādabhāi* clans, in which one may not marry. Though in Marāṭhī the terms are the same for grandfathers on both sides, the distinction of clans is observed, as will be clear presently.

As for other castes, the words used are very similar, except that sometimes the names for males above grandfather's generation are not always known, all males above that generation being called "the grandfather."

The terms for the grandfather (mother's as well as father's father) are—*ājā*, *ājā*, *ājābā*, *ajjō*, *ājyābā*, *ābāji* and *dādā* and the Sanskrit term *pitāmaha* and its corrupt form *pitāmahanta*.

⁵⁵ अनंत कोचे ते आनोबासांचे आजे (Ananta Kocā was the grandfather of Anobāsa.)

⁵⁶ बापासि बाप न म्हणे त्यासि होय काय आजोबा (What is a grandfather to him, who does not recognise his own father?)

Though the term *ājābā* is used for the father's father as well as for the mother's father, the word *ājōḷa*, meaning the house of the grandfather, is used exclusively for the mother's father's house. *Ājōḷa* is the maternal uncle's house and as such plays a prominent part in folksongs. Mother's relations and father's relations are distinguished sharply on certain occasions. On the occasion of the marriage of a boy, gifts are to be given to the boy and his parents. These gifts or marriage presents are to be given by the mother's relations only and not by the father's relations. The mother's relations are called *sōyare* and father's rela-

tions are called *bhāubanda*. *Sōyare* means those people, who are related to one or will be related to one by marriage, while *bhāubanda* are the people who are one's sib-mates and therefore ineligible for marriage. This distinction is like the one drawn by the Gond between *akkomāmā* and the *dādabhāi* clans. It would thus appear, that the word *ājā* or *ajjo* was primarily used for the mother's father and applied to the father's father by extension. The father's father is addressed as *dādā* or *thoralā bāpa* i.e. the big father, in many places among the agriculturists. His house is the same as one's own house, whereas, *ājā* was the mother's father, and *ājōla* was the maternal uncle's house. In Vedic literature, the term for the grandmother was invented at a comparatively late date. In R̥gveda the terms used being *mahāpitā* (the great father) or *pratnaḥ pitā* (the ancient father). The Marāṭhi usage is similar.

The Sanskrit word *pitāmaha* is used in literature only.*

⁵⁷हे देखोनी देवसमूहो प्रार्थिता झाला पितामहो । (Seeing this the gathering of Gods prayed to the grandfather (the god Brahman).)

The words for the father's grandfather and mother's grandfather are *paṇajā*, *paṇajobā*, *pijjo*. The prefix *paṇa* is sometimes rendered as *para* or *paḍa*. Thus *para-ājā* or *paḍa-ājā*, *paraḍādā* or *paḍadādā*. This prefix is found in the case of other kinship terms also, thus *jāvaī* means the son-in-law and *pāṇa-jāvaī* or *paḍa-jāvaī* means the brother of the son-in-law. The prefix seems to denote a relative who is similar or slightly inferior in status to some other relative. This same prefix is also used as regards other nouns, e.g. *jibha* means the tongue and *paḍajibha*, means the small tongue or uvula. Thus *paṇajobā* is a relative similar to the *ājobā*, but not as important. There are very few references to this relative in the literature, nor is he found in folksongs. The Sanskrit word *prapitāmaha* is found rarely in literature. In the Marāṭhā country it is supposed to be extremely lucky to become a *paṇajobā*, i.e. to live long enough to see the face of the male child of one's son's son. It is supposed to be as meritorious as going on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Benares. On such an occasion, rich men strew golden flowers over the great-grandchild which are afterwards given as a gift to Brahmins.

The father's great-grandfather and the mother's great-grandfather are called *khāpara paṇajā*, *nipaṇajā*, *nit-paṇajā*, *ninajā*, *śeṇajā*, or *śeṇjo*, *paḍapaṇajā* or *paraḍajā*. In the last two terms, the prefix *para* or *paḍa* is used with the term of the great-grandfather i.e. *paṇajā*. The other terms are interesting as they carry a definite meaning. Thus *khāpara-paṇajā* is made up of two words *khāpara*, (meaning potsherd) and *paṇajā* and means the potsherd-great-grandfather. A potsherd is supposed to be a symbol for death or ill luck. The word *khāpara*

is also used for certain kinds of small pots. Such a pot is used for carrying embers, with which the pier on which corpse lies, is ignited. Throughout Mahārāṣṭra it is supposed to be very unlucky to become a great-great-grand-father, i.e. *khāpara-panajā* of a child. The words *niṭ-panajā*, *nipanajā* or *ninajā* are formed by the use of the prefix *ni* or *niṭ* which connote negation. In other words by the help of these prefixes any relationship is denied.

The prefix *śen* in the words *śenjo* or *śenjā* means lost. The verb *śenane* is used on the west coast, from where the word comes and means "to lose" and is the same as the more familiar verb *sāṇḍanē* meaning to lose. *Śenajo* would thus denote a man in the ascendant generation, who is no kin—i.e. from whose generation kinship is lost.

ASCENDANT FEMALES BEYOND FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S GENERATION :—

The father's mother and mother's mother, father's grandmother and mother's grandmother are generally not distinguished from each other. The same five people from among my informants, who distinguished between father's father and mother's father (p. 340) had also given different terms for the mother's mother and the father's mother. All these are the feminine forms of the terms for the male relations. They are :

Father's mother :—*dādī*, *bari mā*.

Father's grandmother :—*paradādī*.

Father's great-grandmother :—*sardādī*.

Mother's mother :—*nānī*.

Mother's grandmother :—*paranānī*.

Mother's great-grandmother :—*saranānī*.

Among the Gonds, the father's mother is called *dādī* or *ājī* and mother's mother is called *kāko*.

Among agriculturists, very few know the terms for the great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The simple term *ājī* is used for all women above the mother's generation or for any generation beyond.

For the grandmother i.e. the father's mother, the terms *moṭhī māya* or *thoralī āi* or *moṭhī āi* or *mhātārī āi*, all meaning the older mother, are very often used. The terms for mother's or father's mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother are *ājī*, *panājī* or *paḍa-ājī* and *khāpara-panājī* or *nipanājī*. Literary references or references in folksongs to the relatives are rare.

⁵⁸चरांतुन आली आजीबाई । ती म्हणते एक एक पाटाऊं दीजे. (The grandmother came from within the house and said "a sārī each should be given".)

Ājibāi is used as a term of address for any old woman.

FATHER'S BROTHER :

Culatā, kākā, bāpulyo and *bāppā* are the terms used for the father's brother. For the elder brother of the father the term *nānā* is also used frequently. Father's elder and younger brothers are also called *thoralā bāvā* and *dhākaṭā (tā) bāvā* (big father and little father) respectively.

Culatā is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *ksulla-tāta* or the *Prākṛt khulla-tāo* or *culla-piu*, all meaning the smaller father. The term is really the same as that for father, the own father being distinguished from the other fathers by calling the other fathers the little fathers. The term *culatā āi*, described already (p. 339), is interesting. A wife of the father, who is not one's own mother, is called *culatā mā*. In *Ardhamā-gadhī* a step-mother is also called *culla māu* (the little mother) and another usage gives her the name of *māvaśī* i.e. mother's sister. An exact parallel to that usage is the term *culatā* for the father's brother. The terms "little father" and "big father" (*dhāklā bāvā* and *thorlā-bāvā*) also fall in the same category. The terms *bāppā*, used for the father's brother, is the same as that used for father (*bāpa*) and the term *bāpulyo* seems to be but a diminutive of the word *bāpa*. The word *culatā* occurs frequently in literature, but is not as frequent in folksongs as the word for the maternal uncle.

⁵⁹नारायण मारीयिला हंबरल्या गाई । चुलत्या राजसाला कणाव आली नाही ।
(*Nārāyaṇa* was killed. The very cows mourned, but the royal uncle (*culatā*) had no pity.) [The reference in this song is to the historical event of the death of the Peshwā *Nārāyaṇarāo* at the instigation of his uncle *Rāghobā*.] This is not a very old song. The word *culatī*, the fem. of *culatā* occurs in *Līlācaritra*, a book ascribed to the 13th century.

The term *nānā* is used as a term of address for the elder brother of the father, though in the third person he is always mentioned as the father's brother, *culatā*. Hemacandra in his *Deśināmamālā* (4. 46.) gives *ṇaṇṇa* a word meaning elder brother.* This word has given rise to the two words *aṇṇā* and *nānā* in *Marāṭhī*, used as terms of address for the elder brother. Just as the word *jijī* for sister is applied to mother's sister, so the word *nānā* is applied to father's brother. It is also used for the own brother.

A common term for *culatā* is *kākā*. It is found in *Gujarātī* also and occurs in old *Marāṭhī* and in proverbs.

⁶⁰साधे काकोसये तेथौनि निचाली (*Sādhā* went from that place in the company of *kākā*.) The *kāko* mentioned here is the uncle of a disciple of *Śrī Cakradhara* and the husband (?) of *Sādhā*. Everywhere in the narrative, he is called *kāko*, "the uncle".

⁵⁹ XXII, p. 415.

* I am indebted to Dr. S. M. KATRE for this information.

⁶⁰ V, part 3, p. 33.

आत्याबाईला मिशा असत्या तर काका म्हटलें असतें [A popular proverb.] (If the father's sister (*ātyābāī*) had a moustache, she would have been called the father's brother, i.e. *kākā*) cf. p. 346 under father's sister. The husband of the mother's sister is also called *kākā* among many castes. My informants come from all parts of the Marāṭhā country and this custom of calling mother's sister's husband *kākā* seems to be fairly wide-spread.

The term *culata* is used also to define the nearness or remoteness of a relation. Thus *culata bhāu* (*culata*-brother) means father's brother's son. A man and his *culata bhāu* have a common grandfather. *Culata-culata-bhāu*, means the grandfather's brother's son's son. A man and his *culata-culata-bhāu* have a common great-grandfather. *Māvasa-bhāu* is the mother's sister's son; *māvasa-culata-bhāu* is the son of the mother's father's brother's sister. *Sāsū* is the mother-in-law; *culata-sāsū* is the wife of brother of the father-in-law. The use of the word *culata* thus defines exactly the degree of remoteness of a particular relationship.

MOTHER'S BROTHER :—

Mātula, *māvaḷa*, *māvaḷo*, *māmā-jī* are the words used for mother's brother. Of these the word used oftenest by all castes is *māmā*. *Mātula* is a purely Sanskrit word and is found in literature only. The Marāṭhī version is *mātula*.

⁶¹पूजिला मातुळ महाबाहो । पूजिला राव दशरथ ॥ (The long-armed maternal uncle (*mātula*) was worshipped. King Daśaratha was worshipped).

⁶²तिच्या पोटी जन्मेल कुमर । आस्तीक नामा ऋषीश्वर । तो रक्षील मातुळकुळ जळता । ऐसे बदला वेदवक्ता. ("A boy will be born to her. He will be the great sage by name Āstika. He shall save the maternal uncle's family from being burnt", so said Brahmadeva.) The word *māvaḷa* or *māvaḷo* is derived from *mātula* and is used for maternal uncle by the Citrāpur Sāraswats of Mangalore, and is found also in some folksongs.

⁶³शेती झाली राम । खंडीच्या गोण्या किती । मावळ भाव शेती । (A big heap is gathered on the field. How many sacks would be filled? The maternal uncle (*māvaḷa*) and nephew are in the field.)

⁶⁴बीळीयेपाचा माउळा गोपाईचा बंदु तेणें चींचणेस्वरीचें सीबाले माधले. (The maternal uncle (in this context, mother's mother's brother) of Bīḷiyepā, the brother of Gopāī, built the temple of Śiva at Cincaneśvara.

Māmā is the commonest word for the maternal uncle, the suffix *jī* is added to show respect. The word is found in literature and women's songs sing with affection of *māmā*, his house, his children and his wife. There are many a jesting reference to *māmā*'s children and wife.

⁶⁵मामा कंस मारणु । जेया दीन्हला राणिवेचा मानु । तो राउ उग्रसेनु । जेवनीये भुजे (He, who after the killing of maternal uncle (*māmā*) Kamsa, was honoured by a kingship, that King Ugrasenu sat on the right.)

⁶¹ IX, 23. 70.

⁶² XI, Adiparva, 7. 51.

⁶³ XXII, p. 418.

⁶⁴ XXII, 198.

⁶⁵ VI, 547.

⁶⁶भेंडीच रोप रवारवलं मामाचं घर थोरवलं. (The bhendi bush has received salt. The house of the maternal uncle has become big.)

निंबोणीचं झाड करवंदी, मामाचा वाडा चिरेवंदी. (The neem-tree has large round berries—The uncle has a stone-house.) [This is very popular nursery rhyme.]

⁶⁷एका हाताची फुगडी । मामा घेतो लुगडी । लुगड्याला नाहीं दोरा । मामा माझा गोरा । मामी माझी काळी. (Play *phugdī* (a girls' game) with one hand. *Māmā* buys *sāris*. The *sārī* has no thread. My *māmā* is fair, my *māmi* is black.) [The maternal uncle is praised, his wife is despised].

⁶⁸मामा गेला तेलंगपुरा—ग तेलंगपुरा । तेलंगपुरासनी आणली साडी ग आणली साडी । (*Māmā* has gone to Telangpura and has brought a *sārī* for me.)

⁶⁹मामा पाहुणा आला बाई ग आला बाई । साकर उंडे की दोनच मांडे किं दोनच मांडे । मामासंगट मामो मांडे ग मामी मांडे ॥ (The maternal uncle has come as guest. There are sweet things for him. The aunt (his wife) quarrels with him.)

⁷⁰इचा बाप तो आमचा मामा मागत होता भीक । बळेच आणुन यानें पदरीं घातली लेक. (Her father, my maternal uncle, was a beggar. He made me marry her by force.)

In folksongs and in folktales the maternal uncle and his nephew are frequently mentioned together.

⁷¹मामाच्या घरी भाचा कारभारी. (The nephew is the head manager at the maternal uncle's house.)

The words *māvalā* and *māmā* are applied also to other relatives. Father's sister's husband is called *māmā* or *māvalā*. *Māmāji* is the usual term of address for the father-in-law.

⁷²लक्ष्मण शेष्ठाचा अवतार । माहीत नाहीं तुजला अजून । उजव्या हातानें डावा हात तोडला मामानीग । (*Lakṣman* is the re-incarnation of *Seṣa*, your father. You do not know of this. The father-in-law (*māmā*) has cut the left hand with the right in killing me, his son-in-law.)

FATHER'S SISTER :—

The father's sister is called *ātyā*, *āte*, *ātō*, *phuī*, *phujbā*, *phuphī* and *māvalaṇa* or *māvalnī*.

The terms *ātyā*, *āte*, *ātō*, *āta* are similar to the term *attige* used for aunts by the Kannaḍa speaking people. It may have the same origin as the Indo-germanic word *tētā*⁷³ (aunt), the feminine form of the word *tāta* meaning father. It may have been derived also from the word *ātman* or it may be of Dravidian origin. It is used all over the Marāṭhā country and especially on the west coast for the father's sister. The word *phuī* is used but rarely. *Phuphā* and *phujbā* are only other forms of the same word. It is the same as Prākṛt *piucchā* and Sanskrit *pituh-svasā*, both meaning father's sister.

⁶⁶ XXII, 87.

⁶⁷ XXXIII, p. 8.

⁶⁸ XXII p. 89.

⁶⁹ XXII, p. 88.

⁷⁰ XV, chap. 3 p. 25.

⁷¹ XXI.

⁷² XVI, Sulocaneci Lāvāṇī (no paging).

⁷³ XXVII.

“आत्याबाईला मिशा असत्या तर काका म्हटलें असतें” is a very popular proverb. (If the aunt, i.e. father's sister—had a moustache she would have been called uncle, i.e. father's brother.) [The proverb suggests, that it is no use grumbling about what is inevitable. The aunt was born a woman and has to remain so. It is therefore no use speculating over what would have happened if she were a man.]

The term *māvalaṇa* is used on the plateau and by the Citrāpur Sāraswats of the west coast. It is the same as the Sanskrit word *mātulānī*, which means the wife of the *mātula*—the mother's brother. As already described, both terms *mavaḷā* and *māmā* are used for the maternal uncle, though the term *māmā* is more frequent. The term for his wife is however always *māmī*, the term *māvalaṇa* or *mavalṇi* being used for the father's sister.

The words *ātyābāi* and *māvlaṇa* are also used of the mother-in-law, when a woman is speaking.

⁷⁴याची माय माझी सखी मावळण मायबापाच्या घरी तिच्या पोटी हा हिरा जन्मला काय आठवावे तरी । (His (my husband's) mother is the own sister of my father. Of her was born this jewel. What is the use of remembering all these things ?) Those Konkani speaking people of Goa, who are called Bārdeśakar, call the father's sister *kākā* i.e. the term employed by other Marāṭhī speaking people for father's brother.

⁷⁵मायची भईण मावशी बायटा बऱ्याक पावशी; पायची भईण काका कित्याक च माका नका (The mother's sister's *māvaśi* is useful in poverty and prosperity. Father's sister, *kākā* I do not wish to have on any account.)

Husband's father's sister is called *kāka-sāsu* (aunt-mother-in-law) and her husband is called *kāka-sāsarā* (uncle-father-in-law) by a woman among these people.

MOTHER'S SISTER :—

The terms for mother's sister are *māvaśi*, *moṭhī māya*, *jiji* or *jiji-māya* and *pāccī*. The term *māvaśi* is the one universally used. The other terms are used as terms of address or alternative terms. The word *māvaśi* is equivalent to the Ardhamāgadhī term *maūcchā*, and the Sanskrit word *mātuḥ-svasā* meaning mother's sister. Thus in its original form, it is a descriptive term. It is used of all those who are sisters or cousins of the mother, as also of mother's friends. The step-mother is also called *māvashī* (cf. p. 12).

⁷⁶नागाइसे कवीश्वरबासांची, त्यांची देमाइसे माउसी लागती. (Nagāisā was a relative of Kavīśvarabāsa. His mother's sister was *Demāisā*.)

माय मरो मावशी जगो (Let the mother die, let the mother's sister live.) This is a very well-known Marāṭhī proverb, which means that the mother's sister is even better than the mother.

⁷⁴ XV, chap. 3, p. 25.

⁷⁵ XXVI, 1661,

⁷⁶ IV, 242.

The word *moṭhī māya*, meaning big mother or elder mother, is used for mother's elder sister in some castes. This shows the tendency of regarding the mother's sister as equivalent to the mother. The word *jijī* or *jija-māya* is fairly common on the plateau. I have not been able to find it used in literature, except as a proper name at a comparatively late date. My enquires among the Marāṭhā community settled in Tanjore showed that the word *jijī*, as used for mother's sister is not known to them. Neither is it a much used proper name, in spite of the fact, that the mother of the great Sivāji was named Jijābāi. The same Marāṭhā informant (a woman named Rādhābāi Shinde from Madras), told me that she had heard the word *jijā* or *jijī* used by some Rājput woman* whose family had settled in Khandesh for a century. This word is used by Marāṭhās near Poona, but is more common in Berar. It was also given as an alternate term for *māvaśī* by a Bhil and an Ahiri woman, both aborigines of Khandesh. *Jijī* appears to be a word equivalent to the *didī* of the Bengalis meaning sister. It was adopted by the Marāṭhās from Gujarāt and used sometimes as a proper name and sometimes as a relationship term for the mother's sister.

The Citrāpur Sāraswats of Mangalore use the term *pāccī* side by side with the word *māvaśī*. It seems to be derived from the Kannaḍa word *ābaci* which means mother's sister.

BROTHER :—

The words *bandhu* and *bandu* occur in literature and folksongs but are not used in the everyday speech. The words *bhāu* and *bhāi*, equivalent to Sanskrit *bhrātṛ* are commonly used to denote a brother. The elder brother is called *dādā*, *nānā*, *aṇṇā*, *appā*, *tātyā* or *dādāji* and very rarely *bhavoji*. The words *dādā*, *nānā*, *aṇṇā*, *appā*, *tātyā* have become now nothing more than mere nicknames to be applied to any brother irrespective of his age.

⁷⁷बिहाना नाही दादा परौता । किती मोठा केला येयां देता माझे नि लामे ॥ (Nobody is wiser than my eldest brother (*dādā*), for the love he bore me he tried to hinder my marriage to this fellow.)

⁷⁸होव खातां तां निबार, दादा खातां तां मऊ. (What I am eating is tough, what my elder brother (*dādā*) is eating, is soft.)

The brother and the sister are coupled together in many a folksong where the brother is shown as taking away the sister home from her husband's house, to celebrate the *bhāu-bīja* festival. Small girls sing gladly of the virtues or the riches or the munificence of their brothers. Another interesting theme in such songs, is either the praising of the brother's wife or showing how mean she is. The brother, the

* Takhatba—Girasia of Dhulia, West Khandesh.

⁷⁷ VI, 212.

⁷⁸ XXVI, 730.

sister and the brother's wife may be termed the favourite triangle in folksongs and proverbs. Brothers and sisters are born in the same house, are playmates in their childhood and have to separate when the sister marries and goes away to live with her husband. In one song a girl tells her brother to be loving and kind to her as she may go away and then the brother would repent of his harsh words. In the same song the girl further says, that even when she is married, she cherishes in her heart the hope of a loving present from her brother.

⁷⁹वाकडा बोल तुझा । तुझे काळीज कापील । सासरी गेल्यावरी । तुझ्या दारी न येतील ॥
(Your angry words will make you repent, for once they go to their husbands house they (the sisters) will not come to your door.)

⁸⁰भ्रताराच्या राज्या । उणे ठेवी ना रे देव । बहिणीच्या मनी । चोळीची आशा ठेव ।
(God does not keep her in want of anything at her husband's house and yet let the sister hope for a gift from you.)

⁸¹तुम्ही दोन्ही देवांचा संबधू । आणि आबाइसासारीखी माता । भटोबासासारीखे बंधु । आणि तुमचे आझनि अज्ञान फिटले नाही । (You came in contact with both the holy persons, (lit. gods) and you have a mother like Abāisā, a brother (*bandhu*) like Bhaṭobāsa and still your ignorance is not dispelled.)

⁸²जाऊन उभ्या बिदी । न दिसे उजवी भुज । राखील कूळ तुझं । भाईराया ।
(She went through the whole of the road, but nobody could so much as see her right arm. She has sustained the honour of your family. O ! my brother. (*bhāi rāyā*)) [The brother's wife is praised as a modest young woman.]

माझ्या दारावरनं । कोणाच्या गाड्या गेल्या । भावानं बहिणी नेल्या । दिवाळीला ॥
(Whose carriages went past my door ? The brother (*bhāu*) has taken away the sisters for the Divālī festival.) [Nursery rhyme.]

⁸³भणीभावंडांची पोटांमंदी माया । पिकल सीताफळु आंत साखरेची छाया ।
(The hearts of brothers (*bhāvāṇḍa*) and sisters are full of love like the ripe custard apple, with its inside full of sugar-sweet pulp.)

In this verse the word *bhāvāṇḍa*, which is generally used for brothers and sisters collectively, is used for brother only.

⁸⁴चाले बरवा धंदा बहिणी म्हणती माझा दादा । आलीया दरिद्रबाधा पळुनी जाती ।
(As long as the earnings are good, the sisters say "my *dādā* (brother) " ; but as soon as there is poverty they run away.)

⁸⁵गेली बंदूच्या जवळी । बंदूजीच्या जवळी । माजा बंदू गा होशील । सासऱ्या मला नेशील ॥
(She went to her brother, near her brother. You shall be indeed my brother (*bandu*) if you take me to my husband's house.) The Sanskrit term *bandhu* generally becomes *bandu* in folksongs.

⁸⁶बंधूजी म्हणितु वाढ बहिणीला दूधमातू । भावज गुजर बोलती म्हशीन दिली लातू ॥
(The brother (*bandhūji*) says give milk and rice to my sister.

⁷⁹ XXV, p. 196.

⁸² XX, p. 102.

⁸⁵ XXIV, p. 83.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸³ XXII, 419.

⁸¹ IV 62, 193.

⁸⁴ VIII, 1180, 4.

⁸⁶ XXV, p. 318.

The fair wife of the brother says, the she-buffalo has kicked to-day".) [The brother wants to give a treat to the sister, but his wife gives the excuse that all the milk was spilled, because the buffalo had kicked at the time of milking.]

Father's brother's sons and mother's sister's sons are also called brothers. The own brother is called *sakkhā bhāu*, while the father's brother's son is called *culata bhāu* and the mother's sister's son is called *māvasa bhāu* or *jijabhāu*.

SISTER :—

The words for sister are all derived from the classical term *bhaginī*. The older word *svasī* has not left any trace in the language, except in the term *māvaśī* used for the mother's sister. Thus the Marāṭhī words for sister are *bahīna*, *bhaina* *bhāṇa* or *bhāna*. The words *akkā*, *tāī* and *māī* are used as terms of address for elder sisters. At present they are used also for younger sisters. They are the same as those used for the mother. In some castes, the sister is called *bāī* or *bayo* or *bāyā*, terms which mean a woman or the mother. Just as the terms *dādā* and *tātā* are used of the father or the elder brother, so also terms which originally meant mother were used formerly for the elder sister and now for all sisters.

⁸⁷तुम्ही मायाबहिणीते दंडवते करिता त्यासि काइ सीखामुत्रे असेति ।
(You bow down to your mothers and sisters (*bahīna*.) Do they then possess the hair-tuft and the sacred thread?)

भीड भिकेची बहीण. [a proverb.] (Timidity is the sister of poverty.)

⁸⁸एकवा बा माकवा र । भैणी बोळं लागल्या । (The sisters *Ekavā* and *Mākavā* began to speak.)

The word *sagabahīna* is used to denote a dear friend, a woman who is considered as a sister.

⁸⁹आठवण करुनी, करुनि घातली ती, भाजि हि सगबहिणी घरची (She remembered also to put in a vegetable from the house of her friend-sister.)

The daughters of the father's brother and the mother's sister are also called sisters. In order to distinguish these from the own sister, the own sister is called *sakkhī bahīna*. The father's brother's daughter is called *culāta-bahīna* and the mother's sister's daughter is called *māvasa-* or *jīja-* *bahīna* i.e. sisters through *culatā*, the uncle and *māvaśī* the aunt.

FATHER'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER and MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER :—

Father's sister's son is called *mehuṇa*, *ātebhāu*, *ḍīra* and *bhāvōjī*. Mother's brother's son is called *māmebhāu*, *mehuṇā*, *bhāvōjī* and *ḍīra*.

⁸⁷ IV, 61, 188.

⁸⁸ XXXVI, p. 185.

⁸⁹ XXIV, p. 64.

Father's sister's daughter is called *mehuṇī*, *ātebahīṇa* or *vahinī*. Mother's brother's daughter is called *māmebahīṇa*, *mehuṇī* and *vahinī*.

These relatives have thus no uniform names. Some castes call them *ātebhāu* and *māmebhāu* i.e. brothers through the *ātyā* and *māmā*. Other castes call them *mehuṇe*. The terms *ātebhāu* and *māmebhāu* seem to be modern and due to the influence of the Citpāvan Brahmins, who have dominated the Marāṭhā country for the last three hundred years. Among these Brahmins the marriage of cross-cousins is not allowed and so all the children of brothers and sisters call each other brothers and sisters (through uncles and aunts). This usage is shared by one or two other Brahmin castes, like the Devrukhe Brahmins and the Śūkla Yajurvedīya Mādhyandina Brahmins. The other Brahmins, and to my knowledge all the other castes in the Marāṭhā country, practise cross-cousin marriage and have a distinctive terminology for the father's sister's children and the mother's brother's children. Being marriage mates, they are not counted as brothers and sisters. They are each others *mehuṇe*. The word *mehuṇe* is the plural of *mehuṇā*. The feminine form is *mehuṇī*. The word is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *mīthuna*, and means "a pair" or "mates". This usage is not found in literature, as the Marāṭhī literature has a Sanskritic tradition behind it. Even in daily speech, of the urbanised Marāṭhās the usage is similar to that of the Citpāvan Brahmins, but when a question is put directly to the effect whether the son or daughter of the maternal uncle is the speaker's brother, an emphatic denial is given and the speaker always explains, that though they are called brothers and sisters they are really *mehuṇe*.

A woman calls the son of her maternal uncle by the general term *mehuṇā* when speaking of him in the third person. If he is older, he is called *bhāvoji*, when younger, he is called *dīra*. When a man speaks of his father's sister's daughter, he calls her *vahinī* if she is older than him, the generic term being simply *mehuṇī*. There are innumerable folk-songs about these relations. They are mentioned as *māmā*'s children or *āte*'s children also and as they are marriage-mates, they are on terms of great familiarity and on every festive occasion jokes are cracked at each other's expense, involving the parents also. This jocular behaviour and the custom of cross-cousin marriage is called *mehuṇa-cāra*. (Cf. discussion on the terms *māmā*, *māmī* and *ātyā* p. 18 onwards.)

चवळीच्या शेंगेला दाणाच नाही । मामाच्या लेकीला नाकच नाही । is a very favourite girls' saying which means (*cavaḷ* pods have no seeds and the *māmā*'s daughter has no nose, i.e. she is snub-nosed.)

⁹⁰मामा गेला तेलंगपुरा । तेलंगपुरासनी आणली साडी । नेसुन गेले बरव्या पाण्या । ... तेथे होता ग धाकटा दीर । ... उचळून घेतला मी कडेवर । etc. (*Māmā*

⁹⁰ XXII, p. 89.

went to Telangpur. He brought a *sāri* from Telangpur. I put it on and went to fetch water and saw my small *dīra* and took him up in my arms.) There are many songs about *māmā*, the maternal uncle and in them mention is made of the *dīra* or *bhāujī*, the sons of the *māmā*, as the example above shows. There is another song, where a girl jokes about her maternal uncle's son. She says—everybody i.e. the mother and the sisters come to the maternal uncle's house in a proper way. The son, however, comes riding on a dog and is bitten by a scorpion.

⁹¹कांठो भावजी रुसला, काळा विंचु डसला ? (*Bhāvoji*, why are you cross ? Are you bit by a scorpion ?) This is the last line of the above song.

Some of my informants have given the term *vahinī* and *bhāujī* for the daughter of the mother's brother and the son of the father's sister. There are some love songs in which the lovers address each other as *vahinī* and *bhāujī*. The lovers must be taken to be each other's cross-cousins.

रुसला मां भावोजी घरीं का याना मसी बोलाना is the refrain of a song (an old *lāvanī* or lyric) sung by a woman to her lover and means—(O *bhāvoji* why are you angry with me ? Why do not you come home and speak to me ?)

अग वहिनी ग दो दिवसाची ज्वानी जसे नदीचे पाणी जाइल वसरुनी । घे भलाय भलाय करुन ग वहिनी ... an unknown woman is addressed in a song (another old *Lāvanī*) as *vahinī*, i.e. a term applied to the cross-cousin. The lover says (O *vahinī*, youth lasts for but two days and then dries up like the water of a river. Make use of it while you can.)

Another popular song between a youth and a maiden, who call each other *vahinī* and *bhāvoji* begins अखुण आंबेबनांत, बाळपर्णांत, पहिली ओळख गोडीची, माझ्या ग कुवेंडिची । . . वहिनी ग (O *vahinī*, (do you remember) our first sweet meeting in our childhood, in a grove of mangoes ? The first meeting where I won you ?) As already pointed out, the custom of calling these relatives *mehunī* or their calling each other *vahinī* and *bhāujī* is fast disappearing owing to the influence of literary Marāṭhī over the speech of all the castes in the Marāṭhā country. I still found in some parts in Khandesh and among Tanjore Marāṭhās the old usage, side by side with the new terminology.

The term *mehunā* or *bhāujī* is also used for sister's husband and wife's brother. *Mehunī* is used also for wife's sister. *Vahinī* is used for brother's wife and *bhāujī* and *dīra* for husband's brother. These terms are discussed later.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER and MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER :—

The terms for these relatives are the same for all castes. Father's brother's son is called *culata-bhāū*, i.e. brother through the uncle.

Father's brother's daughter is called *culate bahīna*, i.e. sister through the uncle. Mother's sister's son is called *māvasa bhāū* or *jija-bhāū* i.e. brother through the aunt and mother's sister's daughter is called *māvasa bahīna* or *jija-bahīna* i.e. sister through the aunt.

Among people, who use the terms *bāpulyo* and *kākā* for father's brother, are also found the words *bāpul-phāu* and *kāke-bhāu* for the paternal uncle's son and *bāpul-bahīna* or *kāke-bahīna* for his daughter.
SON :—

A number of words exist for son or male child. Words like *putra* are common to all folksongs and literature, but there are many words which are confined at present only to certain parts of the Marāṭhā country.

Putra is used mostly in literature. *Pūtu* is used on the west coast, *pūta*, *putur* are used all over the country ; *mulagā*, *mulā* and *mūla* are understood and used all over the country ; *leka*, *lyoka*, *lekarū* is used in western Mahārāṣṭra but understood everywhere ; *sūnu* and *suta* are Sanskrit words found in literature only, so also the words *tanaya* and *tanuja* ; *ceṭa*, *ceḍā*, *cerḍu* are used on the west coast ; *boḍhyo* is used exclusively on the west coast ; *āṇḍora* is used now in Khandesh, but is found also in old literature ; *ḍingara* is found in old literature ; *ḍikrā* or *ḍokra* is used in West Khandesh ; *ḍimbha* is found in old literature. *Jhila*, *jhilgā* (*ō*) is used on the west coast ; *vīlā* was found in an inscription ; *cānda* is found in a few folksongs ; *śiyā* was given by a woman near Amraoti ; *pora*, *poragā* are used everywhere ; *kāṇḍā* is used in West Marāṭhā country as an abusive term for a boy ; *kumaru* from Sanskrit *kumāra* is used in old literature ; *cirañjūta* is used in later literature and in letters. The word *toka* is found in one song. *Santāna* for child and *kānhādā* also for child are used sometimes. *Bāla* or *bālā* are used by all for a child or son ; *bhurgo* is used for a boy or son in Konkanī.

The word *putra* is purely Sanskrit and the words *pūta*, *putura*, and *pūtu* are Marāṭhī equivalents of it. They are found in proverbs, folksongs, old and new literature as also in the daily speech of the people.

⁹²जैसे पुत्र विटाळले । ते पितृधनासि मुकले । शुद्ध झालीया भाग पावले । जयापरी ॥

(Like sons, (*putra*) who being polluted, lose the right to the paternal property, but get their share as soon as they are purified.)

⁹³पुत्र व्हावा ऐसा गुंडा ज्याचा तीन्ही लोकी झंडा — (Such a son (*putra*) should be born that he becomes famous in all the three worlds.)

⁹⁴गोसावी केतुले एक दीस राज्य केले पूत झाला — (The master or lord reigned for some days. A son (*pūta*) was born to him.)

वृद्धाचा मरुं नये पूत, तरण्याची मरुं नये बाईल is an oft-quoted proverb. (An

old man should not lose a son by death, nor a young man a wife, i.e. a young man needs a wife, an old man a son.)

⁹⁵ तुला पुतुर चौघेजनं । राम लक्ष्मीमण भरत छत्रघन । तुला पाणी पाजील कोण ॥
(You shall have four sons (*putura*), Rama, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharāta and Satrughna, but who will give you your last drink ? None.)

The words *mulagā*, *mūla* and *mulā* are used in the west and the south-west, but are understood all over the Marāṭhā country. It seems to be an adaptation of the South Indian word *magan*, *mahan* or *magala* for son. In Kannada *magala* means boy and *magalu* means girl. This word does not appear in old literature and is apparently borrowed during the days of Peshawā.

⁹⁶ तो नंदाचा मूल काय गे सखे कन्हय्या हरी । नव्हे ग मारुत मेघोदरी ॥
("Is it the son (*mūla*) of Nanda, the Kanhayā Harī about whom you are talking ?" "No, I am referring to the wind blowing through the clouds".)

⁹⁷ थकून धृतराष्ट्राचा मुलगा पडला भूमीवरी । (The son (*mulagā*) of Dhṛtarāṣṭra fell down exhausted, on the ground.)

The words *lēka* and *lyōka* are very old words, used all over the country and found in old literature and folksongs. The word *lēkaru* is used in the neuter gender to denote a small child and is also an old word.

⁹⁸ लेकुरूवाचेनी दुःखे । जेवी माउली उभी सुके । तेवी तू जगदंबिके । मजलागोनि ।
(Like a mother who sorrows at the grief of her child (*lēkarū*) you are to me O, Jagadambikā.)

⁹⁹ नामा म्हणे सांगेन एक । निंदक श्वानाचे ते लेक । (Nāmadev says that those who slander are the sons of a bitch.)

¹⁰⁰ मायबापे ... लोभाकारणें पाळिती । तैसा नव्हे देवराव । ह्याचा कृपाळू स्वभाव ।
बाप लेकासी मारिती ... (Parents rear one up for their own ends. The father beats his son. God is not like that, he is by very nature good.)

¹⁰¹ नाम न वदे ज्याची वाचा । तो लेक दो बापचा ॥ (He, who does not repeat God's name is sure to be a son (*leka*) of two fathers.)

The word *sūnu*, *suta*, *tanaya*, *tanuja* and a host of other purely Sanskrit words are found in literature, but are not used in the daily speech of the people. They are therefore not discussed in detail.

The words *ceṭa*, *cedā* or *ceḍo* and *ceradū*, the last used for a child, are frequently used on the west coast. They are not generally found in Marāṭhī literature. There are however many Konkaṇī proverbs which use these words.

⁹⁵ XXVIII, p. 93.

⁹⁶ Quoted by G. H. Kelkar in his book on अलंकार as an example of अपन्हुति

⁹⁷ XVIII, part I, p. 118.

⁹⁸ VII, 46. 280.

⁹⁹ X, Nāmadeva 191. 1879.

¹⁰⁰ X, Tukārāma, 203. 3282.

¹⁰¹ X, Tukārāma 54. 694.

¹⁰²चेडो झाल्ल्याक, माड लाइल्ल्याक किता भेद ? (What is the difference between planting a cocoanut palm and giving birth to a son ? (Both are useful for the old age).)

सुइणीपुढें चेटा लपणार नाही. [A proverb] (A boy cannot be hidden from the midwife.)

The word *bodhyō* is used in the south Ratnāgiri district. It means a boy or a son.

The word *āṇḍora* is used at present in Khandesh by the people speaking Ahirāṇī and by some Bhils. The Bhils seem to have borrowed the word from the Ahīrs because it is not found invariably used by Bhils as it is by Ahīrs. The word is not known in the west and the south, but is used in the literature of the Mahānubhāvas who occupied Berar and parts of C. P.

¹⁰³तेथची आंडोराकरवी सांत खडे बोलांडवणे । (Making boys (*āṇḍora*) jump over seven stones.)

The words *ḍikrā* or *ḍokrā* are used by some Bhils in West Khandesh for son, by some for brother's child (man speaking). These are Gujarātī words meaning a boy. The word *ḍiṅgrā* found in literature seems to be related to *ḍikrā* or *ḍokrā*.

¹⁰⁴विठोबाचे आम्ही लाडके ङिगर । कांपती असुर धाकबळे ॥
(We are the spoilt sons (*ḍiṅgara*) of the God Viṭhobā. Our prowess makes the demons tremble.)

The word *ḍimbha* is found in Sanskrit but it appears to be a *deśī* word. It is found in old literature and is used for a child in general.

¹⁰⁵आणिकी बुझावीता । डिभ न बुझावे । मायेलागी रोवे । ते काई अपराधी ॥
(Is a child to be blamed, because it cries for its mother, even though it is petted and fondled by others ?)

The words *jhīla*, *jhīlagā* or *jhiragā* or *jhilgo* are used in the daily speech, exclusively by the people of the west coast. It means a boy or a son.

¹⁰⁶एक सलो झिरगो (There was a boy.)

The word *vilā* was found in an inscription of the 16th century in a publication of the 'Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhana Maṇḍala'. The affinities of the word cannot be traced. Neither have I found it in use at the present time. The inscription was found in the eastern-most part (Bhīmathaḍī) of the Poona district.

¹⁰⁷उपरी बळीयेयाचा वीला राधागो तेण्हे सभुपुरीचे सीबाले माधले ।
(Moreover Rādhāgo, the son (*vilā*) of Bālīyepā built the Śiva temple at Sabhupur.)

The word *cānda* does not definitely mean a boy or a son, but is an epithet showing affection and can be used, I think, of one's brother or

¹⁰² XXVI, 1633.

¹⁰⁵ IV, 27,

¹⁰³ VII, 108.

¹⁰⁶ XIX, p. 52,

¹⁰⁴ X, Tukārāma.

¹⁰⁷ XXII, 198.

beloved. There are some folksongs in which the word *cānda* is used for son or husband. The word *cānda* means the moon.

¹⁰⁸चांगलं तूझणु माझ्या जिवाला करवतू चांद गलीनं मिरवतू ।

(It is alright for you, but my heart is cut by anxiety because the boy (*cānda*) is playing in the streets.) [As the song is isolated and without context, I am not sure of the above meaning.]

¹⁰⁹बंधुजी घेतु चोळी । भावज गुजर देना दोरा । चांदच्या जीवावरी ।

काय चांदणी तुझा तोरा ॥ (My brother wants to give me a blouse. The beautiful sister-in-law will not give him thread and needle. O star, all your pride rests on the greatness of my *cānda* (the brother.))

The word *śiyā* for son was given by a woman of the Tankonkara caste, living near Amraoti, Berar. The same woman has given the word *sorī* for daughter. They are very unusual, and seem to be Gujarātī or Hindī in origin. *Cokrā-chayyā* in Gujarātī means children. It is a double word like Marāṭhī *kaccī-baccī*, made up of *chokrā* and *chayyā* both meaning a child. The word *chayyā* does not seem to be used independently. The word *śiyā* seems to be related to this *chayyā*, just as the word *sorī* for daughter is derived from the Gujarātī and Hindustānī word *chorī*.

The words *pora* or *poragā* are used all over the Marāṭhā country and mean a child or a boy. The word also means an orphaned child. It is however used also for boy in general. The word for an orphan is *porakā* or *poraṭā*.

¹¹⁰बाई पोरू प्राज्ञ असे— (the boy (*porū*) is intelligent.)

¹¹¹प्रतिपाळ करावा आतां पोरटा लेकराचे परी । (You should protect me like an orphaned child (*poraṭe-lekaru*).)

The words *kārtā*, *kārtē* is really a term of abuse for a boy and means the same as *karaṇṭā*, a boy or a man who performs certain inauspicious functions at the funeral ceremony.

आपला तो बाब्या, दुसऱ्याचा तो काटा (A proverb.)— (One's own son is *bābyā*, other people's child is *kārtā*.)

The word *kumarū* is the same as the Sanskrit word *kumāra*. It is used often in literature and is also used as the proper name for a boy at the present time.

¹¹²काई रुपे वानूं नंदाचा कुमरूं (In what way shall I describe the son (*kumarū*) of Nanda ?)

The word *ciranjīva* means "one who lives for long". A son should carry the family name for a long time and so he is called *ciranjīva*. The word is applied also as an adjective for all persons younger than oneself while writing a letter.

¹⁰⁸ XXXV, p. 317.

¹⁰⁹ XXXV, p. 318.

¹¹⁰ Part 1, p. 63.

¹¹¹ XXXVIII, p. 131,

¹¹² II, 62. 1,

The word *toka* seems to be the same as the Vedic word *toka* and means a boy or a child. It is not in daily use. I found it in one song only. It is also used by Mōrōpanta.

¹¹³मग करी सुभद्रा शोक । दाखवा म्हणे तो तोक ॥ (Subhadrā mourned and said "show me my son".)

The word *kānāḍa* or *kānhāḍa* is used for a small boy as a pet name. The word *kānhāḍe* appears to be a diminutive of *Kānhā* a name of Krishna, the child-god.

¹¹⁴निढळांसी निढळ लाउनी ते रडे । माझीये कान्हाडे काय झाले ॥ (She sobbed putting her forehead on that of her son's saying "O ! what has happened to my pet ?")

The word *santāna* is used for children and means those who keep the family name and blood for ever. It is the same as Sanskrit *santati*.

¹¹⁵नको देऊं देवा पोटी हे संतान । मायाजाळे जाण गाढविधी ॥ (God, don't give me a child, for then wrapped in its affection, I shall not remember you.)

The word *bāḷa* or *bālā* means also a small child, but in numerous folksongs it is used exclusively for a male child. A male-child is always desired, as he alone can take the family name and perpetuate it.

¹¹⁶काय मी सांगू सई माझ्या बाळाजीचे गुण । शेल्याच्या पदराने लोटो बैलाची गवाणू ॥ (How can I describe the virtues of my son ? (*bālājī*). With the costly cloth which covers the upper part of his body, he cleans the manger.) [So fond is he of his bullocks.]

The word *bhurgo* is used on the south-west coast for son.

¹¹⁷आवैचे मन कांतली, भुरग्याचे मन करटी (The mind of the mother is like soft cocoanut meat, the mind of the son is like the hard cocoanut shell.)

The usual literary expression for a step-son is *sāvatra-mulagā*. Among Brahmins and other castes, where widow-remarriage was not allowed, only a woman could speak of a step-son. There are however many castes, among whom widow-remarriage is allowed and the son of the first husband of a remarried widow has different names in different parts of the country. By the expression *sāvatra-mulagā* is generally understood the son of a co-wife. For the son of the wife from a previous husband, I have been able to collect the following words and I have no doubt that many more can be collected. *Pōṭā khālacā-mulagā*, *lameṭā* and *āyatā*. All these words are descriptive. *Pōṭā khālacā-mulagā* literally means "the son under the stomach", i.e. the woman had the son near her body when she came to the second husband. *Lameṭā* was told to me by a man in Nagpur, as a word used in those parts. The word probably means one, who is drawn along with the mother to the new

¹¹³ XVIII, part 3, p. 47.

¹¹⁵ X, Tukārāma, p. 103. 1543.

¹¹⁷ XXVI, 1640.

¹¹⁴ X, Nāmadeva, 1264. 13.

¹¹⁶ XXII, p. 418.

house. The word *āyatā* is used in Ahmednagar district and means "one got ready made". *Āyatoḷā* is also used for such a son.

An adopted son is called *dattaka-mulagā* in literary language. The expressions *posanā* as well as *posagā* or *posakā* or *pośā* also occur frequently in old literature and appear to be common words. *Posanā* means "one who is reared" as against one who is given birth to.

¹¹⁸उपजला पुत्र देऊं जाता तो पोसणा म्हणती ॥ (If a new-born child is given, he will be called but an adopted (*posanā*) child.)

¹¹⁹नामा म्हणे आम्हा तुझाची आधार । पोसणा डिंगर जन्मोजन्मी । (Nāmdeva says, "God, you alone are our shelter. In all my births I am your adopted child" i.e. though I am born of my parents I am given in adoption to you.)

DAUGHTER :—

There are many words for daughter, some understood and used all over the province, while others are used exclusively in some parts.

Mulagī or *mulī*, *pora* or *poragī*, *bālā-bāḷī*, *bāi*, *leka* or *lyeka*, *ceḍu*, *dhu*, *duhitā* or *duitā*, *āṇḍer* or *āṇḍyer*, *beḷī*, *kumārī* or *kumārī*, *putī*, *kanyā*, *sorī*, *calī*, or *calo*, *kāra*. *Mulagī* or *mulī* is the general term for daughter. It seems to be of Kannaḍa origin. *Mulī* is used in the vocative for daughter-in-law also. The words *mulagā* meaning son and *mulagī* meaning daughter are not used in older literature, i.e. in the literature of the *Mahānubhāvas* and in *Jnānēśvari*. The words are used very frequently on the west coast in the sense of son and daughter. Thus a woman will say, *mulāgyālā bolāva*—(call my son). This usage is not found on the plateau, where the word *mulagā* or *mulagī* are used always in combination with pronouns meaning mine, thine etc.

¹²⁰म्यां पाठविलें होतें स्वर पहाया स्वयें स्व मुलगीतें । (I had sent my own daughter to seek out her own husband.)

¹²¹नंद गृहाच्या जवळ मुलीनो दिसतो रथ दुसरा । (A second chariot is seen near Nanda's house, O girls.)

The word *pora*, meaning a boy or a child, is an old word. The feminine form *pora* or *poragī* is also used as a term in daily usage, but it is not supposed to be particularly auspicious, as it conveys the meaning of one who is orphaned. It is found in girls' songs, proverbs and rarely in other songs.

¹²²ज्याच्या पदरी पाप त्याला पोरी होनी आपोआप. (One who has committed sin, (in this or a former life), begets only girls (*porī*).)

Bāḷa means a small child and *bāḷī* or *bālā*, its feminine, means a girl. It is an old word derived from the Sanskrit word *bālā* and is purely used in old literature and folksongs.

¹¹⁸ IX, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 3. 17.

¹²⁰ XXIX, part I, page 494.

¹²² XXX, 1505.

¹¹⁹ X, Nāmadeva, 1532. 6.

¹²¹ XVIII, part I, p. 85.

¹²³आनंदे नुदित भीमकी बाळा । म्हणे रुखवत देईजे गोपाळा । (The girl Bhīmaki overjoyed, said, “give the groom’s feast to Gopāḷa.”)

¹²⁴तंव बाळी वेप झाली । तिया स्मरीले द्वारकापती । (Then the girl became anxious and remembered the lord of Dvārakā.)

¹²⁵संकटी उभा पाठिसी बहिण संभाळी । निजवस्त्रेकरुन झांकिली दुपदबाळी । (In her need he stood by her, protecting the sister, and with his own robe he covered the daughter (*bāḷī*) of king Drupada.)

The word *bāḷī* is given by many people as the mode of addressing the daughter. Like the words *tāḷī* and *māḷī* it is an affectionate appellation for any female relation.

The word *leka* or *lyeka* or *leku* or *lekī* is a very old word and used by all people of the province. The forms *lekī* or *leku* appears to be an old form, while in more modern times the forms *leka* or *lyeka* are used.

¹²⁶आम्ही हिराइयेसी भेटो गेलो : तंव तयांची लेंकि असक्ति हांती (We went on a visit to Hirāisā. Her daughter (*leki*) was very ill.)

The word *cedu* belongs to the west coast. There are many proverbs in which the word is used.

¹²⁷वाढले चेंडू मोडलेल्या घराक् (A grown-up daughter is given to any beggar.)

¹²⁸चेडवाकांराची मान सदांच खालती (The parents of daughters always hang down their heads in shame.)

¹²⁹एक चेडवाक् कझर करुन बारा जुती झराउक जाय (In order to marry off one daughter twelve pairs of sandals are worn to shreds.)

The word *duhitā* and *duitā* are used in literature only, but the word *dhuva* or *dhu* which is its Prakṛt equivalent is in use on the west coast.

¹³⁰बोले धुवे लागे सुने (If you scold the daughter (*dhu* or *dhuva*) it is meant for the daughter-in-law.)

¹³¹दोनय् जुली सारख्यो तर मायधुवो लाडक्यो (If the economic condition of the mother and her daughter (married daughter) are the same, then there is love between them.)

The word *āṇḍera* or *āṇḍyera* is used by the Ahiris of Khandesh. In literature I have found one reference to *āṇḍauri*, i.e. girls.

¹³²बनकराचियां आंडौरी । रत्नांचे हातगुंडे वेऱ्हीं । सोंकरिताती तुरबिआं वेरी । पूसेयां ते ॥ Gardeners’ daughters (*āṇḍauri*) drive away birds from trees in flowers by means of jewels used as stones.)

¹²³ II, p. 48.

¹²⁶ XVIII, part I, p. 117.

¹²⁷ XXVI, 193.

¹³⁰ XXX, 1354. (The editor’s interpretation is obviously wrong.)

¹³¹ साहित्यपरिषद् त्रैमासिक.

¹²⁴ II, p. 74.

¹²⁶ IV, 24, 79.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 1624.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 195.

¹³² VI, 225.

The word *beṭī* is not a Marāṭhī word, but borrowed from Hindustānī. It is not found in literature, but is found in a very late proverb.

¹³³बेटि बापाची, जमीन पादशहाची. (A girl belongs to her father, while land belongs to the king.)

The word *kumārī* or *kumārī* is the feminine form of *kumāra*. The word is not used in the daily speech of the people, but is very frequent in literature. The word *kunvāra*, which is parallel to the word *kumārī*, is used with an emphasis on the status of a girl. *Kunvāra* or *kunvārīṇa* is an unmarried girl and is required in certain religious ceremonies.

¹³⁴तव रावो चीता करी कवणा द्यावी सलक्षणीक कुमरी (Then the king considered anxiously as to whom the auspicious daughter (*kumārī*) was to be given.)

The word *putī* seems to mean children or offspring and also a daughter.

खाण तशी माती, जाती तशी पुती— a Marāṭhī proverb— (As the soil, so the earth ; as the caste, so the offspring.)

There is however a Konkanī variation of this proverb where *putī* seems to stand for daughter.

¹³⁵बापुय तशी पुती, खणताय तशी माती (The daughter is like father, the soil is as you dig it.)

The word *kanyā* taken from Sanskrit is a very old word and is used most, of all the words for daughter in the literature.

¹³⁶तयाच्या कन्या आपुला विवाहो करूं नाही दीधला । (His daughter did not allow her marriage to be performed.)

¹³⁷कन्या सामुन्यासी जाये, मागे परतून पाहे (A girl while going to the house of her husband, casts back yearning glances at her mother's home.)

¹³⁸अनाथ कन्या गाय । तीला जेथें द्याल तेथें जाय । (The poor daughter and the cow have to go whomsoever you give them to.)

The word *sorī* has already been discussed with the word *śiyyā*.

The word *calī* is used on the south-west coast near Goa.

¹³⁹वाढलली चलो कुमलालो पोवळी (A grown up daughter is like the decayed vaginant leaf of the betelnut.) [From this leaf comes out the branch of the tree. This leaf is called *povalī* or *poavā* and covers the new branch. If it decays no new branch can come out of it.]

The Marāṭhī *Śabda-kośa* gives *kāra* for daughter used by Candrapurī people.

¹³³ XXI,

¹³⁶ IV, 6. 11.

¹³⁸ XXXVIII, 158.

¹³⁴ II, 2. 3.

¹³⁵ XXVI, 1597.

¹³⁷ X, Tukārāma, 88. 1273.

¹³⁹ XXVI, 1622.

BROTHER'S DAUGHTER (man speaking) and SISTER'S DAUGHTER (woman speaking) :—

The words for brother's daughter are sometimes the same as those used for the own daughter, or are words which mean daughter.

The words *āṇḍera*, *beṭi*, *mulagī* and *lyeka* are given as words for the brother's daughter by some of my informants. They are the same as the words used for own daughter. The following words are used for this relation among different people. *Ḍikrī*, *putaṇī*, *dhuvaḍī*, *dodī* or *dhāḍī*. The word *ḍikrī* in Gujarātī means a girl or a daughter, and is used for the brother's daughter by the Ahirīs of Khandesh. The word *putaṇī* is used on the plateau and the Ratnāgiri district mostly by Brahmins. The word is derived from the word *pūta* son, and *pūtī* daughter. *Putaṇī* is one who is like a daughter.

The words *dohoḍī*, *dhuvaḍī* and *dhāḍī* are all derived from *dhū* daughter, which is the form equivalent to Sanskrit *duhitā*. The *ḍi* or *tī* ending is used as a diminutive or a prefix showing contempt. Thus all these words mean a relative which is like the *dhū*, but slightly lower in status. The term *dohoḍī* is used on the plateau, *dhuvaḍī* is used on the West Coast, and *dhāḍī* is found in old Mahānubhāva literature.

¹⁴⁰कमळाईसे तिये उपाध्यबासाची धाडी (Kamaḷāīsā was the niece (brother's daughter) (*dhāḍī*) of Upādhyabāsa.)

In the same book the niece of Nagadevācārya is called his *lekī* i.e. daughter. *Lekī* Dhanāīsā = daughter Dhanāīsā. A woman speaks of her sister's daughter as if she were her own daughter. Sometimes the word *putaṇī* is used, at others she is called *āṇḍera*, *beṭi*, or *leka*. There are however some exceptions to this usage. Among Chitpāvans and in modern literature, which is greatly influenced by the Chitpāvans, a woman speaks of her sister's daughter as *bhācī*. No distinction is made by a woman between her brother's and sister's children.

BROTHER'S SON (man speaking) and SISTER'S SON (woman speaking) :—

The brother's son is called the same as one's son i.e. *leka*, *mulagā*, *āṇḍora* by some people. The kinship terms for this relation are *ḍikrā*, *putanyā* or *putanyō*. *Ḍikrā* is used in Gujarātī to denote a boy and seems to have been taken up by Bhils and Rājputs living in Khandesh. *putanyā* is a word derived from *pūta*, son, and means one who is like a son. This word is used on the West Coast and the plateau. It is however not used frequently in literature.

¹⁴²त्यांचे पुतणे मज कृष्णाजीचा बाप गोंदजी कडू वतन अनुभवीत असतां आजम अलीखान अबरंगाबादेस होते (A.D. 1724) (his nephew (brother's son). Gondajī Kaḍu, the father of myself Kṛṣṇājī, was enjoying the hereditary estate, when Ajam Alikhān was at Aurangābād.)

When a woman speaks of her sister's son, she uses the same terms as those above, except in the case of some Brahmins. Thus a woman speaks of her sister's son as a son or *putaṇyā* but among the Chitpāvans and some other Brahmins the word *bhācā* is used. Thus among Chitpāvans a woman speaking about her brother's or sister's child uses the same term *bhācī* or *bhācā*. It must be remembered that this lack of distinction between these relatives is due to the fact, that cousin marriage (either of parallel or cross-cousins) is tabu among Chitpāvans.

SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER (*man speaking*) and BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER (*woman speaking*):—

A woman calls her brother's son *bhācā* or *bhāccā* and his daughter *bhācī* or *bhācā* and the same terms are applied to the sister's son and daughter by a man. These words are common to the whole of the Marāṭhā country and occur also in old literature. The Chitpāvans use the term *bhācī* when a woman speaks of her sister's daughter and *bhācā* when speaking of her sister's son, and owing to the influence of Chitpāvans in modern literature, this usage is found often. This caste does not allow cousin marriage of any kind and hence the lack of distinction between different relatives can be explained. This usage is however modern and does not occur in old literature.

^{142a}मार्तंड सावळदेवासि गेला, तेथ बाईसाचे भाचे दाणाएकू होते ।

(Mārtaṇḍa went to the town of Sāwaḷadeva, where lived Dāēnāēka, nephew (brother's son, *bhācā*) of Bāisā.

¹⁴³मामाचे घरी भाचा कारभारी (the nephew (*bhācā*) is the manager of his maternal uncle's house.)

¹⁴⁴भाचेयावर लेकी देऊ केल्या तेथे एकवीस गोत्रे अपचारा (If one gives one's daughter to one's nephew (*bhācā*), twenty one generations suffer from the sin of it.) [This is from a folk-song of the west-coast Chitpāvans where such a marriage is tabooed]

¹⁴⁵शेती झाली रासूं खंडीच्या गोण्या किती । मावळंभाचं शेती ।

(There was a heap on the field. How many sacks are filled with one *khandī* corn? The nephew (*bhācā*) and the uncle (maternal uncle) are in the field.)

One Marāṭhā man has given the word *jāvaibuvā* for sister's son. *Jāvai* is the term for son-in-law and the nephew as the future son-in-law receives that name.

SON'S DESCENDENTS AND DAUGHTER'S DESCENDENTS:—

The terms for son's and daughter's descendents are the same except in the case of one informant, who belongs to the *Gira Gosāvi* caste and where the terminology is Hindi and Marāṭhi mixed.

^{142a} V, part 3, p. 68.

¹⁴⁴ XIX, p. 81,

¹⁴³ XXI.

¹⁴⁵ XXII, p. 417.

According to this informant the terms for son's son, son's grandson and son's great grandson, are respectively, *potarā*, *para potarā* and *sara-(da) potarā*, those for respective female descendants are, *potarī*, *para-potarī* and *śaḍapotarī*. The terms for a daughter's son, grandson and great grandson are, *navāsā*, *para-navāsā* and *sara-navāsā* and the respective female relatives are called *nātana*, *para-nātana* and *sara-nātana*. The words *potarā* etc. are equivalent to Sanskrit *pautra* and *prapautra*. The word *nātana* is equivalent to *napṭrī* or *napṭī*. I cannot place the word *navāsā* in its linguistic context.

The usual Marāṭhī words for these relatives are as follows: Son's and daughter's son is called *nātu* their daughter is called *nāti* or *nāta* while the generic term for the child of the son or the daughter is *nātavaṇḍa* or *nātunḍa* (नातवंड or नातुंड)

¹⁴⁶गोल्हो तो तयाचे नातोड्ड,.....सिती तेही तयाची नाति । (Golho was her grandchild (*nātonḍu*). Siti was her granddaughter (*nāti*).)

¹⁴⁷आजा मेला नातू झाला, जमाखर्च बरोबर (Grandfather is dead and grandson is born, the account is even). [One mouth less to feed would have been advantageous, but there is one death and one birth and so nothing is gained]. The son's and daughter's grandson is called *paṇatu para-nātu*, *paḍa-natu*, *paratonḍa* or *paṇatavaṇḍa*. The next male descendant after this is called *sara-nātu*, *nī-paṇatu*, *śentr*, *khāpara-tonḍa* or *khāpara-paṇatu*. The meaning of the prefix *paḍa* or *paṇa* is already discussed when considering the term *paṇajobā* (see p. 15). Also the significance of the prefixes in the terms for the great-great-grandson were discussed there. *Nī* in *nīpaṇatu* is a negative, *śen* in *śentr* means lost and *khāpara* in *khāparapaṇatu* means a potsherd. In the Marāṭhā country it is supposed to be very lucky for a man to live to see his great-grandson (son's son's son). On the other hand it is as unlucky to live to see one's great-great-grandson (son's son's son's son); and the idea is expressed by the negative or by using as prefix an inauspicious thing like potsherd, which is used for carrying the live coals with which a funeral pyre is ignited.

The terms for great-grand-daughter and great-great-granddaughter are feminine forms of the above terms and are as follows:—*paṇaṭī* *sara-paṇaṭī*, *nīpaṇaṭī* or *khāparapaṇaṭī*. These relatives are almost never mentioned in literature, as the occasion for dealing with such distant relatives does not generally arise.

AFFINIES :—

In Marāṭhī there are terms for relatives, which are related through the ties of marriage, as against those who are related by blood. *Soyarā* means one who is related by marriage. The language is rich in terminology which distinguishes one such relative from

another. Among *soyare* (सोयरे), the plural form of *soyarā*, are comprised the following relatives:—Husband, wife, husband's relatives, wife's relatives, sister's husband, brother's wife, paternal aunt's husband, maternal uncle's wife, son's wife and her relatives, daughter's husband and his relatives etc. Some of these relatives receive different names according as they are older or younger than the speaker. *Soyarika* means relationship by marriage. The word *soyarā* is sometimes coupled with the word *dhāyarā*. The word *soyarā* seems to be derived from the word *sahodarya* and the word *dhāyarā* from the Sanskrit word *dhātrka*, that is to say, brotherly or related to mother. How the meaning of relation by marriage came to be attached to these words needs investigation. In Kannada the word for the mother's brother is *sodara-māva*, for father's sister *sodara-atte*. This would suggest that the mother's *sahodara* (brother) i. e. a *dhātrka* is the *soyarā* par excellence and hence in regions where cross-cousin marriage takes place, the word *soyarā* is used for the relations by marriage*. On the other hand, these expressions may mean, the uncle and aunt who are related by blood, as distinct from other uncles (e.g. the mother's sister's husband) and other aunts (e.g. the father's brother's wife), who are relations by marriage. Only a comparative study of the terminology of different peoples, as is proposed in this series of papers, can solve the problem. The word *dhāyarā* is never used independently.

¹⁴⁸दादा अंगी बहिनी सोयरी (The *vahinī* (brother's wife) is relation only because of the brother).

¹⁴⁹इष्ट आणि मित्र स्वजन सोयरे । सुखाचे निर्भारे आप्तवर्ग ॥ (Acquaintances and friends, clan-mates and relatives by marriage, all these whom you consider yours are only available in prosperity).

¹⁵⁰वरलीं जड सोयरीक गोड (The elders are irksome, while the affinies are loved). [A man loves his wife, more than his parents.]

¹⁵¹धायरी सोएरी तुमते वर्जोती—(Your relations will discard you.) [You will be excommunicated.]

¹⁵²सोयरी धायरी थाळां वाटियां जेऊं न सुनी (The relatives will not give you meals in dishes and cups.) [You will be excommunicated.]

The word *sambandhī* is also used for relations by marriage. It is, however, like the word *soyarā-dhāyarā*, used loosely also for any relations. *Sambandhī* is from Sanskrit *sambandhin* and means "those who are bound together".

* I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE, for the above suggestion.

¹⁴⁸ XXX, 1405, p. 181.

¹⁴⁹ X *Sakala Santa Gāthā*, p. 88.

¹⁵¹ V, part II, p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ XXVI, 1655

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³मग एक दी केसोबासांचि संबधिये आइकोनि नेयावेया आलों : (One day, after having heard about this event, the relations of Kesobāsa came to take him away.)

¹⁵⁴कृष्णासी शरीरसंबंध । हा तव बोलचि अबद्ध । (The very talk about marital relation with Kṛṣṇa is absurd.)

The terms “*sambandha karane*” or “*soyārika (soyargata) karane*” mean to arrange marriage with certain families.

HUSBAND:—

There are many words for husband. Some are taken directly from Sanskrit, some emphasise the function or the status of the husband, while others are modes of denoting the husband, whose name is tabooed to the woman, so that when she speaks either to her husband or of her husband, she speaks of him in the third person or uses impersonal construction. This usage has led to innumerable interesting ways in which a husband is addressed or spoken of and a great scope is afforded to individual variation. The following are the words for husband:—

Paṭi, bhātāra, kantha, or kānta, svāmī, gosāvi, nāho, varaitā, vara navarā, dādālā, gho or goho, yajamāna, kartā, kārabhārī-barī, dhanī, or ghara-dhanī, bāmmunu, marda, āmulā, or āmbulā, koma, svataḥ, gharanta, tikade or ikade, pāṭila, āmce purūṣa.

The word *paṭi* is rarely used in daily conversation, but occurs frequently in folksongs, proverbs and literature. It is an old Vedic word come down to Marāṭhī through classical Sanskrit.

¹⁵⁵तुझा पती गौळी देवां ऐसे वीनोद तेथें केले नारदें (Nārada made jokes saying “O lady your husband is but a cowherd.”)

¹⁵⁶बायकोनें दिली भर पती झाले तरें. (The wife instigates and the husband becomes overbearing to his other relations).

¹⁵⁷श्रीरंग पती म्या मनें बरिला । (I have mentally chosen Śrīraṅga as my husband.) The word *bhātāra*, or *bhātaru* or *bhratāra* is common in song and literature, but is not used in the daily speech of the people, the Sanskrit word *bhartā* is also found in its original form.

¹⁵⁸भातार बर्जिला.....आपणचि जाउनि भातारासि बरवी उपवर नोवरी पाहीली (she abandoned the husband. She herself sought a pretty young bride for her husband.)

¹⁵⁹यांमाजी तुझा भ्रतार । कवण सांगे निर्धार । सफळ होईल संसार । प्राणवत्तमे । (darling Sitā, tell us who among these is your husband (*bhratāra*); we will gain merit by seeing him.)

¹⁵³ IV, 7, 13.

¹⁵⁴ VIIa, 2, 1.

¹⁵⁵ II, 60, 4. p. 30.

¹⁵⁶ XXX, 1399. (My interpretation is different from that of the editor.)

¹⁵⁷ XVIII, 1, p. 92, song 76.

¹⁵⁸ IV, p. 30, 97.

¹⁵⁹ I, p. 224, 64.

¹⁶⁰ विश्वश्रियेचा भर्ता गोसावी समस्ता त्रैलोक्याचा (The husband of world richness incarnate and the lord of the three worlds.)

The Sanskrit word *kānta* (the beloved) is used freely in Marāṭhī. In folksongs, it sometimes occurs as *kantha*, it is also written as *kāntu* in old Marāṭhī.

¹⁶¹ कान्तु शोभे सांवळा रुक्मिणीचा (The husband (*kāntu*) of Rukhmiṇī looked beautiful with his brown colour.)

¹⁶² निवांत, उगिच कां भ्रान्त, कुठे मम कान्त, कसा विचरे (does he sit quietly, or wanders about aimlessly, O tell me where and how my husband (*kānta*) is living.)

¹⁶³ गेली कंधाच्या जवळी । पूस घेतली आपल्या कंधाची ॥ (she went to her husband (*kantha*) and took leave of him.)

The word *svāmi* is also used for husband. It means the lord and master. Among some castes, it is pronounced as *somī*.

¹⁶⁴ एके दिवशी तरी सांग मोडली कधो मर्जी स्वामीची (Tell me, have I gone against my husband's (*svāmi*) will even for a day?

¹⁶⁵ लक्ष्मण भावोजी मागे, पुढें स्वामी । मज आहे धामी ऐसे वाटे ॥ (Lakṣmaṇa, my brother-in-law brought up the rear, while my husband (*svāmi*) walked in front of me. Thus I felt as if I was at home.)

The word *gosāvi* is used in literature for husband.

¹⁶⁶ आम्हां तुम्हां एक गोसावी (you and we have a common husband.)

Nāho is equivalent to Sanskrit *nātha* and is used frequently in literature by Brahmin as well as non-Brahmin authors,

¹⁶⁷ तुका करी टाहो । पाहे रखमाईचा नाहो ॥ (Tukārāma cries loudly, "O husband (*nāho*) of Rakhamāi, look to me.")

¹⁶⁸ मनी धरोनि हाचि भावो । अंतपुरा आला रावो । रुक्मिणीसी कृष्ण नाहो । राणिये रावो पुसतसे । (With this object in view, the king came to the inner apartments and asked his queen whether Kṛṣṇa would not be a fitting husband (*nāho*) for Rukhmiṇī.)

Vara is a Sanskrit word used in Marāṭhī in song, proverb and literature. In its old form it is written as *varu*. The word *varaitā* is also found in old literature and is the past passive participle of the verb *varane*. *Varaitā* means one who is chosen. Though the word *vara* is used for husband, it generally means the bride-groom.

¹⁶⁹ कुमरी लावण्यनिधान इय वरू होय द्वारकेनाथ । (This girl is the treasure of all beauty. The Lord of Dvārakā is alone the husband (*varu*) fit for her.)

¹⁶⁰ III, 9, 280.

¹⁶¹ II, ii, 1, p. 32.

¹⁶² XVIII, 1, p. 14.

¹⁶³ XXVIII, p. 89.

¹⁶⁴ XLI, p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ XXIX, *Sitāṅgītā*, 11.

¹⁶⁶ IX, 3, 11.

¹⁶⁷ X, 1098.

¹⁶⁸ VIIa, 1. 92.

¹⁶⁹ II, 1, 4, 4.

¹⁷⁰जिवंत असतां लग्न वर मग कां करावा पाटाचा (When the husband by marriage is living, why seek another husband by remarriage?)

[The first marriage of a woman is the only marriage by religious rites. Even among those castes, where remarriage is allowed, the second marriage is given a different name and is held as inferior to the first.]

¹⁷¹वरैताचिया बाइलां आणि लेंकुरवाळिया मी भीक्षां देउं भीत असे (I am afraid to admit in the order of religious mendicants (Mahānubhāva sect) the wives of husbands and women with children.)

¹⁷²तुम्ही वरैतापढीया (You are the beloved of your husband.)

आवडीनें केला वर त्याला दिसां खोकला आणि रात्रीं हिंज्वर (Proverb) (The husband of her choice is coughing by day and has fever by night.)

¹⁷³न वरावा जरि गुणवान् योजूंच्या असें उणें न वरा (You should not choose him though he be virtuous. We will get another. There is no dearth of bridegrooms.)

The word *navarā* or *novara* or *nhavarā* is used in common speech, as also in song, proverb and literature for husband or bridegroom.

¹⁷⁴हळदाई वाटली आधी लावा देवाजीला । मग लावा न्हवऱ्या बाळा (The turmeric is pounded. Apply it first to the god and then to the bridegroom.) [The marriage ceremony begins with the ceremonial application of turmeric to the bride and groom.]

¹⁷⁵नवऱ्याचें मारणें आणि चिखलांत पडणें (A husband's (*navaryāce*) beating is like a fall in the mud.) [The consequences are soon forgotten.]

¹⁷⁶इन्द्र आला प्रथम प्रहरा । तव अहल्येसि गौतम नोवरा ।.....देखोनी । अभ्यन्तरी संतप्त ॥ (Indra came during the first part of the day, saw that Ahalyā had Gautama for her husband (*novarā*) and became angry.)

The word *dādala* or *dādulā* or *dādlo* is used for husband on the west coast and also on the plateau. It is not used by Brahmins.

¹⁷⁷दादलो बायले आदलो (The husband comes before the wife.) [It means either that the husband is higher in status to the wife, or that he is born before his wife.] Compare कन्ये आधीं तिच्या पतीतें विधि निपजवितो भायें¹⁷⁸ (The god creates the girl's husband before he creates her.)

The word *gho* or *goho* is used on the west coast. It is found also rarely in literature.

¹⁷⁹गोहो यावा गांवा ऐसे नवस करी आवा (wife prays to god that the husband (*goho*) may soon come home to his native village.)

¹⁷⁰ XIV, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ IV, p. 15, 49.

¹⁷² V, part 3, p. 3.

¹⁷³ XXIX, Sāvitri, 17, p. 494.

¹⁷⁴ XXXII, p. 142.

¹⁷⁵ XXX, 1327, p. 170.

¹⁷⁶ IX, 14, 41. p. 50.

¹⁷⁷ XXVI, 380.

¹⁷⁸ XLII.

¹⁷⁹ X, Tukārāma, 189. 3044.

¹⁸⁰घोवांन् जोडले, बायल्येन् संभाळले, घर थरले. (The husband (*gho*) obtained it, the wife cared for it and so the house prospered.) The word *yajamāna*, which means in Sanskrit, one who sacrifices, is applied to a householder or husband in Marāṭhī. It is however not used everywhere.

The word *kārabāri* (*kārabhāri*) or *gharbāri* meaning manager of the household and *gharadhani* or *dhani* meaning the possessor of the house, are used for husband. They denote his status in the household. So also among Marāṭhās the husband is mentioned as *pāṭila*. *Marda* is an Arabic term and means "man". *Bammunu* i. e. Brahmin, is the term used by the Brahmin women in Canara. The word *koma* is never used independently, except in legal documents, where after a married woman's name the word *koma* is written followed by the husband's name. The word *bhratāra* is also used sometimes for the word *koma*.

¹⁸¹अहो वैराळ कारबारी । कारबारी म्हणावं । म्हजे कंकण चढवीतो ॥ ("You should say, "O, Vairāḷa, my husband (*kārabāri*)," then I will put the bangle on your hand.)

¹⁸²घरी आहे घरचा घनी..... (The owner of the house is at home.....).

¹⁸³कचेरीत घरघनी बैसतो वाघापरी रडक्त । (My husband (*ghardhani*) sits chained in his office like a tiger.)

¹⁸⁴कां हसला गे माझा तो घरबारी । न कळेच कांहीसे बाई । (why is my master (husband *gharbhāri*) angry with me? I do not seem to understand anything.)

The word *āmūlā* or *ābulā* or *āmbulā* is found in old Marāṭhī literature only. It is no longer used by any community. The feminine of this word is *āmbuli* or *āmbulī* and is used for wife also in old literature.

¹⁸⁵प्रकृति पुरुषाची कुळबाडी । सांगता असंघडी । जे आंबुली जोडी । आमुला खाय । (The family history of Prakṛti and Puruṣa (the male and female elements who created the world) is unique, inasmuch as the wife (*āmbulī*) ate her husband (*āmūlā*).)

¹⁸⁶ह आइकौनि तो साळि । आंबुलियेते म्हणे. (Hearing this the weaver said to his wife (*āmbulī*).)

The word seems to be borrowed from the Tamil language. *Attimber* is a word used for the husband (*amber*) of the father's sister (*atti*).¹⁸⁷ The word *amber* is never used alone, but it, in its turn, is derived from the Tamil word *aṇapan*, which means husband or lover. This *aṇapan* can easily be changed to *ampal* or *ambar* or *ambal*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ XXVI, 368.

¹⁸¹ XXXIV, p. 196.

¹⁸² Popular song sung by a Gopi.

¹⁸³ XLI, p. 40.

¹⁸⁴ XLI, p. 54.

¹⁸⁵ III, 13, p. 61.

¹⁸⁶ XL, 38, p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ vide Tamil Dictionary published by the Madras University.

¹⁸⁸ I am indebted to Prof. SANKARAN for finding out the word *aṇapan*. It occurs in *Cilappatikaram*. 18. 17.

The old Marāṭhi word *āmulā* or *ambulā* and its feminine form *ambulī* thus appear very probably to have come from the Tamil word *amber* or *aṇaṇan*.

The Sinhali word *ambayālu* may also be related to these words.

When a wife speaks of her husband, she uses terms like *svataḥ* (himself), *gharāta* (one in the house), or *tikade* (him there), *ikade* (him here) and so on; or she simply uses impersonal construction without using any subject. She never utters the name of her husband, except on ceremonial occasions. There are many women's festivals at which, when neighbours assemble, women are requested to utter the names of their husbands. This is done amidst a lot of joking and laughter. The name of the husband is never uttered in a bald, unadorned way; it is strung in some pretty rhyme which shows how good, or handsome or beloved he is. This has given rise to a peculiar kind of literature called the *ukhāṇe* or *āhāṇe* (plural of *ukhāṇā* or *āhāṇā* i. e. an epigram. The word is derived from Sanskrit *vacana*, a saying.) The husband also employs these when at certain ceremonies, he is made to utter the name of the wife. With the influence of the western education, this custom is vanishing. Formerly it was considered a necessary accomplishment for a bride to have a store of these sayings or to compose them on the spur of the moment. Some examples of these compositions are given below.

¹⁸⁹ लावित होतें कुंकू त्यांत पडलें मोती । × × × सारखा भ्रतार जन्मोजन्मी चिंती.
(I was applying the red mark to my forehead, when a pearl fell in.
A husband like × × × I wish to have in birth after birth.)

¹⁹⁰ दारी होती तुळस, तिला घालीत होत्यें पळी पळी पाणी । आधी होतें आईबापांची तान्ही ।
मग झालें × × × ची राणी ॥ (There was a Tulasa bush at my door. I watered it daily. I was formerly a pet of my parents and then became the queen of × × ×.)

This is the general form of the *ukhāṇe* among Brahmins and some other castes. Among Marāṭhās and Kupbis the *ukkhāṇe* are much lengthier and contain a jocular story about the husband or the brother of the woman or some other persons. They are also rhymed lines. Sometimes these are very clever compositions, while at others they appear to be mere unconnected lines chosen for rhyme and not having any meaning at all. One of these *ukhāṇe* is given below.*

अदघर मधघर । मधघरांत बक्षे गहू । पानूजणी होतं भाऊ । एक निघाला त्रिशिंगराव ।
चांदीच ताट बोडाच्या खोगराला । चल म्हंतो नगराला । नगराची भिंगरं । भिंगराची तान्न (?) ।
सोलापुरची धोत्रं । पन्नासाची घेतली गाडी । त्याचा झाला चूर । पहिला मोराचा पूर (मोरगांव) ।
मोराच्या पुराचा चटका । अष्टापुरचा पटका । पटक्याची लेहणी । तळेगांवची बंडी । बंडीचा साहशा ।
नगराचा काच्या । अवसपुणव आली दाट । एका भाकरीचं घेतल पीठ । त्याला नाही दूध ॥

¹⁸⁹ XLIII, part 1, p. 1.

¹⁹⁰ XLIII, part I, p. 2.

* Given by Gayābāi Pawār.

झाली आईची सूत्र । आईच्या नांवावर घेतला घोडा । बांधा भाकरी जाऊं रोजगाराला । रोजगार घेतला घईन सईन । घरची अस्तुरी मामेभईण । बारवाचं पाणी कशानं आटलं । रोजगाराला गेले तीन दिवस नाहीं कंठलं । बसले राहूच्या पारावर । किंमत केली समईची । हुल दावली समईची । वाट धरली सासुरवाडीची । अशी आई बरी । न्हीरी घालते घरच्या घरीं । जेवणार म्हणतो जेवीन । पोळ्या घाल्या महेमदवाडीन् । पाडाचे आंबे महादेवाला वाहले । लक्ष्मण रावांसाठीं पवाराचे घर पाहिले ॥ [The last line gives the name and surname of the husband.]

WIFE:—There are many words for wife, some of which are common to the whole of the country, while others are peculiar to different parts of it. The husband never utters the name of his wife and so there are different ways of calling her or alluding to her.

patni, *bhājā* or *bharajā*, *bāyako*, *bāil*, *bāiru*, *brāhmaṇi*, *lakṣmi*, *hokala*, *gharawāli*, *ghardhanina kārbbhārīṇa*, *kuṭumba* or *kuṭumbi*, *kha'ale*, *tī*, *āmbuli-ṭi ardhāṅgi*, *novari*, *stri*, *astri*, *anturi*, *asturi*, *saubhāgyā-vali*. The following foreign words are used by people settled in the Marāṭhā country:—*joru aurala*, *lugai*, *meherāla*. They were given to me by people belonging to the following castes respectively, Gosāvi, Paradeśi lodh, Pardesi govaṇḍi, and Rājput.

The word *patni* is almost never used in daily speech, neither does it occur, except very rarely, in folksongs. It is however used in later literature or Brahmin literature of the past two or three centuries. As against this, the word *bhājā* or *bhārājā* (from Sanskrit *bhāryā*) is used from very olden times up to now. It occurs in song and proverb also.

¹⁹¹दुर्योधनाची भारजा भानुमती । दुर्योधनाची तिजवर नव्हती प्रीति । (The wife (*bhārājā*) of Duryodhana was Bhānumati. Dhuryodhana did not love her.)

¹⁹²मनि रुचला यादवराजा । कधि होईन त्याची भाजा । (I loved the king of Yadus and thought when could I be his wife (*bhājā*)?)

¹⁹³धन्य म्हणे राजा । ही माझी प्रजा । रजकाची भाजा धन्य झाली । The king said "praised be my people." The wife (*bhājā*) of the washerman was satisfied.)

¹⁹⁴पती मम प्रियकर प्रियकरिण त्याची मी भाजा । (My husband is beloved by me; I am the beloved wife (*bhājā*) of my husband).

The words *bāyako*, *bāila*, or *bāilu* and *bāiru* are very common; the word *bāi* meaning woman is common to them, *ko*, *la*, *lu* and *ru* are suffixes.

¹⁹⁵नवऱ्याचे पीठ बायकोचे मीठ (The husband's flour, the wife's salt.) [Both should earn something.]

¹⁹⁶तासा आढ बैल व दिसा आढ बायको मारावी (Beat a bullock every other hour, beat a wife every other day.)

¹⁹¹ XVIII, part 3, p. 47.

¹⁹³ VIII, p. 641, 2293.

¹⁹⁶ XXX, 1326.

¹⁹² Ibid., part 2, p. 93.

¹⁹⁴ XLI, p. 58.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 1322.

¹⁹⁷दुबळ्याची मरूं नये बाईल, गिरेस्थीचा मरूं नये घोब. (The wife of a poor man should not die, the husband of a Brahmin woman should not die.) [A poor man cannot get another wife, while a Brahmin woman is not allowed remarriage].

¹⁹⁸मी लग्नाची बाईल याची हा तरि नवरा कसा (I am his wife by marriage and he behaves in this fashion!)

The word *brahmani* is used in old literature for wife when speaking of a Brahmin family. In the same way *giressthī* is used in Konkanī to denote the wife of a well-to-do person.

¹⁹⁹गोपाळ पंडित गांवा गेले : तवें तयांची ब्राह्मणी सरली : (Gopāḷa Paṇḍita had gone on a journey, when his wife (*brāhmaṇī*) died.)

The word *lakṣmī* or *lakṣimī* is also used for wife. The word originally means the goddess of wealth and auspiciousness. Wife is the presiding genius of the house and is therefore called *lakṣmī*. In Berar, the word *lakṣmī* is used for women in general. Sometimes the compound word *gṛha-lakṣmī*, meaning "the goddess of the house" is also used.

The word *hokala* is used on the west coast for bride or wife. It seems to be derived from Sanskrit *vadhū-kula*.*

²⁰⁰होकलेक् कोण वाखाणतलो होकलेची आवय नाय झाल्यावर ? (Who is going to praise the bride (*hokala*) if the bride's mother is not present?) *Gharavālī*, *gharadhanina*, *kārbhārīṇa* all mean, one who is the mistress of the house, or one who is the manager of the house.

²⁰¹घरधनी तुमी मिया पिरतीची कारभारीण। (You are the master of the house. I am your beloved *kārabhārīṇa*.)

Kuṭumba means family, but the word is applied also to wife alone. A man will talk of his *kuṭumba* when he wishes to speak about the wife, *kuṭumbī* also means wife and is the Marāṭhī version of the Sanskrit word *kuṭumbinī*.

²⁰²मुला लेकरामधीं कुटुंबी साजरी दिसते—(A married woman i.e. a wife looks beautiful amongst children.) [The words of a childless woman.]

The word *khaṭale* is used to denote wife and children, or wife alone. *Khaṭale* is a word which denotes generally, a lot of furniture or household goods or some complicated situation or incident. When a man is a bachelor, he is free to move about and life is simple. When he is married, his movements are no longer free, his life is more complicated and it is supposed to be all due to his wife, who is hence termed *khaṭale*. In the same way, I have heard the word *gabāḷa* used

¹⁹⁷ XXVI, 405.

¹⁹⁸ XV, p. 24.

¹⁹⁹ IV, p. 60, 186.

²⁰⁰ XXVI.

²⁰¹ A popular Lāvaṇī.

²⁰² XLI, p. 71.

* I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE for this suggestion.

for wife in Sholapur. *Gabāḷa* means inconvenient or useless packages or refuse.

When a man speaks of his wife, he generally uses the pronoun *hi* i. e. she (yonder) or *hi* she (here). Thus he will say, आमची ही देवाला गेली आहे," i. e. "our wife (she, *hi*) has gone to the temple." The word *āmbulī* or *āmbulī* has already been discussed before (see page 368.)

The Sanskrit word *stri* for woman is used in its pure form or in its modifications *astri*, or *asturi*. The Sanskrit word *antahpura* is modified to *antaura* or *anturi* and used for woman or wife.

²⁰³मग तो वाणिज्यां म्हणे तुते देखोनी माझि अन्नि भ्याली. (Then the merchant said, "my wife (*astri*) was frightened at your sight".)

²⁰⁴हीराइसे तें पंडीतबासांची स्त्री. (Hirāisā was the wife (*stri*) of Paṇḍitabāsa.)

²⁰⁵जे जाले असती उद्यत । झुजावया ॥ अंतोरिया कुमारे । सांडोनिया भांडारे । शस्त्राग्री जिन्हारे । आरोपुनी ॥ (These have become ready for a fight, abandoning their wives (*antauri*), children and wealth, with their lives planted on the end of their weapons.)

²⁰⁶जन्मला जयांचे उदरी । तयांसि जो विरोध करी । सखी मानिली अंतुरी तो एक मूर्ख ॥ (A fool is he, who quarrels with those, who gave him birth, and thinks that the wife (*anturi*) is the only friend.)

²⁰⁷गेल्या अस्तूरी म्हालाला । भगे राणो अस्तूयरी (He went to the chamber of his wife (*asturi*) and said, "O, wife (*astūyari*), my queen.) *Saubhāgyavati* is an epithet applied to all married women, whose husband is living. It means literally "the auspicious one". It is used sometimes for wife. The word *ardhāṅgi* means "sharing half the body". In the *ardhanārī-natēśwara* (half man, half woman) form of the god Śiva, the goddess Umā is half of the body of her husband Śiva. The wife is thus half the husband; hence the word *ardhāṅgi* is used for wife, though it is never a kinship term.

Other words taken purely from Sanskrit, like *kānlā*, *priyā* etc. occur in literature, but are not used in daily speech.

The word *navari* means bride or a newly married woman. It is also written as *novari*.

²⁰⁸आपणचि जाउनि भातारासि बरवी उपवर नोवरी पाहिली. (She herself went and sought out a good young bride (*novari*) for her husband.)

CO-WIFE:—

Husband's other wife, whether she be living or dead, is equally real. She is called *savata*. The first wife of a man is always the status wife and is called the elder wife, even though she may be

²⁰³ XL, p. 42.

²⁰⁶ XII, 2, 1. 8,

²⁰⁴ IV, 16, 56.

²⁰⁷ XXVIII, p. 91.

²⁰⁵ III, 1, 219-20.

²⁰⁸ IV, 30, 97.

younger than the second wife. The word *savata* is written as *savati* in older literature. A co-wife is also called *bahiṇa* i.e. sister.

If a woman marries a man whose first wife is dead, she has to wear a small figure representing the co-wife round her neck.

²⁰⁹वेदाते म्हणे मज हे सवती शाली (Said to the Vedas, that they had become like a co-wife i.e. rival (*savati*)).

²¹⁰आपण विईना, सवत साहीना (she would neither bear a child, nor tolerate a co-wife.)

THE REMARRIED WOMAN:—When a woman is married after divorcing the first husband or after the death of her first husband, she is called *pātācī* or *mhotrācī bāyako* (पाटाची or म्होत्राची बायको), i.e. a wife by *pāṭa* or *mhotura* (remarriage.) This second ceremony is not held to be on par with the first ceremony when a woman is married for the first time. It is marriage proper and is called *lagna*, while the second ceremony is called *pā'a*. Among the Brahmins and other castes, which do not allow divorce or remarriage, there is no wife by *pā'a*. The second husband is called *pātācā navarā* (पाटाचा नवरा).

²¹¹जिवन्त असतां लग्नवर मग कां करावा पाटाचा । (Why should one get a husband by *pāṭa* while the husband by the *lagna* ceremony (the first husband) is living?)

HUSBAND & WIFE:—The different terms for husband and wife are combined to form a compound word meaning husband and wife. Such are the words *navarā-bāyako*, *dādālā-bāil* and others. There are however single words which mean husband and wife, or bride and groom. These are *dampatī*, *varaule* or *ghara-varaule*, *mehuṇa*, *vohara*, *joḍā* or *joḍape*, *grhasṭhe*.

²¹²भटोबासांपासि एकी दंपती भीक्षा केली : (A man and his wife (*dampatī*) became disciples of Bhaṭṭabāsa).

²¹³ती अनादि घरवरौते । व्याली ब्रह्मादि प्रपंचाते । न सांडिती एकमेकांते । छाया तनु जैसी ॥ (These primeval husband and wife (*ghara-varaule*) gave birth to this cosmos. They never leave each other, like the body and its shadow).

The word *mehuṇa* is used often when a dinner is being given to a Brahmin and his wife. It is supposed to bring merit to feed a married pair, especially that of a Brahmin. *Mehuṇa bolāvane* means to ask a married couple to meals.

Vohara is a word made up of two words *vadhū* and *vara*. It means bride and groom.

²⁰⁹ III, 16, p. 166.

²¹⁰ XXX, 1310.

²¹¹ XIV, p. 2.

²¹² IV, p. 29, 94.

²¹³ I, chap. 6, 5, p. 202.

²¹⁴विवाहहोम निजनिर्धारो । वोहरे आणावीं बोहल्यावरी । श्रीराम वेडिला नरनारी । कडे नोवरी तुन्ही घ्या ॥ (The sacrifice after marriage was to be done. The bride and groom (*vohare*) were to be brought on the raised platform, when Rāma was surrounded by men and women, who requested him to take up his bride and carry her).

Jodā and *jodape* is used of a human pair as also of other animals.

^{214a}जन्मवरी जोडा ईश्वरा राहू दे माझा—(O, God let our pair (*jodā*) remain united for the whole life).

Gṛhasṭha is a householder; when used in plural, it means man and wife.

²¹⁵समर्थासी नैवेद्य करावया लागोनी । त्रिभुवनगृहस्थे बैसली ॥ (The householder pair (*gṛhasṭhe*) of the whole world (Rāma and Jānakī) gave a meal to Samartha.)

DIFFERENT TERMS FOR WOMEN ACCORDING TO THEIR STATUS:—

The Marāṭhi language is rich in terms showing different phases of life to which a woman belongs. These are *kunvāra* or *kumvārīṇa*, *paravanṭī* or *paravanṭakarīṇa* or *parakari*, *nhāṇavali*, *padarkarīṇa*, *navarī*, *māghārīṇa*. *aheva* or *āyāva*, *savāṣṇa* or *sūvāsini*, *sabhāgīṇa*, *lekurvāṭī*, *vānjha*, *vidhavā*, *rāṇḍa*, *hātārīṭi*, *pāṇḍharyā kapālācī*, *boḍaki*, *bālanṭha*.

The terms enumerated above indicate larger divisions in a woman's life or they show her status. There are other terms, which give a finer classification involving terms for e. g., a woman who is in childbed for the first time: *pahilaṭakarīṇa*, a woman who gives birth to the second child without having menstruated between the first and the second conception: *miṇḍhi bālnṭha*, [the child of such a woman is supposed to be in the danger of lightening falling on it], a woman who has no children at the time of her death, or whose children are still-born: *marata vānjha*. Every such term denotes a definite attitude towards these women. This attitude is expressed by certain observances. These are however not so pronounced as in the case of the major categories given above. Not so long ago, women of different categories could be distinguished by their dress, ornaments behaviour etc. The presence of a woman in certain of these categories is held to be auspicious, while that of women in others is held to bring ill-luck.

Kunvāra, *kumvārīṇa* is an unmarried girl of any age. When marriages were contracted early, a *kumvārīṇa* was always a small girl. A *kumvārīṇa* wears particular kinds of ornaments and is not allowed to wear things, which are meant for a married woman. *Paravanṭī* or *paravanṭakarīṇa* is a small girl who has not yet menstruated. The word refers to a particular kind of dress, such a girl used to wear. The *sārī* is so worn, that it does not cover the upper part of the body.

The word *parakari* also refers to such a girl wearing a skirt. In the Marāthā country, all grown-up girls and women wear a *sārī*, while only young girls wear a skirt.

A *nhānāvali* is a girl who has just menstruated for the first time. She is not allowed to touch the other members of the family. On this occasion of the first menstruation, certain semi-religious observances are found.

Padarakarīna is a girl or a woman who has come of age (i. e., menstruated) and wears her sari like a grown-up woman, covering the upper part of the body with one end of her garment. *Navari* is the bride, *māghārīna* is a newly married girl, who is but an occasional visitor to her father-in-law's house, who is not yet firmly established in her husband's house. *Aheva* or *āyāva* is a married woman, whose husband is living. The words *savaṣṇa*, *suvāsini* and *sabhāgiṇa* mean the same as *aheva*. This is supposed to be the most auspicious part of a woman's life.

²¹⁶आयावचे गेला खेळक रांडेचे बाबडे गेलां जल्मजुगाक (The child of a woman whose husband is living (*āyāva*) has gone out to play if it dies, but when the child of a widow (*rāṇḍa*) dies, it is gone for ever.) [A woman with a husband can hope to have other children.]

Lekuravāḷi is a woman having children. There are many folk-songs showing the yearning of women for a child. There are also sayings which contrast the state of a childless woman with that of a woman with children.

²¹⁷लेकुरवाळीची तुटी उघडी भाकरीची । वांस नारीच्या परवरी गोणी पडली साकरची । (The garment end of the mother (*lekuravāḷi*) is empty of bread, while on the verandah of the childless woman lies a sack full of sugar.)

Vānjha is the woman without child and there is no end to folk-songs and proverbs which describe the sorrow or deride the condition of a childless woman.

²¹⁸जिकडे गेली वांस तिकडे झाली सांज (Where the childless woman (*vānjha*) goes, there she will stay till evening.) [She has no tie of children to call her back.]

The worst that can happen to a Hindu woman belonging to the higher castes, is to lose the husband and become a widow. *Vidhavā* is a woman whose husband is dead. The word *rāṇḍa* expresses the same meaning, and is used in proverbs and folk-literature. *Hātariti* is a woman whose hands are empty, i. e., without bangles; a widow is not allowed to wear bangles. This word is found most in Mahānu-*bhāva* literature. The expression *pāṇḍharyā kapālāci* means one whose forehead is white, i. e., a woman who is without the auspicious red mark, *kunkuma* on her forehead. Only unmarried girls and

married women with their husbands living are allowed to put this mark on their forehead. The word *bodaki* refers to a woman who has shaved her head. This refers to the custom among Brahmmins to shave the head of a woman whose husband has died.

विधवेला कुंकवाची उठावे कशाला ? (Why should a widow (*vidhavā*) give herself trouble about kunku?). [An oft-quoted proverb.]

²¹⁹उमाइसे तिचे हातरीती जाली—(Umāisa became an empty-handed woman, i.e., a widow (*hātaritī*)).

²²⁰बोडकी आली व केसकर झाली. (She came a shaved one (widow) and became one with hair.) [i.e., she married the master and became the mistress of the house.]

²²¹करोनी कीर्तन मागती जे हव्य ते मानाने वैधव्य विधवा । (Demanding remuneration for singing hymns to gods is a thing as shameful as widowhood to a widow.)

SISTER'S HUSBAND AND WIFE'S BROTHER :—

The woman's husband and brother use reciprocal terms to designate their relationship. These terms are, *bhāto*, *sālā*, *sālā* and *mehunā* or *mevaṇo*. The word *bhaṇohī* or *bahinōī* is used in certain castes for sister's husband and is not a reciprocal term between a woman's husband and brother. The sister's husband is also called *pāhunā* or *pāvhanā* in certain castes.

The term *bhāto* is equivalent to Sanskrit *bhrātr*. It is used in Berar and C. P. and parts of Khandesh. It is an old term found in Mahānubhāva literature and in folk-songs of C. P.

²²²भास्करभट नागदेवाचा भाटो (Bhaskarabhat was the husband of Nagdeva's sister (*bhāto*)).

²²³कां ग वधतेस तुझ्या बंधूला । सहा महिन्यांनीं साडी घेईल तुला । भाटवा इमानाचा पुरा ॥ (Why do you kill your brother? He will buy you a sārī at the end of six months. My *bhaṭavā*, your brother is an honest man).

²²⁴भणउनि असानेया होइजे : पुढां भाटुं घाडिजे ॥ पाठीं आपण जाइजे : अमोलपणे ॥ (Therefore have courage. Send your sister's husband (? *bhātu*) ahead of you and do you go afterwards without any harm.)

The word *sālā* or *sālā* is used also in Berar and parts of Khandesh. It is not used in the western Marāṭhā country as a kinship term, but as a term of abuse. Whether the term of abuse castes a light on the relationship between a man and his wife's brother or sister's husband cannot be determined. The word *sālā* seems to be the same as *śyālaka* or *śyāla*. The word *sālepanā* meaning the relation of *sālā* is also used. The relation is one of joking and references are found to

²¹⁹ IV, 3, 1.

²²¹ VIII, *Ekanāth*, p. 412-418.

²²² XX, p. 113.

²²⁰ XXX. 1445.

²²³ IV, Introduction, p. 16.

²²⁴ VI, p. 40.

this feature of the relationship. The word *sālaka* is also found. The word *sālā* is sometimes pronounced as *sāyā* or *sārā*.

²²⁵हे कोण बायकोचे साले. (Who is this *sālā* of the wife?)

²²⁶साऱ्या मेहुण्या होईल कळी । कृष्ण करील रांडोळी । ते मी नवाळी पाहीन ॥
The *sāre* (wife's brothers) and *mehuṇe* (sister's husband) will quarrel and Kṛṣṇa will crack jokes and I will see the fun.)

²²⁷एथ सालक सासुरे मातुळ । (Here are wife's brothers (*sālaka*) and wife's father and uncles and maternal uncles).

²²⁸झणे लाज धरिसी मनी सालेपणे तुजसी केला बाकरू । (You are ashamed but it was meant only as joking which is due to the relationship of *sālā*, i. e., being wife's brother.)

The word *mehuṇā* is very common. Besides wife's brother and sister's husband, it is also used for the male cross-cousin, i.e. for mother's brother's son or father's sister's son. *Mehunaṭāra* means the custom of the marriage of cross-cousins or the joking between two relatives who are *mehuṇe* to one another.

²²⁹कान पिळ्ळे मेहुणे भिती । होईल रुक्मियाची गती ॥ (The wife's brothers were afraid to tweak his ear, as they thought that they would be reduced to the same condition as Rukhmī.) [During the marriage ceremony, it is the custom for the bride's brother to tweak the ear of the bridegroom. The bridegroom has to give a present to the brother of the bride to free his ear].

²³⁰मेहुणा जयाचा द्वारकेचा हरी । शंख दारोदारी भीक मागी ॥ (Śaṅkha, whose sister's husband (*mehuṇā*) is the Hari of Dvārakā, begs from door to door).

²³¹विनोद मेहुणी मांडिला (His wife's brothers (*mehuṇā*) began to joke with him.)

The word *bhaṇohi* is equivalent to Sanskrit *bhaginī-pati* and Prakrit *bhaiṇī-vai*. It is a descriptive term made up of the two primary terms, *bahina* (sister) and *pati* (husband). *Bhaṇohi* or *baiṇoi* means sister's husband. This term is used by the Pāṭhāre Prabhu and the Rājputs in Khandesh.

The word *pāhuṇā* or *pavhaṇā* is also used for sister's husband in Poona and Satara districts by the Marāṭhās. It is also used by the Rājputs of Khandesh.

A peculiarity about the terms *mehuṇā*, and *bhāto* is that different terms are used for these relations according as they are younger or older, or higher or lower in status than the speaker. Thus wife's elder brother is called *bhāvoji* or *dāji* or *bhāva-sāsarā*. *Bhāva-sāsarā*

²²⁵ Amṛtarāya.

²²⁶ VIII, A, p. 98.

²²⁷ III, I, p. 20.

²²⁸ II, p. 21.

²²⁹ VIII, A, p. 237.

²³⁰ X, Tukārāma, p. 285-4 '43.

²³¹ VIII, A, p. 12-148.

means one who is like the father-in-law. A man has to behave very respectfully to his wife's elder brother while he is on terms of familiarity and joking with his wife's younger brother. The elder sister's husband is called *bhāvoji* and a man has to be respectful to him, while the younger sister's husband is called *bahīṇa jāvai* and a man may joke with him. Elder sister's husband is often called *dāji*. The word *dāji* is also used for sister's husband.

^{231a} एक बा दाजी कर्णा—(O, Karna, my sister's husband (*dāji*) listen).

SISTER'S HUSBAND (woman speaking) :—

A woman uses the same words as a man for sister's husband. A woman treats her younger sister's husband as her son-in-law, and uses different terms for her elder sister's husband and her younger sister's husband.

The husband of the elder sister may not only joke, but may also marry a woman. The joking may be of a very ribald type.

²³² नासिकासि लाविला चुना, होता मेहुणा, टवाळी केली ॥ (Lime was applied to her nose. As he was her elder sister's husband (*mehuṇā*) he practised this trick on her).

The elder sister's husband is called *bhāvoji* while the younger sister's husband is called *bahīṇa-jāvai*. Lovers' songs in which the two lovers call each other *vahinī* and *bhāvoji* seem to point out to this usage. The lovers are either considered as cross-cousins or the man is the husband of the elder sister. In this connection the notorious story of Candrāvaḷa and Kṛṣṇa is of interest. Kṛṣṇa was the lover of all the young women in Gokula except the pretty Candrāvaḷa, or Candrāvālī, the younger sister of his wife Rāhī or Rāhī. Candrāvaḷa was a virtuous young girl, who would not yield to the charms of Kṛṣṇa, so Kṛṣṇa consulted his wife Rāhī, who gave him advice as to how to get Candrāvaḷa. Kṛṣṇa was given the dress of a woman and made to look like Rāhī. In this disguise he went to Candrāvaḷa, was received by her as her sister and possessed her ultimately in this false guise. There are numerous songs on this theme. Not a single song has a word of pity for Candrāvaḷa or a word of anger against Kṛṣṇa. In one song Rāhī, the wife of Kṛṣṇa, is taunted as the procuress, who got her sister for Kṛṣṇa (" बहिणीची बाई तू गे सलीस कुंटणी "). I believe the song and the theme reflect an old custom, by which a man had sexual rights over all the younger sisters of his wife.

²³⁴ बहिणीमुळे भावोजी सोयरा. (The *bhāvoji* (elder sister's husband) becomes a relative because of the sister).

WIFE'S SISTER and FEMALE CROSS-COUSIN :—

There are many words for wife's sister. They are *mehuṇī-sālī* or *sārī*. Wife's elder sister is called *akkadasāsu* or *hunji* and a man

^{231a} XVIII, part 3, p. 47.

²³³ XLIV, p. 48.

²³² XVIII, part II, p. 97.

²³⁴ XXX, 1416.

has to behave very respectfully to her, while a man is on terms of utmost familiarity with his wife's younger sister. The word *akkada-sāsu* is found in Berar and C. P. The word *hunji* was given by a Marāṭhā lady also in Berar.

²³⁵ आमचीये आकडसासूचे गुरु आले. (The preceptor of the elder sister of my wife (*ākadasāsu*) has come.)

²³⁶ साली सासवा आवडती । बहीणभावा तोंडी माती ॥ (He likes the wife's sister (*sālī*) and the mother-in-law, while the own brother and sisters, he neglects).

²³⁷ आतां. अतार येईल तुझा बाहेरून । तो थट्टा करील माझी मेहुणीच्या नात्यानं ॥ (Your husband will come home and joke with me because I stand to him in the relationship of *mehuṇī* (wife's sister).)

²³⁸ घरांत नाही मेहुणी व सासूशी रांडोली (his sister-in-law (*mehuṇī*) is not at home, so he jokes with his mother-in-law.) [This is supposed to be very bad behaviour].

मेहुणी अर्धो बायको (Wife's sister is half one's wife's.) [An oft-quoted saying.]

²³⁹ तूं ग नात्यानें आमची मेहुणी । माझ्या आवड प्रीतीची पाहुणी । बस कडवर येउन बहिनी ॥ (By relation you are my *mehuṇī* (cross-cousin?). I love you greatly, come and sit in my lap, O *vahinī* (cross-cousin?).

HUSBANDS OF SISTERS:—

The husbands of sisters call each other *sāḍu* or *sāḍhu* or *sāḍa-bhāu*. The word occurs in Hindi also and is written as *sāḍhu*. The word seems to be derived from the Sanskrit words *sahavadhū* or *sārdhaka*,²⁴⁰ the former meaning "those who have common or similar wives", the latter meaning "one who has half a share". Sisters are similar in status and so their husbands are *sāḍus*. In the light of what is written above while explaining the word *mehuṇī* and the proverb that *mehuṇī* is half a wife, the derivation *sārdhaka*, sharing half or having the same wife, seems to be justified. Both the explanations fit the sociological concept of the *sāḍu* relationship. In Tamil the word *āddaga* is used for sisters' husbands and these two relatives are said to be always at loggerheads with each other. In Marāṭhī there is one proverb which is contrary to the Tamil usage and praises the *sāḍu*.

²⁴¹ सोयऱ्यांत साहू, हत्यारांत माहू, भोजनांत लाहू (Wife's sister's husband among relatives, *mādhū* in weapons and sweet balls among eatables.)

²³⁵ V, part IV, p. 10.

²³⁷ XIV, p. 56.

²³⁹ XVI, no paging to the book.

²⁴⁰ I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE for this etymology.

²⁴¹ XXX, 1907.

²³⁶ X, Nāmādeva, 187-1826.

²³⁸ XXX, 1309.

WIVES OF BROTHERS :—

Wives of brothers call each other *jāu*, *jāva* or *jāvaṣi*. Some of my informants have given words like *bahinābāi* or *jijibāi* both meaning sister. While addressing each other, the wives of brothers call one another *bāi* i. e. sister or lady. The word *jāu* or *jāva* seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *jāyā* or *jami*.* The derivation from *jāmi* seems probable, though the Marāṭhī word *jāva* does not contain the nasal which is usual in such cases as e. g. in the word *jāvaṣi*. The rule about the nasal however does not seem to be without exception. The word *jāvaḷa*, meaning twin, is derived from the word *jamalaka* and is written without a nasal even in old literature.

²⁴² की मदनाचा जावळिया (As it were the twin (*jāvaḷiā*) of the God Madana.)

²⁴³ तयाचिचे भायेंसि दोनि लेंकुरें जावळि जाहाली (His wife gave birth to twin (*jāvaḷi*) children).

In the same way the word *jāu* or *jāva* is written without a nasal after *ja*. Thus by derivation the word means sisters, which is in harmony with the usage by which these relatives call each other *jijibāi* or *bāi*.

²⁴⁴ घोवाक ना भाव, माका खंयची जाव (My husband has no brother; how can I have a sister-in-law. i. e., husband's brother's wife?)

²⁴⁵ नणंद ना जाव सुसेगड व्हाव (There is neither husband's sister, nor his brother's wife; live, therefore in happiness). सख्खे भायजी उभे दायजी, सख्ख्या जावा उभा दावा is a popular saying which portrays the rivalry between wives of brothers living in a common joint household. It means (brothers always quarrel for inheritance, their wives always hate each other).

²⁴⁶ धाकटे जावेसी । प्रोतीकर । नवविध रत्नांचा हार । कंठी घातला मनोहर । येरी नमस्कार तिथेसी केला ॥ बाई जें जें तुम्ही शिकविले । तें तें मज हितासि आले । (She placed a string of jewels round the neck of the wife of the younger brother of her husband (*dhākaṭi jāu*) and the young *jāu* bowed to her and said, "O, wife of the elder brother of my husband (*bāi*), whatever you have told me is for my own good.)

HUSBAND'S BROTHER :—

Husband's elder brother is called *bhāva* or *bhāvā* or *bhāvoḷi*, while the younger brother is called *dīra*. In modern times among certain communities the term *dīra* is reserved for all brothers of the husband, who are also called *bhāvoḷi* in direct speech. In the old literature however and among many communities like the Marāṭhās and the

* I am indebted Prof. KATRE for this suggestion.

²⁴² VI, 264.

²⁴⁴ XXVI, 420.

²⁴⁶ VIII, A, 18, 55, 56.

²⁴³ XI, Pañatāntra, p. 62,

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1662.

Sārasvats of the west coast, the distinction between *bhāva* and *dira* is clearly understood and kept up in daily speech. A woman has to behave very respectfully, in fact in certain communities she has to avoid the presence of, the elder brother of her husband, i. e., her *bhāva*. She is however on terms of great familiarity and joking with the younger brothers of her husband. The term *bhāvōjī* is applied to all brothers of the husband as also to male cross-cousins by a woman. As there is the custom of cross-cousin marriage, the male cross-cousin becomes either the husband or the husband's brother and is called *bhāvōjī*, or *dira* even before marriage. (cf. pp. 351, 377). Mention has already been made of songs in which lovers call each other *bhāvōjī* and *vahinī*.

²⁴⁷सासुरे सासरे भावे दिरे । आदिकल लहान थोर । होउन अवघ्यासी सादर । अति तत्पर सेवेसी ॥ (You should remain ever ready to serve the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, the elder brothers of your husband (*bhāve*), the younger brothers of your husband (*dira*) and other old and young persons of your husband's household.)

²⁴⁸उठा भावोजी चलावे लौकरी । वहिनी मी खरी । नात्यानें मेहुणी कवळी आहे कैरी ॥ (Get up *bhāvōjī*, I am your *vāhinī*, by relation *mehunī*, delicious as an unripe mango.) [A girl and her lover are addressing each other as *bhāvōjī* and *vahinī* in this song. Apparently they are cross-cousins.] The word *dāji* is also used for husband's brother.

BROTHER'S WIFE (man and woman speaking):—The kinship term for brother's wife is a descriptive one. It is *bhāvaja* or *bhāvajaya* made up of two primary words *bhāū*, brother and *jāyā*, wife. In daily speech and in song the word *vahinī* is used. The word is found in old literature also, where it is written as *vohinī*. On the west coast it is written as *honni*. On the plateau i.e. in Berar, Khandesh, Nagar, and Poona the word changes to *vanji* or *hunji*. It is really applied to the elder brother's wife and is made up of two word *vadhū* the bride, and *anṇi* eldest. It means the wife of the elder brother, who is termed simply *vahinī* or *hunji*, whereas the younger brother's wife is called by name or the term *vahinī* is added to the personal name. Among Citrāpur Sārasvats the wife of the younger brother is called *suḷi* or *suvalī*. Another informant has given the word *bhāva-suna* for the wife of the younger brother. The informant is a Mahāra from Nagpur.

²⁴⁹उज्ज्वल बंधूची जे राणी । रेवती कृष्णाची वहिनी (The wife of the elder brother Revattī, the *vahinī* of Kṛṣṇa)

²⁵⁰कृष्ण बोहिणीचे बिरडे फेडी । आपुलीये चाडे सुभद्रा हे लाडे बोललीसे । (Subhadra —spoke in a coaxing tone O, Kṛṣṇa, loosen the knot of the garment of my *vohinī*, your wife).

That the term *vahini* is also used for the daughter of the maternal uncle and the paternal aunt has already been noticed (see p. 24).

²⁵¹तंव तो म्हणे तुझिया भाउजया मज निर्भळिले । (Then he said, your brother's wife (the wife of myself who am your brother) i. e., my wife, was very angry with me.)

²⁵²गोरे भावजय भांग कर तू सरसा । सखा बिल्लरी आरसा भाईराजा (O, beautiful wife of my brother, part your hair well, for my brother is like a true mirror.)

The brother, sister and the brother's wife are an eternal triangle in the folksongs of Mahārāṣṭra. I have already mentioned some songs on this theme.

HUSBAND'S SISTER :—

The kinship term common to all Mahārāṣṭra is *nananda* from Sanskrit *nanāndr*. In the daily speech however the following terms are used: *vansa*, *hunji*, *honni*, *vahini*, and *bā*. These terms are the same as those used for brother's wife. The term *vansa* which appears to be different, is made up of the term *vahini* or *vaini* and the suffix *sa*. It is the plural of *vahini*, and is used always in that sense. Even when addressing a person as *vansa* the verb is used always in the plural form. Thus it would appear, that there is one reciprocal term for brother's wife and husband's sister, i. e. *vahini*, just as there is one reciprocal term for sister's husband and wife's brother, i. e., *mehunā*. A man's wife and his sister are each other's *vāhini*. When two men exchange sisters, it is called *sāte loṭe*, and is not considered very desirable in the Marāṭhā country, though such marriages do take place. In such an exchange, two women can call each other *vahini*. But now, even when there is no such exchange, the terms showing reciprocity are used.

The terms *nananda* (husband's sister) and *bhāvajaya* (brother's wife) are not used in a reciprocal way.

Next to the mother-in-law, the sister of the husband is dreaded greatly by the bride.

²⁵³सासेचा सासुरवास नका करुं नंदेबाई । पुनरपी येणं नाही जन्मासी या (O, *nananda* (husband's sister), do not be as harsh as the mother-in-law. This birth comes to us but once.)

²⁵⁴सासेचा सासुरवास । नंदेची लावणी । दीड दिवसाची पाहुणी वन्सबाई ॥ (The mother-in-law treats me harshly. The *nananda* helps her. O, *vansa*, you are but the guest of a day and half.)

²⁵⁵बहु दीस झाले वाटतसे खंती । केवढा भेटती बाई मज ॥ (Many days have elapsed and I am yearning to see my "husband's sister" (*bā*).)

²⁵¹ XL, *Pañcatantra*, p. 49.

²⁵³ XX, 102.

²⁵⁵ X, *Soyarābāi*, p. 88.

²⁵² XX, p. 103.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

HUSBAND'S MOTHER, WIFE'S MOTHER, MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE, and FATHER'S SISTER :—

The common word for the husband's mother and wife's mother is *sāsu*,^{*} derived from the Sanskrit word *śvaśrū*. Another word is, however, also used and it is common for the two relations above, as also for mother's brother's wife. The word is *māmī*. The word *māvalana* is also used and it includes, besides the three relations above, also the father's sister. The word *māmī* is used for the mother-in-law by both men and women. The word *māvalana* is used by some castes for mother's brother's wife and by others for father's sister. When the word is used for father's sister, it is used by a woman for her husband's mother on the plateau. In the same region the word *āle* (father's sister) is also used by a woman for the mother-in-law.

²⁵⁶कानाला कोपर जडेना, सासू मेली जांवई रडेना । (The elbow will not touch the ear and the son-in-law will not cry when his mother-in-law (*sāśū*) dies.

²⁵⁷चार दिवस सासूचे चार दिवस सुनेचे ॥ (Four days of the mother-in-law's (*sāśū*) authority and four days of the daughter-in-law's authority.)

²⁵⁸जी, जी, हे सासूसासरेया नावडे (Sir, she is not liked by her mother-in-law (*sāśū*) and her father-in-law).

²⁵⁹दुसरी गौळण म्हणे यशोदे मामी (The second milkmaid said O, mother-in-law (*māmī*) Yaśodā.)

For *māvalana* see under father's sister (see p. 346).

HUSBAND'S FATHER, WIFE'S FATHER, FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND AND MOTHER'S BROTHER :—

Husband's father and wife's father are called *sāsarā*, which is derived from the Sanskrit word *śvaśura*. There is however, another term used for these relations, which is the same as that for the mother's brother and the father's sister's husband. The term is *māmā* or *māmāji* or *māmanji*. Father's sister's husband has generally no name given to him, he being described as the husband of the aunt. But when I asked how the relationship could be expressed, I was invariably given the answer, that the relation in question was that of the *māmā*. The term *ālobā* for father's sister's husband is very rarely used.

²⁶¹नेत्रे पुसोनि पदरे पतिस म्हणे भेटतील मामाजि । (She wiped his tears with her garment and said to her husband, you shall meet *māmāji* (your father, my father-in-law).

²⁶¹ती सुमती म्हणे राज्यभ्रंशे बहु खिन्न सासुरा होतो । (The woman of good

²⁵⁶ XXX, 1350.

²⁵⁸ V, part 2, p. 40.

²⁶⁰ XXIX, Vanaparva, 502.

²⁵⁷ A very popular proverb.

²⁵⁹ XVIII, part 1, p. 47.

thoughts said "my father-in-law (*sāsura*) has become despondent at the loss of his kingdom.")

^{261a}लक्ष्मण शेषाचा अवतार माहित नाही तुजला अजुन । उजव्या हातानें डावा हात तोडिला मामानी ग ॥ (You do not yet know that Lakṣmaṇa is an incarnation of Śeṣā, your father. The father-in-law (*māmā*) has cut the left arm with the right hand.)

MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND:—

Mother's sister is called *mauśi* and her husband is called either *kākā* or *māusa*. The word *kākā* is also used for father's brother.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE:—

Father's brother is called *culatā* or *kākā* and his wife is called *culatī* or *kākā*. The Chitrapur Śāraswats call father's brother's wife *pācci*, a term which they also use for mother's sister. The usage is not strange when we remember, that on the plateau the mother's sister's husband is called *kākā*.

²⁶²नारायण मारीयेला टाकीला खंदकात चुलती जेवीती दूधभात । (Nārāyaṇa was killed and thrown in the moat, and his father's brother's wife (*culatī*) ate rice and milk.) ²⁶³ये तुम्हासी काई होति ॥ जी जी: संबन्धीये तथा चुलती ("How are you connected with this woman"? "Sir, she is a relation, that is, my father's brother's wife (*culatī*)")

HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER AND WIFE'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER:—

The son of the husband's brother is either called own son or *putanyā*. The same term is applied by a man to his wife's sister's son, though there is no definite relationship recognised between a man and his wife's sister's son. The daughter of the husband's brother and wife's sister is reckoned as own daughter and called *duvaḍī* or *putaṇī*.

HUSBAND'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER, WIFE'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER are called *bhācā* and *bhācī*.

SON'S WIFE:—

Son's wife is called generally *sūna* from Sanskrit *snuṣā*. The word *vāhāri* or *vāyari* is used in Berar, the word *hokkala* is used in Goa.

²⁶⁴आणि आकाइसा आणि माहादोबासांची ब्राह्मणि या दोघी सासुसुनां सांघातु लविला ॥ (Then he set Akāisā and Mahādevabāsā's wife, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, (*sūna*) together for the purposes of begging.)

²⁶⁵सासूसाठी रडे सून । भाव अंतरीचा भिन्न ॥ (The daughter-in-law (*sūna*) mourns for the mother-in-law but the feeling in her heart is quite different.)

The daughter-in-law is addressed as *mulī* i. e. daughter. The word *hokkala* has already been discussed. (see p. 370.)

The word *vāhāri* seems to be derived from *vohara* i. e. *vadhivara*.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 499.

²⁶² XXII, 414.

²⁶³ V, part 3, p. 35.

²⁶⁴ IV, 115.

²⁶⁵ X, Tukārāma, 164, 2595.

BRIDE :—

The word *vadhū* or *vahū* is not found in the daily speech but it is found in literature. The bride is called *navarī* or *navarī-mulagī*. The bride's mother is called *vohumāya*.

^{265a}विधी गृहप्रवेशासी । वधूवरे बैसविली भाणवसासी ॥ There was ceremonial entering of the house when the bride and groom (*vadhūvara*) were made to sit in the kitchen.)

^{265b}कोणे नाचविले कृष्णनाथा । नोवरी नाचविता कोण झाला ॥ (Who danced with *Kṛṣṇa* on the shoulders? Who was it who took the bride (*navarī*) on his shoulders for a dance?)

BRIDE'S SISTER and GROOM'S SISTER :—

The terms for the bride's brother and wife's brother are the same. But the bride's sister and especially the groom's sister during the marriage ceremony have a definite name. They are called *karavalī*, that is, one who has the *karā* and *divā* (the sacred pot and the lamp), which are important in the marriage ceremony. They also receive presents for these services, especially respect being paid to the groom's sister.

²⁶⁶करवली सुभद्रा बहिन गजारोहणी मिरवती । (The *karavalī*, sister Subhadra, was driven in state on the back of an elephant).

DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND :—

Daughter's husband is called *jāvai* in all the dialects of Marāṭhī. The word is derived from Sanskrit *jāmātr*.

^{267a}हे जावाई करावया आणिले असती (This gentleman is brought here to be made a son-in-law. (*jāvāi*))

सासवेचे दोदावर जावई उदार [A popular proverb.] (A son-in-law (*jāvai*) is liberal with the distended paunch of his mother-in-law) [uses the property of his mother-in-law].

THE BRIDE-GROOM :—

The bride-groom is called *vara* or *navarā-mulagā*. There are many words derived from this word and used for different things and people at the marriage ceremony. Thus *varāmāya* means the mother of the bride-groom, *varhāḍa* means the people belonging to the groom's party, though in modern times the word is used indiscriminately for the people of the bride's party also. *Vara-dakṣiṇā* is the money given to the groom by the bride's father and *varāta* is the marriage procession, when the bride is taken to her new house.

BRIDE-GROOM'S BROTHER :—

The bridegroom's younger brother is called *pāṇa-jāvai* or *karavalā*. He is given a present and sits near the bridegroom to take his meals.

In parts of the Ratnāgiri District this relation is called *tokaṇā* or *dhedā*. If the groom has no brother, this office is taken up by some male relative, preferably a cousin, who is younger than the bride-groom.

SON'S WIFE'S FATHER, DAUGHTER'S WIFE'S FATHER :—

These two relatives are each other's *vyāhi*, *viāhi* or *veyu* i.e. men related to each other through the marriage of their children. A woman also calls her son's or daughter's father-in-law *vyāhi*.

²⁶⁸ब्याही पाहुणा आला तरी रेढा दुमत नाही. (A male buffalo does not yield milk even if the 'daughter's husband's father' (*vyāhi*) comes as a guest.)

²⁶⁹भीमक गौरवी ब्याहियांसी. (Bhīmaka paid his respects to the elders of Kṛiṣṇa.)

All the people who belong to the father's generation and to the generation above of the groom and bride i.e. their uncles and grand-fathers are called *vyāhi*.

SON'S WIFE'S MOTHER AND DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND'S MOTHER :—

The most common word is *vihiṇa* or *ihiṇa* and *veṇi* though some of my informants have given *vahini* or *hunji* as alternate terms. The mothers of the bride and groom are each other's *vihiṇa* or *vihiṇi*. The word is the feminine of the word *vyāhi* and means two women who have become related by the marriage of their children. During the marriage ceremony the bride's mother is called *vohu-māya* i.e. *vadhu* + *māya*, bride's mother; and the groom's mother is called *vara-māya*. They have different status and receive different kinds of presents on different occasions. The *vara-māya* is supposed to be superior to the *vohu-māya*, who has to keep a servile attitude to the former during the marriage ceremony. Among those castes, and they are in the majority in the Marāṭhā country, where cross-cousins marry, the mothers of the married pair are related to each other as *vahini* and *hunji* i.e. the one is the wife of the brother of the other.

All the women belonging to the ascendent generation of the bride and groom are called *vihiṇi*.

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THIS PAPER

Note:—The books referred to in this paper are mostly Marāṭhi books. Their titles, when transliterated make difficult reading in foot-notes. They are therefore given in full in the list below and are mentioned in the foot-notes by Roman numerals. As far as possible, the dates, when the books were first written, are given, as also the dates of their publication. In the case of collections of folk-songs no definite date can be given.

NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR.	APPROXIMATE DATE
I. Sārtha Vivekasin-dhu	Mukundarāya.	1188
II. Ādya Marāṭhī Kavayitri : (i) Dhavaḷe. (ii) Mātrkī Rkmiṇī Svayamvara	Edited by V. N. Deshpande (1935) Mahadāisa the author is supposed to have lived before Jñāneśvara.	1270(?)
III. Jñāneśvarī	Jñāneśvara. Edited by R. V. Madgavkar, 1907.	1290
IV. Smṛti Sthaḷa	Narendra (?) Edited by V. N. Deshpande, 1939.	1290-1300
V. Līlācaritra, Parts I to IV	Mahīndrabhaṭṭa : Edited by H. V. Nene, 1937.	1290-1300
VI. Śiśupālavadha	Bhāskarabhaṭṭa Borikar : Edited by V. L. Bhavē, 1926.	1308
VII. Śrī Rddhipuravar-ṇana	Paṇḍit Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa Bahāliye : Edited by Y. K. Deshpande, 1929.	1363
VIII. Abhaṅga	Ekanātha : Edited by Tukaram Tatya, 1903.	1560
VIIIA. Śrī Rukmiṇī Svayamvara	Ekanātha : Edited by J. R. Aja-gāvkar, 1924.	1560
IX. Śrī Bhāvērtha Rāmāyaṇa	Ekanātha Mahārāja : Edited by B. S. Devasthali, 1917.	1560
X. Gāthā-pañcaka	Edited by T. H. Avate, 1924.	1290-1630
XI. Mahābhārata	Tukārāma : Edited by T. H. Oka, 1898.	1635
XII. Śrī Samartha Pratāpa	Śrī Giridhara : Edited by S. S. Deva, 1912.	1720
XIII. Laghukāvya-mālā	Various Mārathi poets (part IV) : Edited by N. C. Kelkar and D. K. Oka, 1903.	
XIV. Lāvaṇī Vāṇmaya	Anantaphandī : Edited by S. T. Śāligrāma.	1820
XV. Lāvaṇī	Paruśurāma : Edited by S. T. Śāligrāma.	1830
XVI. Lāvaṇī va Gavaḷa-ṇī (there is no paging in the book)	Paṭṭhe Bāpurāva : Edited by G. G. Adhikari, 1928.	

NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR	APPROXIMATE DATE
XVII. Kahāṇyā (Part 1, 2)	Edited by L. N. Godbole, 1930.	
XVIII. Strī-Gīta-Ratnākara (Part 1-3)	Edited by Parvatibai Gokhale, 1924.	
XIX. Lokakathā (Vol. 1-2)	Edited by S. G. Date.	1929
XX. Lokakathā va Lokagīte	Edited by V. V. Joshi.	1936
XXI. Marāṭhī Bhaṣeṭīla Mhañī-Ratna-mālā	Edited by R. R. Solnikar. 1937.	
XXII. Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1913
XXIII. Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1914
XXIV. Kavyaketakī	Sopanadev Chaudhari.	1932
XXV. Tāmbe Yañcī Samagra Kavita	B. R. Tambe : Edited by M. T. Patwardhan.	1935
XXVI. Florilégio de Proverbios Concanis	Monsenhör Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalfado, 1922.	1922
XXVII. Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprache	Walde und Pokorny.	
XXVIII. Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.	Vol. I, No. 1.	1939
XXIX. Moropantāce Samagra Grantha	Moropanta : Edited by R. R. Paradkar, 1912.	
XXX. Marāṭhī Proverbs	Mainwaring, Oxford, 1899.	
XXXI. Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Pariṣad Traimāsika.	Poona.	1939
XXXII. Dvīṭya Sammelana Vṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1914.
XXXIII. Muññyā Phugadyā, Part 1, 2.	Edited by B. L. Pathak.	
XXXIV. Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1916

NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR	APPROXIMATE DATE
XXXV. Ṣaṇmāsika Vṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1912
XXXVI. Tṛtiya Sammelana Vṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1915
XXXVII. Lāvanyā	Ramajośi : Edited by S. T. Shaḷigrām, 1908.	1800
XXXVIII. Lāvanyā	Honājī Bāja : Edited by S. T. Shaḷigrām, 1908.	
XXXIX. Śrī Samartha Rāmadāsañce Samagra Grantha.	Rāmadāsa : Edited by A. C. Bhat, 1916.	
XL. Mahāraṣṭrakavi (Māsika)	Edited by L. L. Bhawe.	1906
XLI. Lāvāṇī.	This is a small book printed in litho press. The first and last pages are missing. It was lent to me kindly by Mr. S. N. Phatak of Poona.	
XLII. Saṅgīta Saubhadra Nāṭaka :	Kirloskor : Edited by A. V. Patwardhan, 1929.	
XLIII. Ukhāṇe va Mhaṇī.	Edited by D. V. Phataka, 1938.	
XLIV. Strīgāyanasaṅgraha.	Edited by Sakharam P. Pandit, 1882.	

THE DRAVIDIAN (TAMIL) ATTA- AND ANNAI IN HITTITE

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

The words *at-ta-ās* and *an-na-ās* occur in Hittite in the sense of "father" and "mother" respectively¹. Doubtless, the words *atta-n* "father"² and *annai* "mother" are ancient words in Tamil. They occur in Tiruvāṇṇam e.g. in the following places : *atta-n* "father". 1.79 ; 4.123 ; 5.335 ; 25.24 ; (here we have the vocative *attā*) 6.64 ; 7.9 ; 15.24 ; 16.41 ; 37.29 ; (voc. *attan*). 51.4³. It occurs as *c cañ*⁴ in 5.115 ; 41.36. *annai* "mother" 6.64 ; 26.12. voc. *anne*. 17. *passim*. Tiruvāṇṇam 6.64 is very telling for both *attan* and *annai* occur significantly side by side. *annai oppāy, enakkattan oppāy en arumporule* "Like Mother Thou, like Father Thou, my soul's most precious wealth".

That the Hittite words meaning "father" and "mother" are structurally the same in Tamil is worth reflecting. It is plausible that further investigations in Dravidian (esp. ancient Tamil) may reveal further lexical relations to Hittite and Indo-European⁵. It is necessary that in these matters we have to give up the old Neo-grammatical idea

¹ cf. H. PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-europäischen sprachen*. Copenhagen. 1938. pp. 5, 20 and 117. The phenomenon of double writing in these words is alluded to in my paper published in the *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Vol.* Bom. 1939. p. 227. f. n. 5. The interesting problem of these IH-*o*-stems being identical both in the nom. and gen. sing. is solved by my *rāthas-pāti- \bar{s}* hypothesis. See H PEDERSEN, *op. cit.* p. 26. my paper quoted above p. 227-28. Cf. also *Skt anas* 'parent' Vide H. Narayana RAO, *Jour. Bom. Br., of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, 1920-21 p. 494.

² The disappearance of *n* of Tamil *attan* in the Hittite *at-ta-aš* may be first due to a general tendency in that language (particularly in vulgar speech) for *n* to vanish before consonants which perhaps was later on extended to every word ending in *n*. cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, p. 69.

³ POPE's ed. Oxford at the Clarendon press. 1900. Cf. Pkt. *attā*. See also Kacciappa SIVACARYAR, *Kandapurāṇam Kāmadahanam*, 10, Madras. 1908. Tamil lex. Madras Univ. I. Pt. 1924. p. 65. In this connection, attention must be drawn to another interesting word *atta* (Tam.) "father's sister" Tel. *atta*, Kannaḍ-Tulu *atte*. See Kampa Rāmāyaṇa, Pācaraippaṭalam. 19. Madras Univ, Tamil lex. I. Pt. I. 1924. p. 69.

⁴ Kannaḍa *acca*, Tulu *ajje*
Tamil-Mal. *accan* < Pkt. *ajja* < *ārya*
Cf. *Tol. Col.* 400, *urāi*.

See also Tamil *ānā*, *āñān* or *āñān* 'father'.

⁵ cf. Hans JENSEN, *Indogermanisch und Dravidisch. Hirt Festschrift*, Heidelberg, 1936. Band 2. pp. 148-149.

that "primeval relationship" and "borrowing" are entirely different concepts. We must take a more realistic view of linguistic interrelations.

Indeed to a larger extent than we usually suspect, mixing and blending prevailed in the history of languages as in fact they do in the history of peoples and races⁶. "The correspondence between the Eskimo and Uralian families points to a very ancient cultural connection between the Eskimo and the Uralians. The great linguistic stocks of the world must have evolved by a process of constant mixing, blending and splitting."⁷

I am discussing the problem of "primeval relationship" between the Indo-European and Uralian (i.e. Finno-Ugrian plus Samoyède) elsewhere⁸. Among the early champions of the theory of kinship between the Finns and the Indo-Europeans, mention must here be made of Nicolai ANDERSON⁹ and Fr. Th. KÖPPEN¹⁰.

"Primeval relationship" between Finno-Ugrian, Dravidian and Muṇḍa families was sought to be established by W. Von HEVESY¹¹ who assumed that the ancestors of the Māgyars came from India and borrowed many words from Indo-Aryan. R. L. TURNER¹² tried to demonstrate that the latter assumption of Hevesy was incorrect. A. SAUVAGEOT¹³ rejected Hevesy's theory of primeval relationship between Finno-Ugrian family and the Muṇḍa languages of India. Some distinct traces of the Uralian element in the Dravidian and the Muṇḍa families of languages is, however, shown by F. Otto SCHRADER¹⁴ who pointed out striking parallels in the expressions for numerals between the Finno-

⁶ C. C. UHLENBECK, the Indo-germanic mother language and mother tribes complex. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 39. 1937, p. 390.

⁷ C. C. UHLENBECK, *Ibid* p. 391. Vide Albert SCHOTT, *Hirst Festschrift*. Band II. pp. 45-95. Heidelberg, 1936.

⁸ "Tocharian and the invalidity of the Satem-Centum hypothesis etc." to be published shortly in the *Nia*.

⁹ "Studien zur Vergleichung der Indogermanischen und Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachen" in the *Verh. d. Gel. astn. Ges. zu Dorpat*. Band IX. Dorpat, 1879.

¹⁰ "Beiträge zur frage ueber die urheimat und urverwandtschaft der Indo-europäer und Finnen, St. Petersburg, 1886, in Russian. For further bibliography, see Schrader-Jevons, *Prehistoric antiquities of the Aryan peoples*. London, 1890 pp. 104-5. SCHRADER regarded that the linguistic affinity of the Finns and the Indoeuropeans as unproven (*ibid*. p. 105).

¹¹ *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*. Vienna, 1932. Neue finnisch-Ugrisch sprachen (Die Muṇḍasprachen Indiens) 1935. *Atti del congresso di Linguistica Tenuto in Roma*.

¹² *JRAS* 1934 p. 800.

¹³ *Bsl.* 1932, vol. 33. No. 3, pp. 180-181.

¹⁴ "Dravidisch und Uralisch" *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*. vol. 3. pp. 107-109. 1925. and "On the 'Uralian' element in the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍa languages". *BSOS*. Vol. 8 1930, p. 751 f. n. 2. cf. also A. R. NYKŁ, the quinary-Vigesimal system of counting in Europe, Asia and America. *Lang.* Vol. 2, 1926. pp. 165-173.

Ugrian and the Dravidian family of languages. He also showed that the Dravidian *appa* (Tamil *akkai*, *akkāl*, Kan. *akka*) has its parallel in the Finno-Ugrian. (Finn. *akka*. *Wotj. ako*. Tsch. *akai*.)¹⁵

Remembering that the words expressing such important family relationships as "father" "mother" and "elder sister" are highly significant, can we not be justified in saying that the prehistoric relations of the Indo-European (nay, Indo-Hittite) and the Finno-Ugrians and the Dravidians reach farther than we could ever have suspected?¹⁶

Striking structural similarity between other words meaning "father" and "mother" in Dravidian, Indonesian, Mon-khmer, Muṇḍā, Polynesian, Melanesian, Sumerian and Oceanian too, is not wanting.

MOTHER

Sumero-Oceanian : *um*, *ama*.

Indonesian : *ma*, *uma*, *amai*, *umai*, *yāma*.

Mon-khmer : *amai*, *mā*.

Muṇḍā : *umā*, *māe*, *māy*, *ma-in*.

Tamil : *ammā*, *ammai*.

Kannada : *amma*.

It is significant that the word *ammai* in, Tamil Saivite hymns refers to Pārvati whose other name is *umā*. (See *Tiruvāṇḍam* 37.9.).¹⁷ It should also be noted that the word *ammān* is used in the sense of "father" in *Tiruvāṇḍam* 4.168 ; 9.4 ;¹⁸ 25 ! 27.18 ; 33.4. .

¹⁵ *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*. vol. 3. 1925, p. 110. cf. with Tam *akkai* (*Guruparamparā prābhavam*, Madras. 1909, 90.)

Tam. *akkacci* < *akkaicci*. *Colloq.*

Tam. *akkam* (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Madras Govt., publication ii. 2:).

¹⁶ Here attention has to be drawn to a new field of investigation on account of the results already arrived at on the Austro-Asiatic substratum and loans in Inŭb-Aryan. Cf. P. C. BAGCHA, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. pp. XVI-XVII.

¹⁷ The Tamil *annai* also means Pārvati cf. *Piṅgala Nigam*. Madras. 1917.

In the sense of mother, of course, it occurs in NAMMĀLVĀR'S *Tiruvāymoli* (*Nālāyira divya-prabandham*) 5, 3, 6. See the *Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University*, Vol. I. Pt. I, 1924. p. 187.

¹⁸ *Tiruvāṇḍam*. 9.4 is a striking passage from our point of view for both *attan* and *ammā-n* occur in juxtaposition (meaning "father"). Possibly the word *ammā* meaning "mother" has been transferred to the One Supreme Being, more to denote the *Ardhanārīśvara* idea, than the usual practice of Indian saints calling the Supreme deity "father and mother". Witness the not uncommon compound expression *māya-bāpa* in the devotional songs of Tukārām, Jñānadēva and Nāmadēva.

I am indebted to Prof. Irawati KARVÉ for drawing my attention to the significant Malayālam word *ettal* meaning 'elder brother'. As the eldest brother is supposed to deserve the same respect as the father, I venture to suggest that the word *ettal* may be only a modification of the Tamil word *attan* meaning 'father'. Later on *ettal* might have come to mean 'the elder brother' also.

FATHER

Sumero-Oceanian : *ab*.

Melanesian : *o'fa*,¹⁹ *apa*.

Polynesian : *pa*, term of respect denoting father. *aba*, to respect.

Indonesian : *pa'*, *apai*, *apang*, *aba*, *pa*.

Mon-Khmer. : *pha'* (?), *pa'*, *pā'*, *pā*, *pa*, *ipa'*, *apā'*, *āpe'*, *apā*, *pā*, *mpa*, "father" *āpe'*, "good father".

Munḍā : *apa*, *āpā*, *āpū*, *appā*, *ābā*, *bā*, *āpāng*, *abbānī*, *ābañji*.

Tamil : *appā*, *appan*.

Kannada : *appa*.²⁰

¹⁹ With the Melanesian *o'fa* can be composed the Malayālam *oppol* and the voc. *oppole* [My attention to this Mal. word has been drawn by Prof. Irawati KARVÉ] In the Nambūdri community, the sister addresses her elder brother thus. Possibly *oppol* was originally the same as the Melanesian *o'fa* which meant 'father'. Later, it came to mean the *eldest brother* also who according to the Hindu Dharmaśāstras is considered to be equal to one's own *father*. Later, it might have simply to come to denote the *elder brother*. It is interesting to note that in the Nambūdri community the brother also addresses his *elder sister*—*oppole*. This may be compared with the interesting transfer discussed above in regard to the Tamil word *ammā-n* meaning 'father'. Here again as the *eldest sister* might have originally been conceived as equal to *mother* and as *father* and *mother* might have been thought of as *one*, *oppol* might have first been transferred to mean the *eldest sister* which later on might have come to denote simply 'an elder sister'.

My attention is also drawn by Prof. S. M. KATRE to the interesting transfer in Tulu *appe* 'mother' *amme* 'father' [cf. BRIGEL, *A grammar of the Tulu language*, Mangalore, 1872, pp. 28-30.]

²⁰ P. RIVET, *Sumérien et Océanien*, collection linguistique publiée par la société de linguistique de Paris. XXIV. Paris, 1929. pp. 41 and 46.

A TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA SŪTRA

By

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*A Textual Criticism of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra based upon the non-inclusion in the "Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā" of some R̥gveda Mantras cited in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-sūtra.**

In a paper submitted to the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference (a paper which will be published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*) I have given a detailed account of the contents of two rare manuscripts of the unpublished Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā referred to in the title of this paper, which I found in the library of the India Office.

This Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā gives all the Mantras from the R̥gveda cited by Pratīkas for liturgical employment in the Śrauta and Grhya-sūtras of Āśvalāyana, in the order in which they occur in the R̥gveda Saṁhitā, the more modern division of the latter into Aṣṭakas, Adhyāyas and Vargās being followed. This work is an entirely different work from the Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā wrongly described by MAX MÜLLER as "giving the mantras quoted in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra" and referred to by him in his second Edition of the R̥gveda-Saṁhitā, Vol. IV, p. 536, footnote 1 to Khailika Sūktas as "Bodl. MS. Walker 144." MAX MÜLLER'S wrong description has been quoted without verification in the catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, p. 92 and in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bikaner Library compiled by RAJENDRALAL MITRA (Calcutta, 1880), p. 26. The Āśvalāyana-Śākhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā of MAX MÜLLER, like many other similar Mantra-Saṁhitās of the R̥gveda, many manuscripts of which were examined by me, puts together all the Mantras recited at domestic rites *which were developed at a late date* among the adherents of the Āśvalāyana-Śākhā of the R̥gveda. Thus the work is unique and gives besides some Khila verses not traced to any of the existing collections of Khila hymns of the R̥gveda. Its importance for a textual criticism of either the Āśvalāyana-Grhya or Śrauta sūtra will be clear from the *argument* stated below.

The Argument.—If the R̥gveda Mantras cited in certain Sūtras of the Āśvalāyana Grhya-Sūtra are not traced to the Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā, then a doubt, at least, is possible as to the genuine character of these Sūtras because the Āśvalāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā (which gives all the R̥gveda Mantras

* Paper submitted to the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati.

cited in the Śrauta and Grhya Sūtras of the Rgveda) in relation to either the Śrauta or Grhya Sūtra taken *singly* for comparison is apt to err on the side of excess in the number of Mantras it contains. This doubt would be considerably strengthened if the genuine character of the Sūtras in question is liable to suspicion on independent grounds also. From this point of view, the following Sūtras of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra are examined :—

- Adhyāya I. 1. 3-4 ; 7. 17 ; 8. 2-3 ; 12. 3 ; 23. 6, 24.
 " II. 6. 5, 7, 12, 14, 15.
 " III. 6. 5 ; 7. 8-9 ; 12. 12-16.
 " IV. 2. 18, 20 ; 6. 7.

(The figures in Italics indicate the sections.)

ĀG.¹ I. 1. 3 :— अथाप्यृच उदाहरन्ति । “यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेने”ति । ३ ।

(Three divisions of pākayajñas have been mentioned in Sūtra 2). And they also quote the Ṛcas (a) ‘*Yah samidhā ya āhuti, (b) Yo vedena*’ iti i.e.

RV. VIII. 19. 5^a seq.

The unusual features of this citation (*and of the Sūtra also*) are as follows :— (1) the citation is not meant to accompany a rite although mantras are as a rule cited only for liturgical employment in Sūtra-texts. It seeks to justify the sacrificial or ‘pākayajña’ character of the last two divisions of pākayajñas mentioned in Sūtra 2, viz. the ‘prahutāḥ’ (those offered over something that is not the fire) and the ‘Brahmaṇi hutāḥ’ (those offered at or in the form of a feeding of the Brāhmaṇas). Such justificatory citations are common in the Brāhmaṇas *but are foreign to Sūtra-texts*.

(2) The manner of citation is very strange. RV. verses are never introduced with words like ‘And they also quote the Ṛcas’. It is besides uncertain what ‘Ṛcaḥ’ indicates. It might refer to the two verses RV. VIII. 19.5. and 6 because VIII. 19. 5. is by itself incomplete syntactically and makes up one sentence with the following verse or it might refer also to the two other RV. verses (VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47) which are quoted in the next Sūtra (4th). In the latter alternative, a separate introduction like ‘Seeing this the Ṛṣi has said’ for RV. VIII. 24. 20 in Sūtra 4 becomes superfluous. Again more than a first pāda (of VIII. 19. 5) is quoted (the first pāda-a kakubh, ends with Ahuti’) and according to the rule ĀŚ. I. 1. 19, a ṛca should be meant but as has been shown by me elsewhere², our text does not observe this rule but just quotes a whole first pāda and adds words like ‘iti ṛcena’ or ‘iti tisṛbhiḥ’ in all cases of ‘ṛca’ quotations. Even if we suppose this Sūtra to the one and only case of the observance of that rule, no *three consecutive Rg-verses* (which is the meaning of ‘ṛca’) are here cited.

1. For abbreviations see end of paper.

2. See my monograph entitled “RgVeda mantras in their ritual setting in the Grhya Sūtras, with special reference to the Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra” reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I.

(3) This RV. verse is employed in KS. 39. 5 in the 'agni-cayana' context and in AŚ (7. 8. 1) in a soma sacrifice. *In no earlier text then, is the verse used for dogmatic purposes as in our text.*

AG. I. 1. 4. :— समिधमेवापि श्रद्धान् आदधन् मन्येत “यज इदमिति इति नमस्तस्मै” । “य आहुत्या यो वेदेने”ति विद्यैवाप्यस्ति प्रीतिः । तददेतत्पश्यन्मृषिरुवाच । अगोरुधाय गविषे बुक्षाय दस्म्यं वचः । घृतात्स्वादीयो मधुनश्चवोचते”ति ।..... । ४ ।

(The text then goes on to explain exactly in the style of a *Brāhmaṇa* text quite unlike that of *sūtra*-text, the significance of the RV. verse VIII. 19. 5 quoted in the preceding *sūtra*—*pāda* by by *pāda*, word by word). By way of explaining the words 'Yo vedena' of the verse, the *sūtra* says “Even by learning there can be satisfaction (on the part of the gods). Seeing this the Ṛṣi has said 'agorudhāya' etc. (here the whole of the verse RV. VIII. 24. 20. is quoted).

Here the unusual features are :— (1) the manner of citation. No RV. verse is introduced in a *sūtra*-text by words like 'Seeing this the Ṛṣi has said'. An RV. verse is besides, rarely quoted in full in our text belonging as it does to that Veda but here the whole verse is quoted. It was necessary to cite only the *pratīka*. (2) Strangely enough, the RV. verse is quoted not as an accompaniment to a ritual act but with a view to elucidate the meaning of the word 'Vedena' occurring in another RV. verse. (3) The verse is not employed liturgically in any early or parallel text.

AG. I. 1. 4. (*contd.*) : वच एव म इदं घृताच्च मधुनश्च स्वादीयोऽस्ति प्रीतिः स्वादीयोऽस्त्वित्येव तदाह । “आ ते अग्न ऋचा इविर्हृदा तष्टं भ्रामसि ते ते भवंतुक्षण ऋषभासो वशा उते”ति (i.e. RV. VI. 16. 47) । एत एव म उक्षाणश्च ऋषभाश्च वशाश्च भवंति य इमं स्वाध्याय मधीयत इति ।

The *sūtra* then proceeds to explain the RV. verse VIII. 24. 20 : 'अगोरुधाय' etc. and quotes another verse 'आ ते अग्न' etc. i.e. RV. VI. 16. 47 in full to confirm the same point (viz. that knowledge of the Veda is equivalent to an actual sacrifice) and then gives its own interpretation of the verse which is not at all clear. The literal translation of this part of the *Sūtra* 'एत एव' etc. would be “These (by themselves) are my oxen, bulls and cows—who (?) study this Svādhyāya” ! Prof. OLDENBERG also expresses doubts (p. 160) regarding the correctness of this interpretation. What the *Sūtra* means is, that even this Svādhyāya [which is according to the text the meaning of 'rcā' (in the RV. verse quoted)] is as good as the offering of bulls etc. in a regular sacrifice. It is doubtful indeed whether our text correctly interprets the RV. verse, the translation of which would be : 'Unto thee O Agni ! do we, with our rc bear this oblation fashioned with our heart ; may these be thy oxen, thy bulls and cows'. The manner of citation (the whole verse is quoted) and the employment of it are also unusual.

A review of these three citations and the *Sūtras* 3 and 4 that give them, thus yields the following results :—(i) The manner of citation is unusual

in each case. (ii) In no earlier Vedic text is there an employment of these verses similar to or even remotely resembling that in these sūtras. (iii) The verses have not been cited in the sūtra manner to accompany any ritual act but to defend in the style of a Brāhmaṇa, the last two divisions of pāka-yajñas. (iv) *Nothing corresponding to such a discussion is found in any other Gṛhya-Sūtra.*

(v) The prose of the two sūtras is defective in the following ways :— (a) The syntax of the first sentence in Sūtra 4 is puzzling ; ‘namastasmai’ stands unconnected with rest of the sentence. (b) Nārāyaṇa notices the inconsistency that in the RV. verse VIII. 24. 20 “agorudhāya gaviṣe” the praisers are addressed but our text explains the verse as addressed to the deity. (c) In the sentence explaining this verse, the word ‘prītiḥ’ is awkwardly in apposition to ‘vacāḥ’. (d) The word ‘Vedena’ is explained in four different ways as ‘Vidyāya’ ‘vacāḥ’ ‘rācā’ and ‘Svādhyāyam’ in successive sentences of this passage. Now these four words have a general resemblance only in meaning and have four definitely distinctive shades of meaning viz. ‘learning’, ‘the words of prayers’, ‘Rg verse’ and ‘the Daily Vedic study’ respectively. (e) Finally, the last pāda of RV. VIII. 19. 5, is explained by a passage supposed to be a single connected quotation from a ‘Brāhmaṇa’ (*‘iti hi brāhmaṇam bhavati’*) but in reality is made up of three mutually unconnected bits of Brāhmaṇa passage found scattered in different Brāhmaṇa texts like the Śatapatha and the Gopatha (as shown in my monograph “Non-Rg Vedic Mantras in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra”).

All these facts considered in conjunction with the absence in the ĀMS. of the RV. verses cited in these two Sūtras lead to the conclusion that Sūtras 3 and 4* are very probably later additions. Their omission in fact causes no break in the continuity of the text at all. Thus the ĀMS. turns out to be invaluable for a textual criticism of the ĀG.

ĀG. I. 8. 2-3 :—“अश्मन्वती रीयते संरभध्वम्” इत्यर्धेनैव नावमारोहयेत् । २ । उत्तरेणोक्तमयेत् । ३ ।

[Sūtra I. 8. 1 says that when the newly-married couple have to make a journey to their new home, the bridegroom helps the bride to ascend a chariot with an appropriate mantra and then] (sūtra 2). He makes her ascend a boat with the half-verse RV. V. 53 8^{ab}. “The stony one (i.e. a river) floweth here ; cling together ; rise up, cross over my friends”. (sūtra 3) :— He makes her step out (of the boat) with following half-verse i.e. X. 53. 8^{cd}. “Here let us leave those who are unfortunate and let us pass over unto those powers which are fortunate”.

This whole verse is employed in another place also in our text (ĀG. IV. 6. 13) where in the Śāntikarma ceremony, after the kindling of the fire, the performer of the ceremony touches the aśman (stone) placed to the north of the new fire with this very verse.

As regards the first, i.e. the present context, it must be said that the introduction of a ‘boat’ which the bride ascends is rather abrupt and awkward

immediately after sūtra 1 which tells us how she is to ascend a chariot ! (Compare इति यानमारोहयेत् ।)

In ĀG. I. 12. 6 where the journey of a messenger carrying the Bali to a distant caitya is being described, a possible river lying on the way is introduced with words like "If a navigable river is between (them and the Caitya)". There is no such introduction here. The reference to the weeping of the bride in Sūtra 4 is appropriate just after the bride's ascent into a chariot (sūtra 1) ; nor is the continuous carrying of the nuptial fire in front of the couple (described in Sūtra 5) consistent with the crossing of a river on the way. If besides we take into consideration the marriage-customs of ancient India many of which survive even to-day, *it was improbable that any occasion for the married couple should arise for crossing in a boat, a river on the way* because (1) generally the bride and the bridegroom belonged to the same village, there being a prejudice against marrying a girl into a distant village. (2) Secondly even if they belonged to two different villages, the new home (of the bridegroom) to which the married couple made this journey need only be for ritual purposes *the temporary residence* of the bridegroom's party during the marriage ceremony in the same village. (3) Finally marriage ceremonies were performed generally at a time outside the rains when the rivers could not be so flooded as to require the use of a boat.

In all the earlier vedic texts, e.g. AV. XII. 2. 26-27, VS. 35. 10 ; ŚB. 13. 8. 4. 3. and TA. 6. 3. 2 where the same verse with minor variations is employed, the context is a funeral one entirely different in character from that of the marriage ceremony. In the RV. itself, the verse does not belong to the marriage hymn, and deals with a different topic altogether.

Sūtras 2 and 3 are therefore *probably* later additions. As regards Sūtra IV. 6. 13 where this whole verse is cited, all that can be said is that the omission of the sūtra would cause no break in the context there at all.

ĀG I. 12. 3 :— "यत्र वेत्य वनस्पत" इत्येतयर्चा द्वौ पिंडौ कृत्वा वीक्षेऽभ्याषाय..... । ३ ।

[In a Caitya-sacrifice when the Bali is to be carried to a distant Caitya] two lumps (of food) are made with the verse RV. V. 5. 10 "Where, O Lord of the forest, thou knowest the secret names of the gods, there do thou speed our oblations" and are put on a carrying-pole [वीक्षे].

This verse has no relevance (not even superficial) to the making of the two lumps of food which its recitation accompanies. It can only be construed with the preceding sūtra "If the caitya is distant, (he should send his Bali) through a leaf-messenger" because the address to 'Vanaspati' in the RV. verse may be brought into some relation to the leaf (palāśa). But that sūtra (2nd) is itself a puzzle, the part played by the messenger in the ritual, not being clear at all : I think therefore that the 2nd Sūtra and the part of the 3rd. Sūtra citing this verse i.e. "*Yatra vettha vanaspata ity-etayarcā*" is a later addition. Their omission causes no break in the context. Śāyaṇa who generally mentions the employment of an RV. verse in our text does not make any reference to this sūtra in his commentary on the Rg verse cited here.

AG. I. 23. 6. तदुमुग्भ्यां “यमृत्विजो बहुधा कल्पयंत” इति । ६ ।

It is therefore said in the two R̥cas (RV. VIII. 58. 1-2) :— (1) “This sacrifice which the wise priests conceiving (it) as manifold, are offering (and) that learned Brāhmaṇa priest who was associated with it : what conception of that is there on the part of the sacrificer ? (2) Agni who is one and only is kindled in many ways ; the one Sun is extended over all the universe ; one dawn only shines through all this, all this verily, though one, becomes diverse.

(a) The Kaṇḍikā I. 23 treats of the choosing of ‘R̥tvijah’ (officiating priests)—a topic falling within the scope of a Śrauta-sūtra and *entirely out of place in a grhya-sūtra* and as such not treated in any parallel grhya-sūtra. The ‘Somapravāka’ mentioned in sūtra 21st. and the ‘Dakṣiṇāgni’ in sūtra 25th, have no place in the grhya ritual. (b) The verses are, besides, cited not for rubrication in a ritual act but for supporting (in the style of a Brāhmaṇa) an alternative practice recommended in the preceding sūtras (4 and 5) : that even sixteen (or seventeen) priests may be chosen instead of four. But even this confirmatory value of the verses is doubtful as Prof. OLDENBERG says (p. 194 not 6). (c) In the RV., the verses occur only in the Vākhilya group of hymns—a late appendage and are not employed in any other Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa or Śrauta-sūtra. There is thus no tradition regarding their liturgical employment at all !

It is extremely probable therefore that the ĀMS., by not including these verses has given us an important clue and that the sūtra is a later addition.

AG. I. 23. 24 :—

“एतेनामे ब्रह्मणा वावृधस्वे”ति दक्षिणामावाज्याहुतिं हुत्वा यथार्थं प्रव्रजेत् । २४ ।

Having offered an ājya oblation in his Dakṣiṇāgni with the verse RV. I. 31. 18, he (i.e. the officiating priest) should go where he likes (at the end of the sacrifice at which he has officiated). RV. I. 31. 18. (Trans) :— “Through this our prayer O Agni ! do thou wax strong—this prayer which we make either with strength or wisdom. And lead us forth to that which is better ; do thou associate us with a good will which gives blessings”.

AG. I. 23. 25 :—एवमनाहितामिगृह्य “इमाममे शरणं मीमृषो न” इत्येतयर्चा । २५ ।

In the same way, one who has not set up the (Śrauta) fires (should offer an ājya oblation) in his domestic fire with the R̥c. RV. I. 31. 16. (Trans.) “Mayest thou pardon, O Agni, this transgression of ours, this path which we have gone over from afar ; as a father familiar (āpih), providential, as an Active one, thou art the maker of inspiration for mortals who offer the Soma.”

The ĀMS. by not including these two RV. verses *consistently ignores all the citations in this Kaṇḍikā* which as stated already, treats of a topic not within the scope of a grhya-sūtra. It is curious that the LŚ. which as a Śrauta Sūtra is competent to treat of this topic, employs the verse RV. I. 31. 16 in a similar context as in our text but for an *Āhitāgni* whereas our text assigns it to an *Anāhitāgni* ! No other Śrauta-Sūtra employs these two verses in a

similar way. This whole chapter then (I. 23) is very likely a later addition, prompted probably by the opening words 'Rtvijo vṛtvā' of the next chapter, which treats of the guest-reception with the Madhuparka—of which the Rtvij is the most rightful recipient.

ĀG. II. 6. 5 :—अभिप्रवर्तमानेषु जपेत् 'सहस्रसनिं वाजमभिवर्तस्व रथ देव प्रवह', 'वनस्पते वीडुंगो हि भूया इति । ५ ।

(The chapter II. 6 treats of 'Rathāropana' or mounting of a chariot). When the horses¹ have started moving, he should mutter the mantra "sahasrasanīm vājam" etc. (a non-Ṛg-Vedic mantra) and the RV. verse VI. 47. 26—(Trans) "As our friend and helper, giving us good sons, mayest thou be strong of limb, O Lord of the Forest! Thou are bound up with straps [made of the hide of cows (lit 'bound up with kine')], do thou make us strong, may he who mounts thee, conquer those things, which can be conquered.

In the RV. itself, a chariot is the deity of this verse and the two following verses VI. 47. 26-28. The verse has been employed in AV. VI. 125; TS. 4. 6. 6. 5 and VS. 29. 52., in praise of a chariot, in contexts like the Aśvamedha. So the citation is appropriate, no doubt, but the suspicious circumstance is that this verse has been added to the mantra 'Sahasrasanīm vājam abhivartasva, ratha deva pravaha' without any distinguishing or separating mark like 'iti ca' (and also the Ṛc etc.) It must be admitted however that this is not a very strong ground for suspicion, apart from omission in the ĀMS.

ĀG. II. 6. 7 :—स्थिरौ गावौ भवतां बाह्वरक्ष" इति रथांगमभिमृशेत् । ७ ।

He should touch the 'Rathāṅga' with the verse RV. III. 53. 17 (Trans.) "May the two oxen be strong, the axle firm; may the chariot-pole not roll apart and may the yoke be not broken. May Indra protect the two pins from being broken and attend us, O thou, whose rim is unbroken".

There are here a number of suspicious features :— (1) If 'rathāṅga' means 'the wheel' (MONIER WILLIAMS : Dictionary), then the touching of the wheels has already been described in the 1st sūtra. If it means each 'part of the chariot' mentioned in the verse itself, as Nārāyaṇa (whom Prof. OLDENBERG follows) says then 'the mention of the 'two oxen' and the 'axle' in the verse would lead to a repetition of the ritual act of touching the oxen and the axle which have already been described in Sūtras 2 and 4! (2) A review of the Sūtras 1 to 8 shows that this sūtra breaks the continuity of the rite e.g. Sūtras 1 to 5 have described in detail the mounting of the chariot and the ceremonial touching of all its parts and Sūtra 6th. refers to the ritual of mounting other vehicles of wood, *having finished with the chariot*. Sūtra 8th accordingly, refers to the mounting of a ship but between these two sūtras 6th and 8th occurs the 7th. sūtra, which takes us back to the 'Rathāṅga', the meaning of which is quite uncertain as shown above.

¹ So translate Prof. STENZLER and OLDENBERG, but it might as well be 'Oxen'; compare the RV. verse III. 53. 17. quoted in Sūtra 7 "May the two oxen be strong".

(3) No early text employs this verse liturgically. These three considerations taken in conjunction with the non-inclusion of the verse in the ĀMS. make it very probable that the sūtra is a later addition.

ĀG. II. 6. 12 :—“ अस्माकमुत्तमं कृधी”त्यादित्यमीक्षमाणो जपित्वावरोहेत् । १२ ।

He should descend (from his new chariot) muttering the verse (RV. IV. 31. 15) while looking at the Sun. (Trans.) RV. IV. 31. 15 :— ‘For us do thou make the highest fame among the gods, O Sūrya—fame most lofty, even as the heavens above’.

‘Sūtra 11th says that he should drive (in that chariot) to a ‘Saṁsad’ and then follows the dismounting referred to above. [Nārāyaṇa (followed by Prof. STENZLER) interprets the word ‘Saṁsad’ as meaning ‘the house’ and Prof. OLDENBERG translates the word as ‘assembly’ making the mark of interrogation after it. (p. 211). There is no doubt however, that it means an assembly or debating hall as the corresponding sections in PG. III. 13 and APG. 22. 19 show²]

It is true that no earlier text employs this verse and it is not included in the ĀMS, but the Brh.-D. IV. 139 refers to our sūtra and besides, after the man has driven to an assembly (sūtra 11th) it is expected that the ritual act of descent should be described. This is a case therefore where the non-inclusion of the verse in the ĀMS will have to be explained by some other hypothesis than that the sūtra employing it is a later addition. The two MSS of the ĀMS may have inadvertently omitted the verse because this sūtra II. 6. 12 at any rate appears to be a genuine one.

ĀG. II. 6. 14 :—“ वयमयेन्द्रस्य प्रेष्ठा”इत्यास्त या त्यादित्ये । १४ ।

When the sun sets (he repeats) the verse RV. I. 167. 10 (Trans.) “To-day may we call ourselves most dear to Indra, to-morrow may we address him in the sacrificial assembly ; such were we of old. May there be for us great power as the days pass. In that may R̥bhukṣan be gracious to us among men”.

(a) The sūtra itself is very loosely connected with the preceding sūtras. *It has to be assumed that the verse is to be recited by the person who is driving his chariot if and when he sees the sun setting.* (b) But the R̥g-verse (as can be seen from the translation) can be brought into *no conceivable relation to the context*. It is a verse to Indra whereas from the context we expect a verse in praise of the sun. (c) The verse is not liturgically employed in any early text.

The ĀMS by not including this verse therefore gives an important clue.

* The sūtra is very probably a later addition.

² The point has been discussed in my monograph “R̥g Veda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Gr̥hya Sūtras” under ĀG. II. 6. 13.

AG. II. 6. 15 :—“ तद्गो दिवो दुहितरो विभाती ’रिति व्युष्टायाम् । १५ ।

When the day dawns, (he recites) the verse RV. IV. 51. 11. (Trans). This, O ye Dawns! do I, whose banner is the sacrifice, address to you, Daughters of Heaven! as ye shine forth. May we be famous among the peoples; may heaven and the divine earth grant us that.

This verse to the Dawns is appropriate for recitation at day-break but the connection of the sūtra with the rest of the chapter, it is difficult to see! If the verse is to be recited by a person driving in a chariot, we have to suppose either that he drives in the chariot during the night until day-break which is rather improbable or that he starts driving the chariot early in the morning before day-break which is not the proper time for a ceremonial opening of chariot-driving or that the verse is recited on the morning after his first day of chariot-driving! The verse is not employed in any early text. The ĀMS gives the verse but this fact is inconclusive as the whole sūkta IV. 51 is cited in ĀŚ. IV. 14. 2 and so was bound to be given in the ĀMS. I think therefore that this sūtra and the preceding one which form a mutually complementary pair of sūtras, at the end of the Kaṇḍikā referring to sunset and sunrise have been added later.

AG. III. 6. 5 :—स्वप्नमनोज्ञं दृष्ट्वा ‘अयानो देव सवितरि’ति द्वाभ्यां ‘यच्च गोषु दुःश्वप्यमिति पञ्चभिरादित्यमुपतिष्ठेत । ५ ।

Having seen an unpleasant dream, one should worship the sun with the two verses RV. V. 82. 4-5, (and) with the five verses RV. VIII. 47. 14-18 (Sūtra 6th :—‘or with the verse RV. II. 28. 10)’.

The ĀMS. does not include the citations in sūtra 5 but only that in sūtra 6th. and it is very likely that here one sūtra has been enlarged into two by the later addition of the citations in sūtra 5. That original sūtra probably read (“*Svapnam amanōjñam dṣṭvā* ‘Yo me rājan yujyo vā, Sakhā vā’ iti” i.e. the verse RV. II. 28-10). The independent arguments in support of this theory are the following :—

(1) If the two sūtras stood originally as they stand now, too large a number of verses (seven) has been prescribed for recitation at a minor mishap like an evil dream.

(2) The citation in sūtra 6th is the most appropriate to the context, whereas the five verses VIII. 47. 14-18 prescribed in sūtra 5 are addressed to ‘Uṣas’ and it is hardly in the sūtra-style to prescribe verses to one deity (Uṣas) for waiting upon another deity (Āditya), however appropriate they may be to the context. As regards the first group of two verses to Savitr in Sūtra 5 viz. RV. V. 82. 4-5, its only link with the context is the last pāda of 1. 4 : ‘parā duṣṣvapnyam suva’ (do thou drive away evil dreams), the 5th verse makes no reference to an evil dream!

(3) As regards the earlier liturgical employment of citations in sūtra 5, the group of five verses VIII. 47. 14-18 is not employed in any earlier text and the two verses V. 82. 4-5, as such, have not been employed any-

where but the *trca* beginning with V. 82. 4 is employed in AB. IV. 30. 3 and AŚ. V. 18. 5 in the Vaiśvadeva-Śastra.

I think therefore that the ĀMS. has in this case, given a valuable clue regarding a possible later addition.

AG. III. 7. 8 :—“ वय मुत्वा पथस्पते” इत्यर्थचर्या चरिष्यन् । ८ ।

If one wishes to do some business (one should recite) ‘Vayam u tvā pathaspatē’ (which is the first pāda of RV. VI. 53. 1).

Only a complete first pāda is quoted here and so a verse should be indicated for citation but Nārāyaṇa (followed by Prof. STENZLER) and Haradatta hold that the whole hymn is meant because the ‘pratyrcam’ (verse by verse) of the preceding sūtra has its influence over this sūtra also! The point is doubtful. I discuss this citation along with the two following :

AG. III. 7. 9 :—“ सं पूषन्विदुषे”ति नष्टमधिजिगमिषन्मूढो वा । ९ ।

If one wishes to find something lost or is puzzled (about the way one should take), one should recite the hymn RV. VI. 54.

AG. III. 7. 10 :—“ सं पूषन्नध्वन ” इति महातमध्वानमेध्यन् प्रतिभयै वा । १० ।

If one is about to go on a long road or a dangerous one, one should recite the hymn RV. I. 42.

The ĀMS. includes none of these three citations (i.e. those in the last three Sūtras of the Kaṇḍikā). The hymns are appropriate to the contexts in which they are cited because as hymns to Pūṣan, they contain prayers for wealth, safety of paths, destruction of enemies etc., as in the hymn RV. VI. 53 which suits Sūtra 8th; prayers for recovery of lost cows etc. in the hymn VI. 54 suit sūtra 9 and prayers for keeping the wolf away from the path etc. in I. 42. 2 suit sūtra 10. There is no independent suspicious feature of these three sūtras (apart from the omission of their citations in the ĀMS) that indicates them to be later additions except that later sūtras III. 10. 11-12 and III. 11. 1-2 by treating of the topic in sūtra 10 render it superfluous. The three sūtras stand at the end of a Kaṇḍikā and generally later additions were easy at the end of the chapter. Nor is there any tradition regarding the liturgical employment of these hymns in early texts. But these points are not conclusive.

AG. III. 12. 12-16 :—अथैनं सारयमाणमुपाख्या‘भीवर्त’ वाचयति ‘प्र यो वां मित्रावरुणेति’ च द्वे (i.e. Rv. VIII 101.3-4) । १२ । अथैनमन्वीक्षेता “प्रतिरथशाससापणैः” । १३ । प्र धारयन्तु मधुनो घृतस्येत्येतत्सौपर्णम् । १४ । सर्वा दिशोऽनुपर्यायात् । १५ । आदित्यमौशनसं वावस्थाय प्रयोधयेत् । १६ ।

The ĀMS. does not include the citations in Sūtra 12 nor the ‘Śāsa’ and ‘Sauparṇa’ hymns quoted in the 13th sūtra. If it includes the ‘apratiratha’ hymn mentioned in the latter sūtra along with the ‘Śāsa’ and ‘sauparṇa’

hymns, the fact is inconclusive, as the 'apratiratha' is quoted in ĀŚ. 4 8. 28 and therefore may have found a place. In the 14th sūtra, our text specifies the 'Sauparṇa' hymn prescribed but this hymn is not found in the ĀMS. Sūtras 15th and 16th. contain no citation.

The ĀMS. thus indirectly suggests that sūtras 12 to 16 are possibly later additions. I state below other independent grounds in support of this suggestion.

Sūtras 3 to 11 draw upon verses from RV. VI. 75—a very appropriate hymn—almost consecutively and describe the preparation and equipment of the king for battle under the supervision of the purohita in detail, beginning with the handing of the armour to the king (in Sūtra 3) and ending with the fastening of the arm-guard to the arm of the king (in Sūtra 11) as a protection against the bowstring. The preparation for the shooting of arrows, which would formally open the battle is thus complete. What is now expected is a description of the beating of the drum announcing the commencement of battle (as in Sūtra 17th), the shooting of arrows as in sūtra 18th. and of the battle in progress (as in Sūtra 19th). *Sūtras 12 to 16 thus break the continuity of the rules.* Sūtra 12th. cites the two verses VIII. 101. 3-4 to Mitra and Varuṇa *the propriety of which it is difficult to see as they* are prayers to the two gods for the avoidance of a clash with the swift messenger Agni (as lightning). It refers besides, to the King driving forth although it has been already mentioned in Sūtra 8th. Sūtra 15th. which says that the king should drive in his chariot successively *to all directions* is a puzzle as it does not go well with the battle-context.

If these sūtras are thus later additions, it is easy to see how they were added and from where the rules and the citations they contain were taken. The process very probably was something like this. *TS. and AB have been the chief influences in the additions.* The verses cited in Sūtras 18th and 19th. *which are genuine* are RV. VI. 75. 16-17 which occur in TS. 4. 6. 4. 4. in close proximity to the 'apratiratha' hymn (RV. X. 103). When the employment of the 'Apratiratha hymn' was thus suggested, the later editor, it appears was reminded of a section in the AB. 8. 10. 4. That this is not mere guess-work is seen from the fact that *our sūtra 13th. is identical word for word with a sentence AB. 8. 10. 4!* In fact the section AB. 8 10.4 is practically the source of all the sūtras as the following detailed review of these sūtras will show.

ĀG. III. 12. 12. Trans :—(The Purohita) mounts up to the king on his chariot while he is driving and makes him repeat the 'abhivarta' hymn and the two verses RV. VIII. 101. 3-4—"Pra Yo Vām" etc.

'Abhivarta' is a name given to different sāmāns but especially to the hymn RV. X. 174, the Ṛṣi of which is 'Abhivarta' and which begins with the words 'abhivartena haviṣā'. This hymn is employed in AB 8. 10. 4 : the gist of this passage in the AB. is as follows :—The general context is the 'Punarabhiṣeka (re-anointing) in the Rājasūya sacrifice. The section AB. 8.

10 begins by narrating that when the gods and Asuras strove for the possession of these worlds, the Asuras drove them from the four principal quarters and also the intermediate ones. The gods, however, finally defeated the Asuras by means of the 'Abhivarta' hymn. Therefore when two armies face each other for battle, if a Kṣatriya runs up to him (the priest) requesting him to do something to help him to win the battle, and if he (the priest) grants that request, he should touch his chariot and should make the Kṣatriya turn victoriously against his foes by means of the hymn RV. X. 174 ('abhivartena haviṣa' ityeyainam abhi-vartayet).

III. 12. 13 : Trans. He (the Purohita) then should look at him with the 'apratiratha', 'śāsa' and 'sauparṇa' hymns.

As already noted, this sūtra is identical, word for word with a sentence in the AB. which immediately follows the passage 8. 10. 4, summarized above and the question of borrowing is hardly in doubt. The context also is nearly identical, the priest and the Kṣatriya in the above passage corresponding to the Purohita and the king respectively. The 'apratiratha' is the hymn RV. X. 103 so called because 'Apratiratha' is the name of the Ṛṣi. Śāsa is the hymn RV. X 152 called after its Ṛṣi 'Śāsa'.

The Sauparṇa hymn. Prof. STENZLER p. 111 quotes Nārāyaṇa who says that because there are many Sauparṇa hymns, our text specifies in the next sūtra which particular one is meant, e.g. *sūtra* III. 12. 14 reads "The 'Sauparṇa' is the hymn beginning with "pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya". Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 234) says that this hymn "pra dhārayantu" etc. is not found in any Vedic Samhitā nor does it occur in the Suparṇādhyāya. The Commentator Haradatta also says that there are many Sauparṇa hymns. I adduce the following information on the point making it clear that as there are many Sauparṇa hymns, it was necessary (as is done in Sūtra 14th. to specify which hymn was meant).

There were two different traditions regarding the Sauparṇa group of hymns.

(1) One tradition recorded in the Brh. D. iii. 119* was that there were eleven khila hymns called 'Sauparṇa'. Ten of these are addressed to the Āśvins; the first begins with 'Śaśvaddhi vām' and one of the others, with 'pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya' [mentioned our sūtra (4)]. The 11th addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa is RV. VIII. 59, the last of the Vālakhilya group, of which *Suparṇa Kāṇva* is the Ṛṣi and which begins with 'Imāni Vām'. (2) A second tradition preserved in the Brh. D. VI. 86 enumerated only the first eight of the Āśvina group mentioned above as the Sauparṇa group and thus ignored 'imāni-vām' = RV. VIII 59. This is the reason why Śāyaṇa in his comment on AB. VIII. 40. 4 referred to above) specifies 'pradhārayantu' etc. as the Sauparṇa (following our text) but in his comment on AB. VI. 25. 7 specifies 'imāni vām' as the 'Sauparṇa' because a 'Sauparṇa' hymn sacred to Indra and Varuṇa is needed in the latter context—an *apparent* inconsistency that

* Compare Prof. MACDONELL's note on p. 113. HOS. Vol. 6.

has puzzled Prof KEITH (p. 327 HOS Vol. 25). This is also the reason why our text specifies in Sūtra 14th, the particular sauparna hymn meant.

AG. III. 12. 15. Trans :—

“ The King should drive forth in his chariot to all quarters successively ”. This sūtra otherwise puzzling, becomes intelligible in the light of the passage AB. 8. 10. 4 only. There, we are told, that the gods by means of the ‘ abhivarta ’ hymn succeeded against the Asuras successively in each of the directions in which they were formerly defeated and so would the Kṣatriya, who advances against his foes in each direction successively by means of the same hymn at the advice of the priest. AG. III. 12. 16. Trans :—“ He should make the king fight (while he is) occupying the region¹ presided over by the Sun (by day) or by Venus (if it is night time) ”. This sūtra practically ignores the preceding one as no word like ‘ Vā ’ is used.

For all these reasons, I think, that Sūtras 12 to 16 are later additions prompted by AB. VIII. 10. 4 and that the AMS. which does not include the citations in these sūtras gives a valuable clue.

AG. IV. 2. 18 and 20 :— तामुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरहासोवा ‘उदीर्ष्व
नार्यभि जीवलोक्म्’ इति । १८ । धनुर्हस्तादाददानो
मृतस्येति धनुः । २० ।

The AMS by not including the citations in these two sūtras gives a valuable clue indeed, by raising a suspicion regarding the genuineness of sūtras 16 to 22. Kaṇḍikā IV. 1-4 give rules for the funeral ceremonies—(the cremation)—on the death of an Āhitāgni. It is true that these are meant to be general rules but our text gives all the rules applicable *in the particular case of an āhitāgni in detail*, leaving the general rules to be inferred from these. For example, the details regarding the disposition of the three Śrauta fires round the cremation-spot, regarding the disposition and distribution of the sacrificial implements on the dead body of the āhitāgni and the actual commencement of the burning by one or the other of the śrauta fires reaching the dead body etc. are applicable *only* in the case of an āhitāgni. It is only sūtras 16 to 22 at the end of Kaṇḍikā IV. 2 that abruptly treat of rules applicable to all cases e.g. that of a Kṣatriya etc. Sūtra 15th describes the placing of the dead body on the funeral pyre after carrying it in such a way that it passes the *Gārhapatyā* fire on its north side and the head is turned towards the Āhavanīya. *After this we expect the ritual act of putting the sacrificial implements of the Āhitāgni on the limbs of the dead body as described in the third Kaṇḍikā.* Instead, Sūtra 16th says “ they make the wife (lie down) to the north of the dead body ”. (sūtra 17th) “ and a bow also (they place) for a kṣatriya ” and then comes sūtra :—AG. IV. 2. 18.

¹ Prof. OLDENBERG translates this differently as ‘ in the line of battle invented by Aditya or by Uśanas ? I prefer the explanation of Nārāyaṇa (followed by Prof. STENZLER) which the translation above follows, because the prejudice against engaging in any action—in opposition to (i.e. while facing) the Sun etc. was well-known.

Trans :—Her brother-in-law or some other representative of her husband, or a pupil or an old servant should make her rise with the verse RV. X. 18. 8. (trans.) “Arise, O woman ! to the world of the living. Come, thou liest by him whose breath has gone. Thou hast become the wife of this husband here, who has taken thy hand and wooed thee.”

Even though sūtras 16 to 22 may be later additions, the citation is very appropriate to the context as the RV. verse (a funeral one) practically describes the ritual act it accompanies.

ĀG. IV. 2. 20 Trans :—“He takes away the bow reciting the verse RV. X. 18: 9.” (Trans). “Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man, so that it may be for us, for dominion, for fame, for strength, do thou remain here ; may we, with strong sons overcome all rivals and foes”.

This citation also is appropriate as the verse practically describes the ritual act it accompanies.

The suggestion that Sūtras 16-22 may be later additions on the evidence of the ĀMS. does not mean that the ritual acts described in these sūtras were developed later. In fact as seen from the classification of the citations, they are as old as the RV. hymn X.¹⁸ itself. What is meant is that our text dealing as it is with the case of an āhitāgni, *probably* did not include the rules in sūtras 16-22 covering all other cases. Rules covering all possible cases are not necessarily given in a sūtra text.

ĀG. IV. 6. 7 :—उपरतेषु शब्देषु संप्रविष्टेषु वा गृहं निवेशनं वा दक्षिणाद्वारपक्षात् प्रक्रम्या-
विच्छिन्नामुदकधारां हरेत् ‘तन्तुं तन्व ब्रजसो भानुमन्विही त्योत्तरस्मात् । ७ ।

Trans : [Sūtra 6th. In the Śāntikarma rite, after kindling the new fire, the performer of the ceremony and his relations sit round it, keeping it in a blaze and beguiling the time by telling stories till the dead of night]. (Now) when all sounds have ceased or when the others have retired to the house or the resting-place, the performer of the ceremony goes on pouring a stream of water without break, beginning at the southern side of the door (going round the house) and ending at the northern side of the door repeating the verse RV. X. 53. 6. (Trans). “Weaving thy web do thou go up, after the light of the firmament ; do thou guard the paths which have been prepared by wisdom ; do thou weave the work of the singers free from defects ; do thou be a Manu, do thou bring forth the divine people.

In addition to omission in the ĀMS. of the citation in this sūtra, the following independent grounds may be stated in support of the supposition that this Sūtra with its quotation is a later addition.

(1) Agni Saucika is the deity of the verse and the verse can be brought into no conceivable relation to the context ; (2) “Uparateṣu śabdeṣu” (when all sounds have ceased) is a mere repetition of ‘āsānta rātrād’ (till the dead of night) of the previous sūtra ; (3) ‘grhaṁ niveśanam vā’ (to the house or to the resting-place) is not only a repetition in itself but is also meaningless in view of the fact that all the members of the household are already inside the house

when they sit round the new fire. (4) If it be said that 'sampravīṣṭeṣu gṛham' etc. means that the other members have retired to rest, that is also impossible as the very next sūtra (8th) describe the relatives as stepping on the bull's hide to the west of the fire !

The addition here again (compare III. 12 13 before) seems to have been suggested by AB. 7. 12. 3. Expiations for errors in the Agnihotra is the context in that AB. passage. If a chariot or dog steps between the Gārhapatyā and the Āhavanīyā the expiation is "*Gārhapatyād avicchinnām udakadhārām haret* : 'tatuṁ tanvan rajaso bhāmuman vihīti *āhavanīyāt*'. This sentence is identical with the part of our sūtra beginning with 'dakṣiṇāt' etc. except for the substitution of 'dakṣiṇāt dvārapakṣād prakramya—ā uttarasmāt' for the italicized words ! ĀŚ 2.2.14 also has this identical phrase in the same context (as in AB.). *The AB. then appears to be the source of more than one addition to our text.*

ĀG. I. 7. 17 :— "प्र त्वा मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशादि"ति । १७ ।

[Sūtra 16th. reads "*Athāsyai śikhe vimuñcati yadi kṛte bhavataḥ urnāstluke keśapakṣayor baddhe bhavataḥ*". He then loosens the two braids of her (hair) if they are made ; two flakes of wool are generally tied to the two locks of hair], with the verse RV. X. 85.24 [S. I. 7.18 : the left (braid) with the following verse i.e. RV. X. 85-25]

I discuss these sūtras in this section although the citations RV. X. 85. 24-25 are included in the ĀMS. because *there are other grounds for suspecting these sūtras to be later additions* and because inclusion of these citations in the ĀMS is not *positive* evidence of their genuineness as the whole sūryā hymn, RV. X. 85 was bound to be included in the ĀMS having been cited in I. 8.12.

RV. X. 85.24-25 (Trans). 24th. I release thee from the snare of Varuṇa wherewith the gracious Savitṛi bound thee. In the place of the sacrifice, in the world of good deeds, do I place thee, safe with thy husband : (25th) From this, i.e. the father's house do I release thee, not from that (i.e. the husband's house) ; with that one have I now made thee fast bound, so that, O gracious Indra, this woman may be happy in her sons, and in their fortune.

The grounds for suspecting the genuine character of these three sūtras 16-18 are : (1) There is nothing corresponding to the 'Śikhā-vimuñcana' (loosening of the braids) in any other Gṛhya-sūtra. In our text, it unnecessarily intervenes between the lājā-homa (sacrifice of fried grains) and the 'leading round' described up to sūtra 15th. on the one hand and the 'Śapta-paḍī' (seven steps) on the other, described in sūtra 19th. (2) The RV. verses speak of the old ties binding the bride to her parental home, giving place to new ones attaching her to her husband's home and are thus suited to the context of 'the bride leaving her parental home for her husband's home' which is exactly the context for which they are prescribed in ŚG. 1.15.1 and the Brh-D (3) The sūtra 15th. consists of *two disconnected sentences* the latter of which (two flakes of wool are tied to the two locks of hair) is a

comment on the former (he then loosens the two braids, if they are made). The part 'ūrṇā-stuke keśapakṣayor baddhe bhavataḥ' has no syntactical relation at all with the preceding part : (4) Finally 'yadi kṛte bhavataḥ' (if the braids are made) reveals the optional and unimportant character of the ritual prescription, *as if, added as an afterthought*.

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MS.—Das Mānava Śrauta-sūtra : Dr. Friedrich KNAUER ; Books i-v. St. Petersburg 1900-1903.

Gṛhya-Sūtras etc. .

AG.—The Aśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra : Prof. STENZLER's edition, Indische Hausregeln : Aśvalāyana Erstes Heft. Pp. 1-45 : Leipzig 1864. The readings given in the 'Kritische Anmerkungen' (pp. 46-53) and the emendations proposed in the Vorrede (I to III) to the Zweites Heft (Uebersetzung : Leipzig 1865) have been discussed where necessary. When I mention Prof. STENZLER's views, I refer to this second part, where he gives a German translation of the work with notes.

SG.—The Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra edited by H. OLDENBERG : Indische studien, Vol. XV, pp. 1-166.

PG.—The Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Prof. STENZLER, Indische Hausregeln II, Pāraskara ; Leipzig 1876.

GG.—Das Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra, Dr. F. KNAUER, Dorpat and Leipzig 1884.

KhG.—The Khādīra Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by H. OLDENBERG, sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX.

HG.—The Hiranyakeśin Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Dr. J. KIRSTE, Vienna 1889.

ApG.—The Āpastambīya Gṛhya-sūtra edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Vienna 1887.

ApMB.—The (Mantra-Brāhmaṇa or) Mantra-pāṭha of the Āpastambins, edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Oxford 1897.

Kauś.—The Kauśika-sūtra of the Atharva-veda edited by M. BLOOMFIELD in Vol. XIV of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.

SMB.—The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda edited by Satyabrata SAMASRAMIN, Calcutta 1873.

Nārayaṇa :—The Sanskrit commentary by Gārgya Nārayaṇa printed in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Aśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra, Calcutta 1869.

S.B.E.—Sacred Books of the East.

MISCELLANEA

THE INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE FIRST PERSON PLURAL IN KANNADA¹

By

G. S. GAI.

The problem of the *inclusive* and *exclusive* first person plural in various Dravidian dialects has been discussed in a recent paper of C. R. SANKARAN². CALDWELL³ thought that the distinction between the *inclusive* and *exclusive* first person plural did not exist in Kannada. Making, however, the contrary assumption, C. R. SANKARAN⁴ pointed out that at least in one place *em* is used as an *inclusive* first person plural in *Pampa Bhārata*. My subsequent investigation of this problem with reference to *Pampa Bhārata*, a work of the 10th century A.D.⁵ has led me to believe that in the old Kannada there should have been a clear distinction between the *inclusive* and *exclusive* first person plural and that the early traces of the obliteration of this distinction ought to be sought in the Kannada of the 10th century A.D. In this short paper I propose to place my findings and I mean to extend my investigations with reference to the earlier works like *Kavirājamārga* shortly.

In the following instances (63 out of a total 72) we find *em* used as the exclusive first person plural.

Pampa Bhārata : 2.63, 85 ; 3.11, 18p. line 7, 25p. line 5, line 6 (twice) ; 4.96, 107p ; 6.15 (twice), 19, 22 (twice), 26p. line 1-2 & 12, 30 (thrice), 49 (twice) ; 7.32, 37, 59 (twice), 60 ; 8.18 (twice), 20, 26, 32, 36p. 1.1-2; 62, 67 ; 9.12, 15, 16, 18, 22, 41, 49, 89, 93 ; 10.5p. 1.5. 10. 33. 62 ; 11. 29. 42p. 1.1. 47p.1.7, 48 (twice), 116, 117, 128 ; 12, 54, 55, 67p.1.2, 90 (twice), 162 ; 13.11, 12 ; 14.33. Only in the remaining 9 instances *em* is used as the *inclusive* first person plural. *Pampa Bhārata* : 1.1, 4, 83p ; 2.89 ; 5.102 ; 7.39, 49 ; 9.61 ; 13.20p.

The last instance 13.20p. is interesting in that here *em* is *nominative*. Here, at the final stage of the battle, Duryōdhana asks his advisers as to what course of action they should adopt.

¹ I am indebted to Prof. C. R. SANKARAN for suggesting this problem and for helping me in the preparation of this short paper.

² C. R. SANKARAN, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 98-99.

³ CALDWELL, *Comp. Gr. of Dravidian Languages*, pp. 414-15.

Vide also C. R. SANKARAN, *op. cit.* p. 98, f.n. 4.

⁴ C. R. SANKARAN, *loc. cit.* p. 99, and f.n. 4.

⁵ *Pampa Bhārata*. ed. by B. Lewis RICE. Introduction p. 1.

Cf. also R. NARASIMHACHAR, *Karnāṭaka-kavi-charite*, Mysore, 1907, Vol. I, p. 23.

Prof. R. V. JAHAGIRDAR has drawn my attention to the fact that the *inclusive* first person plural *ñam* in *Pampa Bhārata*¹ is used *only* in the oblique cases (accusative, dative and genitive). This is an interesting fact for it shows that the obliteration of the distinction between the *inclusive* and *exclusive* first person plural in *Kaṇṇaḍa* must have first occurred in the nominative.

THE KANNADA PARI

By

G. S. GAI and C. R. SANKARAN.

Jules BLOCH^{1a} has proposed a Sanskrit etymology of this interesting word. Pierre MEILE² has drawn attention to the fact that in ancient Tamil literature *pari* is specially applied to the 'pace' of a horse. Our recent investigations have driven us to the conclusion that *pari* in the *Kaṇṇaḍa* of the 10th century also developed the meaning 'gallop'. It is used, for instance, in *Pampa Bhārata*³ when it obviously refers to the motion of the chariot and the galloping of the horses tied to it⁴. This can be compared with the Tamil *pāypariṭ puravi*⁵, 'the horses with leaping steps' and '*vaṇbari neḍundēr pūṅga hiṇ māvē*'⁶.

Since in *Pampa Bhārata* we meet the word *pari* in the sense of 'gallop', we find that there is no necessity to accept Pierre MEILE's theory⁷ that there was an intermediate stage represented by *anmoḥittogei*-words. Without any intermediate stage, the original Dravidian *pari* could have easily passed to

¹ *Pampa Bhārata* : 3.4p. (twice), 12 ; 5.95 ; 6.20p. 1. 3-4, 32 ; 7.16p. 1. 5-6 & 7-8, 18, 39, 55 (twice), 56 ; 8.61, 77 ; 9.61 ; 10.33p, 59p ; 11.4p ; 12p, 51, 96p. 1. 4-5 ; 12.55 ; 13.74p. 1.3.

^{1a} Jules BLOCH, *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume*, p. 34.

² Pierre MEILE, *NIA*, Vol. 2, 1939, p. 252.

³ *Pampa Bhārata* : 11.76, 146, 150 ; 12.66 ; 13.44p.

⁴ In the following instances, in addition to the meaning of 'to flow', there might have been also the sense of 'jump'. 10.70p. 1.10 ; 11.140p. 1. 3-4. Prof. R. V. JAHAGIRDAR, however, feels that one cannot be too sure that *pari* really meant 'gallop' in the instances quoted in the footnote 3 here.

⁵ *Madurekk*, 689. See also '*pāypari*' (Tiru. 17.27) "Prancing steed". *Pāypari* might have been originally merely a pleonastic expression. *Pāy* is used in the sense of 'rush, leap, spring' etc. in the following places—*Cf. Tiru.* 2.132 ; 3.84 ; 7.51, 52 ; 12. 26-28 ; 17, 27 ; 22.19 ; 34-39.

⁶ *Pura*, 146, 11. comm. '*valaviya selaveiyudeiya*', "may your horse be attached to the great chariot which has a great speed". *Van* also meant separately 'big great, abundant'. See *Tiru* 9.29 *Van Koṭṭai* 'big bosoms'.

⁷ Pierre MEILE, *loc. cit.* p. 253.

mean 'the horse' from meaning 'gallop'. Possibly this progress was arrested in Kannada since initial *p* came to be represented by *h* in the 10th century A.D.,⁸ the period when *Pampa Bhārata* came to be written. For when *pari* came to be transformed into *hari*, the latter was formally confused with Sanskrit *hari* which quite accidentally enough also meant 'the horse'. Incidentally, we may point out that Pierre MEILE has wrongly translated⁹ the following passage from *Tiruvāṇṇam* 8,17; *paṇḍambariyap paṇimēr koṇḍāṇ* as 'on a horse that has run away.' It should have been, 'to loose our bonds, He on a charger rode'.

LINGUISTIC NOTES.

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

I have discussed (*JORM.* Vol. 9. 1935, p. 311) how that the *ictus* as a metrical stress was really as theoretical in classic Latin verse as it is in modern European music, being employed to mark the time when syllable-lengths were no longer *communibus in fixa sensibus* but had to be taught to the young by beating with the hand or foot, just as musical time is now taught to one who is learning to play a musical instrument. It must be remembered that in ancient India too, musical time must have been generally marked by means of the feet rather than with the hands. It may be possible to connect the Sanskrit word *tāla* in the sense of 'musical time' with the Dravidic *tāl* 'foot'. (Mark COLLINS, *Dravidic Studies*, No. 4. University of Madras, 1926, p. 9. f. n. 1).

* * * * *

On page 207 of the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1939, I have noted the interesting Hittite word *hammai* "litigates, decides a law suit". Here we have to remember that it is possible to postulate the existence of a prefix *ha-* (cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *HG.* 213). It seems to be better to accept *h-* as an inorganic development, to avoid any difficulty in places like *hut-* which occurs in the common compound *pe-hut-e-mi* "I lead, conduct" and which is ultimately identical with *ud-* (< IE * *udh.* cf. GÖTZE, *Arch. Or.* 5. 22 n. 3), the weak grade of *wed-* (< IE * *uedh*) in *wedami* "I carry, bring" (cf. Lith. *vedù.* O. Ir. *fedim.* See W. PETERSEN, Hittite *h* and SAUSSURE's Doctrine of the Long vowels. *JAOS*, 1939, Vol. 39, p. 175).

* Cf. A. N. NARASIMHA, *The history of p in Kanarese*, *BSOS*, 8, 678-80 M.B. EMENEAU, *Language*, Vol. 15, 1939, pp. 43ff. C. R. SANKARAN, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 105 and footnotes.

* Pierre MEILE, *op. cit.* p. 253. Besides 8.17; *pari* occurs in the following places too in the sense of 'horse' in *Tiru*, 18.23; 36.10, 25; 50.25. *Parimā* also means horse. See *Tiru*. 2.38; 116, 12.57; 43.15.

Different views on the linguistic unit 'morpheme' have been discussed by Otto JESPERSEN in his *Analytical Syntax*. (P. 106). I am referring to this at some length in a paper to be shortly published in the *JORM*. Here I wish to call attention to the fact that the earlier labour on grammatical terminology of JESPERSEN, SONNENSCHNIG and BRUNOT did not meet with appreciable success. In spite of BRUNOT'S protestations—"Aucun reclassement des phénomènes grammaticaux ne saurait échapper aux défauts inhérents à la classification d' Aristote. Les parties du discours ont fait les temps. C'est une scolastique qui doit à son tour disparaître", in his massive book on *Language* (1922), one not infrequently meets with old traditional and often extremely barbarous grammatical terms, which (although in some instances very slightly metamorphosed) are unfortunately merely the much maligned *a fortiori* Aristotle's categories. The long felt need for critical words in this direction is now satisfied at least in a way by J. MAROUZEAU'S *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*. 1933, Paris.

* * * * *

In an article to be published in the *JORM*, I am discussing at length R. PAGET'S theory that out of the first 100 roots listed by SKEAT 77 were clearly pantomimic, while among the remaining 23, 12 betrayed gestures of articulation suggestive of a pantomimic origin, although not directly pantomimic, leaving only 11 roots which showed no evidence of pantomimic origin. (Sir Richard PAGET, *Human Speech*, London, 1930. p. 153). PAGET'S theory like any scientific theory (as for instance, the second law of Thermodynamics illustrated by Brownian movement and MAXWELL'S demon. See J. W. N. SULLIVAN, *The Bases of Modern Science*. Pelican books, p. 84.) stands purely on a statistical basis as attested by the fact that one in every 7 or 8 of the roots listed by W. W. SKEAT in his *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* confirms the view that the 'call' made by the vibration of the vocal chords inside man's Adam's Apple converted the appropriate symbolic gestures performed by the tongue and lips, into the spoken words. (Cf. Sir Richard PAGET, *The Origin of Language*. *Psyche*, Volume VIII, No. I, 1927-1928, p. 39.)

* * * * *

In an article to be published in the *JORM*, I discuss L. Bloomfield's improved definition of the sentence that it is the linguistic expression of an affect involving a single total experience, for an affect of higher order may be accompanied by the utterance of a succession of sentences, each of which corresponds to a subordinate up and down movement of the emotional curve. The most primitive function of language was its use as a link in concerted human activity and as a piece of human behaviour. Language was never in primeval times an instrument of reflection but only a mode of action. Paget's gesture theory of the origin of human speech discussed by me elsewhere is to the point here. (Vide also B. MALINOWSKI. Supplement I to OGDEN and RICHARDS. *The Meaning of Meaning*. London 1936, p. 312-316).

The fundamental assumption of *relevance* has been shown by me to be the basis for the canon of *Pre-Potency in point of intension* on page 229 of F. W. Thomas Volume (Bombay 1939). The importance of this fundamental assumption in the theory of meaning is shown by C. K. ODGEN and I. A. RICHARDS in their "*The Meaning of Meaning*" (4th edn. Kegan Paul. London. 1936, p. 76 and foot note 1). When a psychological context links other contexts together and when an interpretation forms an integral part of this psychological context, only then, any notion which serves the interpretation to so link the psychological context is *relevant*. The appropriateness of this sense of *relevance* would be apparent when we take into consideration the problem of conation.

* * * * *

I pointed out in my article published in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. 11 (1939), p. 200 that as opposed to the natural hypothesis that the PIE tongue was of a simple isolating structure, there is a view that there has been a continuous movement from complex to simple structure and that man's earliest speech was of complex structure. In support of the latter view we have many primitive languages whose complexity of psychological or logical forms far surpasses even the grammatical categories of Latin. Franz BOAS assumes therefore that language begins with complex and ends with simpler forms, although he does not deny the existence of the opposite tendency altogether. (See Franz BOAS, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1911. Cf. also *The Mind of Primitive Man*. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1938. p. 172).

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I have alluded to Edgerton's (cf. KZ 43. 110-120, 44. 23-25) ascription of the elliptic dual, corresponding to the vedic "*devatā*"—*dvandvas* (*Mitrā-varuṇā*) to primitive IE in my article published in the *JORM*. Vol. 9, p. 132. The existence of the nominative and accusative of the formulaic phrase *hasa hanzasa* (*ha-aš-ša ha-an-za-aš-ša*) 'grandchild and great-grandchild' in Hittite confirms this view. Its comparison, syntactically speaking, with the IE elliptical dual (Skt. *Mitrā* 'Mitra and Varuna', Homeric *Aiante*, etc.) is possible. (Vide E. H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 1933. p. 165).

* * * * *

In my paper, "Tocharian and the invalidity of Satem-centum hypothesis etc." to be published shortly in the *NIA*, I have discussed the existence of the quartal system in the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian. It is interesting to note in that connection that this seems to have been the case in the primitive Dravidian also (Vide H. HERAS, *NIA*. Vol. 2, 1939, p. 457). This gets added interest when we remember that the words for many numerals in both Dravidian and Finno-Ugrian seem to be common. (Vide my paper, *The Dravidian (Tamil) attan and annai in Hittite* published elsewhere in this journal).

In addition to some words meaning 'father, mother and sister' common in both the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan families noted already by me in my paper 'The Dravidian (Tamil) *attan* and *annai* in *Hitte*', I wish to draw attention to the following also.

Pkt. *appō* 'father'.

Pkt. *ammā*, *avvā* 'mother'.

Amma is found in all the Dravidian dialects except Tuḷu. In Kannada *avva*, *avve* means 'a mother or grand-mother'.

In Telugu *avva* means 'a grand-mother'. Pkt. *akkā* 'sister'.

We have seen that in the Dravidian dialects also *akka* means 'sister'.

Pkt. *attā* 'father's sister' (cf. Dravidian *atta* 'father's sister').

Desi-*atta* 'mother' 'father's sister', 'mother-in-law'. (Vide HEMACANDRA'S *Deśināmamālā* PISCHEL'S 2nd edition).

Kannada *atte* (= *atti*) 'Mother-in-law, father's younger or elder sister'.

Tel. *attai* 'mother-in-law'. Tam. *attai* 'father's sister'². (Cf. also K. Amrita Row, *The Dravidian element in Prākṛt, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, 1917, p. 34).

I have compared the Malayalam *oppol* with the Melanesian *o'ja*. Traditionally *oppol* is considered to be a contraction of *uṭappiramaival* i.e., one who was born soon (in advance). Gundert traces the first part of the word to *uṭal*, which means body. Perhaps he means 'born from the same body of mother'. The element *uṭa-* in *uṭappiramaival* can be taken to be the substitute for either *uṭan* (soon) or *uṭal* (body). On purely phonetic grounds of course, there can be no possible objection to take it either way. Corresponding to the feminine, there is the masculine *oppaṇ* which again is considered to be a contraction of *uṭappiramaival*. I owe to my Professor Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of the Madras University the above information. However, I do not find my way to agree with him when he thinks that in the use of this word at present, there is a law of semantic contraction and restriction. I maintain that *oppaṇ* (*oppol*) originally must have meant 'father', then 'eldest brother, and elder brother and elder sister' as I have argued elsewhere. It is also not easy to agree that the Mal. *ettan* is the contraction of Skt. *jyeṣṭhan*. As I have already pointed out, it is only a variant of the Dravidian (Tamil) *attan*.

On page 97 of Vol. 1, No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, I dismissed the theory that there is a correlation between the phoneme *ā* and the idea of the first person singular in the primitive Dravidian. We have to remember that the occasionally expressive value of phonemes is purely a psychological question. The relations between definite phonemes and definite elements of organic movement is helpful to understand the occasionally expressive function of phonemes. (Cf. also A. W. De GROOT, *Instrumental Phonetics*) Its value for Linguists. *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, Deel 65, Serie A, No. 2. Amsterdam 1928. pp. 54-55).

On page 97 of Vol. 1, No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, I have stated that the phonemes *y*, *ñ* and *h* in old Tamil might have formed a class. According to one extreme view, there is no identity between any two sounds in actual speech; 'each sound as such is its own class and the number of possible sounds (i.e. classes) is infinite'. From this stand-point speech-sounds are at best only 'arbitrarily isolated segments of an integral continuum'. This view draws a line between the two separate planes of *langue* (Form *geschichtliche lautklassen normen*. Cf. W. F. TWADDELL. *On defining the Phoneme*.- Lang. Mond. No. 16 Baltimore. 1935., p. 40. J. VACHEK, *one aspect of the phoneme theory*. Proc. IIInd International Congress of phonetic sciences. Cambridge 1936. p. 35.) and *parole-utterance-konkrete Lautmanifestierungen*. Cf. E. ZWIRNER and K. ZWIRNER, *Grundfragen der Phonometrie*. Phonometrische Forschungen, A. I. Berlin 1931. W. F. TWADDELL, JEGPH. Vol. 38. 1939, p. 278). As against this, it can be pointed out that the number of classes cannot be infinite, since a 'system of signalling with infinitely variable never recurring signals is an impossibility and the principle of sound-change demonstrates a class-unity among a number of sounds'. It must be admitted, however, that there is no absolute criterion which can determine whether two specific sounds belong to the same class, thus ensuring operational efficiency to the definition of the *Laut-Klasse* by the ZWIRNERS. (Vide. W. F. TWADDELL JEGPH, Vol. 38, 1939, p. 279).

We have to remember the method of effective application of morphophonemic formulae in synchronic phonology in our discussion of Tamil *yān* and *ñān*. On account of the fact that the instances of non-patent phonology are limited in number and scope, a system of special morphophonemic symbols, may not have operational efficiency in Tamil. Otherwise, a complicated system of alternations would have got to be clarified and objectified by the use of special symbols. In this connection, it has to be borne in mind that 'alternations are the result of phonetic history, affected also by foreign borrowings and analogical changes. The most efficient formulation of the synchronic facts is ordinarily not the same as a reconstruction of the actual historical developments, but the process of constructing morphophonemic formulae has some resemblance to that of historico-phonological reconstruction'. (Cf. SAPIR-SWADESH, *Nootka Texts*, Linguistic Society of America. MORRIS SWADESH and C. F. VOEGELIN, A. Problem in phonological alternation. *Language*. Vol. XV. 1939. pp. 1-10).

AN EXTENDED MISAPPLICATION OF THE DATIVE OF RELATIONSHIP IN TAMIL.

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

Dative of relationship is a characteristically Dravidian phenomenon. Its influence even on Sanskrit is seen in some of the Southern manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* where we have *mahyam pitā* instead of *me* or *mama pitā* (vide

Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR's *The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*). A few typical examples of this dative of relationship in Tamil I give here :

1. *Ninakku irumpu taṇmai* 'your wonderful quality'. (*Pari.* 23. 3. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, JORM. Vol. 7, 1933, p. 113).
2. *Umakku inta nāṭṭē vantu toṇṭarāṇa hāṅkaḷ* 'we who have come to this country and become your devotees'. (P. T. 93. 7).
3. *Umakke āṭṭay* 'being your men'. (P. T. 92. 4. Cf. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, *ibid.* p. 115).
4. The functional syncretism in *hākaratu paḷi* where the *genitive* is used for the *dative* is the reverse phenomenon.
vide; *ku-t-toka variṇ koḷai-yetir kiḷavi*
A-ṭorn-ḷ-āṇaḷ kurittu m-ākum (*Tol. Col.* 99. Cf. P. S. Subrahmanya SASTRI, JORM, Vol. 7, p. 388.)
5. *Valutikku mā perundēvi* 'the great queen of *Valuṭi* (*Pāṇḍya*.)' (vide Tirugnā SAMBANDAR, *Tēvāram* 3rd Tirumurai. Tiruvāḷavāy stanza 1, Shanmukham PILLAI's ed. of *Tēvāram*. Niranjana Vilasa Press, Madras, 1917, p. 50).
6. *Avar enakku māmā* 'he is my uncle' (coll.)

This speech habit was so pronounced among the speakers of the ancient Tamil that it was easily extended to what we might term an illegitimate use. This is attested by the telling line-*talaikkuttut tirvu sāttarku* 'separation' of Śāṭṭa's headache'—occurring in stanza 11 of *Tiruvalluvamālai*. Here in this stanza, we are told that bad and faulty compositions always caused unbearable headache to the poet Śāṭṭa. This disease was felt to be like the constant and irritating presence of the most hated relative—say, a *wife*!—from whom *separation* was most ardently desired. The beautiful composition—TIRUVALLVA's *Tirukkural*—led Śāṭṭa finally to this happy state.² Here is then a clear case of an extended misapplication of the dative of relationship in Tamil.

Personification of diseases as we have found in the instance discussed above, is not an uncommon occurrence even among the moderns. Although 'a disease' is really never felt to be 'a material thing' by any educated man, the phraseology in use lends colour to such a supposition. Even medical men at times fancy that 'diseases' are 'morbid entities' which somehow exist *in rebus naturae*. In the 48th annual report, Local Government Board, London, 1918, Medical supplement p. 76, we find mention of the *biological properties* of a particular disease. This was repeated in the *Annual Report of the Chief*

¹ Cf. also *tiruvilā ṇaṇṇu vēṇḍi* (*Civaka Cintāmaṇi*, 1755). Possibly the meaning 'antidote, remedy' as in *ṇōḍṇaṇṇavaḷ ṇuṇṇirvameṇḍi* in *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa*, Irāṇiyan Vataippaṭalam st. 113 is a later development. My view is clearly supported by the fact that the noun form *tiruvai* in Tamil means also 'divorce fee, *kaḷḷar*' as given by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University Vol. 4, part 1, p. 1948. 1930.

² Vide V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, London, 1930, p. 80.

Medical officer of the Ministry of Health, London 1919-20 on page 366. It is clearly therefore not a case of *lapsus calami*—, F. G. CROOKSHANK therefore points the need to distinguish between Names, Notions and Happenings (*Influenza, Essays by Several Authors*, Heinemann, 1922) in his supplement II to OGDEN and RICHARDS. *The Meaning of Meaning* pp. 338-347.

DRavidian WORDS FOR 'BOOK' AND 'WRITING'

By

C. R. SANKARAN.

The Tamil word *nūl* means 'a book'. We have in Tel. Kan. and Tulu the word *nūlu* and Malayalam *nūl*. It means also 'yarn, cotton thread, string'. The Tamil transitive verb *nūltal* (*nūrral*) means 'to spin' as well as 'to compose, as a poem'. Compare for instance, *noyya connūṇkalunrēn*. (Kamparāmāyaṇa. *cirap*. 5) (1^a) cf. also *Kulaitta conṇṇalai Koṇḍarūl pōri* "Take in grace this wrath of babbling words" (*Tiru*, 4.220). I suggest that in view of the latter meaning, the word *nūl* passed through a psychological semantic channel rather than a material semantic channel in the passage of its meaning from "to spin" to "a book." In other words the word did not refer to the string used in tying up the manuscripts, as the Sanskrit word *grantha*—did; it only referred to something connected, as composition etc. Professor Siddhesvar VARMA also shares with me the view that here the psychological facts was more predominant than the material.

The compound verb (intransitive) *nūlkeṭtal* is also to be noted here. It means 'to read a book, or learn a science under a teacher'. It is clear that the idea of something connected is kept up here.

It is to be noted that the Tamil verb *eḷututal* (Malayālam *eḷutu*) besides meaning to 'write', means also 'to paint, draw'. Cf. *eḷutunkaṇ kōlkāṇāk-kamēpōl* (*Kural*, 1289). We have another verb *vari-tal* (Telugu *vṛāyu*) which means 'to write, to paint, to draw'. Cf. *vallōṇrai iya varivaṇaḥpurra vallippāvai* (*Puraṇāṇūru* 33). The verb *vari-tal* means 'to write, to draw, to paint, to bind, to tie, to fasten, to fix'. We have the noun form *navi* (Tel *vaṇi*, Kan. *bare*, bari Mal. *vare*) which means 'letter, lines at the joint of fingers or on the palm of hand, line as of writing, series as of letters'. Cf. *huṇṇiya variyodu tirāṇḍu*** kaṇ* (*Civakacintāmani*, 1702). Perhaps the mode of writing in ancient Dravidian India was picture-writing; it might be that from its original sense of line, the word *vari* (as also *eḷutu*.) might have extended its meaning 'to draw, to paint' and then subsequently 'to write'. This surmise is plausible in view of H. HERAS' theory that the Mohenjo-daro script and its language were Dravidian (vide e.g. his paper in the *NIA* Vol. 2 No. 7, Oct. 1939, pp. 449-459).

The transitive verb *varaital* (Tel. *vrāyu*) in Tamil also means 'to write, inscribe (see *Cūḍāmaninigaṇḍu*), to paint, to draw'.

There is a Kannada word *kaḍata* whose meaning KITTEL gives as 'a book made of folded cloth which is covered with charcoal paste, on which accounts and memorandums are written with *baḷapa*' (vide KITTEL, *Kannada-English Dictionary*¹) Doubtless, Telugu *kaḍata*, *kaḍita*, *kaṇita* and Tamil *kaṭitam* (*kaḍitam*) are cognate with it. Cf. also Tel. *kaḍitamu*, Kan. *Kaḍita*, Tulu *kaḍata*. The Tamil word *kaṭitam* means 'canvas on which paste is applied before writing, painting or drawing upon'. Cf. *neyttakūḷ varuḷakka-titamē yēnavum* (Sivaprakāśa SWAMIGAL, *Vedāntacūḷāmaṇi* 43 Madras 1909). This also can be cited in support of the view that picture-writing was the mode of writing in ancient Dravidian India.

Attention must also be drawn here to the interesting Tamil word *kirukku* (verb. evidently onomatopoeic), Tel. *giruku*, which means also 'to write, to scribble, write illegibly'. It also means 'to cancel, score out'. Cf. Mal. *kirukka*. From the meaning of 'to scrape, scratch' of this word K. Amrita Rōw (vide *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 46, 1917, p. 35) derives the Pkt. *kirah*, *kidī* 'a pig'. The noun form *kirukku* in Tamil means 'scribble, scoring out anything written'. One is tempted to feel that these words are significant in that they seem to differentiate the illegible bad writing from legible good picture-writing.

This view gains additional support from the fact that the verbal form *kirukku* in Tamil means also 'to feel giddy, to be delirious, dizzy' and the noun form *kirukku* in Tamil is used in the sense of 'giddiness, dizziness, craziness, eccentricity, lunacy' (2). Cf. English *crack*. That comparisons of their type are not wholly implausible is shown by Hans JENSEN who compares the Tamil word *Sāttu* with the English *shut* (vide *Hirt-Festschrift*. Vol. II. p. 148.) (cf. *ṣṛuntogai* 1301. M. RAGHAVAIYANGAR'S ed. Madura Tamil Saṅgam 1925) *egotism, self-conceit, arrogance*'. It is not unlikely that these meanings, especially the last six, might have been viewed by the speakers of the archaic Tamil as the most striking contrast to the healthy and normal state of an individual, even as bad illegible scribbling was contrasted with the drawing of good pictures.

¹ B. A. SALETORÉ (*Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I. *History of Tuluva*, Poona Oriental Series No. 53, Poona, 1936, p. 532. f. n. 1) says that the iron pencil which was used for writing was called *kaṇṭāvu* by the Tuluvas. He also says that no mention 'was made in the *Pāḍadānas* of *kaḍata* or cloth manufactured out of the charcoal and gum, on which accounts were written in later days.

Prof. Siddhesvara VARMA, however, contends that association with colouring by itself is not sufficient to establish *picture-writing* and in support of this contention, he draws my attention to the slavonic *pisat* 'to write' on which SCHRADER (*Reallexikon*. 2nd ed., Vol. II, p. 353) comments as follows:—"Die Annahme liegt daher nahe, dass mit dieser Wurzel *peik*-schon in der idg. Urzeit zwar natürlich kein eigentliches 'Schreiben', wohl aber doch das Einritzen und Färben der Holz tälchen zu los zwischen bezeichnet wurde."

SUBANDHU AND DĀMODARA

By

R. G. HARSHE

While reading the Introductory Stanzas of the *Vāsavadattā*, it struck me that they were capable of being construed in a double sense and the idea found further corroboration by similar attempts of MM. Pandit Haraprasād SHĀSTRĪ¹ and Pandit R. V. KRISHṆAMACHARIAR.² A careful examination of all these verses would show that the first has been consecrated to the Goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of Literature, who had shown a special favour to our author.³ The second is evidently in praise of Hari, perhaps the titular God of the family. We know SUBANDHU's predilections⁴ towards Vaiṣṇavism and it is in the fitness of things that he should sing of Hari at the outset. But another verse for the same subject would be rather superfluous, although it contains an invocation of blessings for the readers. This superfluity could best be explained if it would be possible to find some additional and significant meaning for it. I therefore think that after having bowed to the 'IṢṬADEVATĀ' and the 'KULADEVATĀ,' he goes on to make his obeisance to his *Guru* under the mask of an apparent praise of DĀMODARA, the God, but which is equally applicable to his *Guru* in fact, who has got the same name. This essential identity between the God and the *Guru* is an established traditional belief.⁵ This DĀMODARA seems to be a poet who had initiated SUBANDHU into the art of composition and who is a past-master in rhyming and alliteration. They form the essentials of the Ornate Style in which SUBANDHU's *Vāsavadattā* has been written and which are among the distinguishing characteristics of his work. The only clue that he furnishes us for the identification of DĀMODARA⁶ is what he has mentioned in the verse itself :

¹ *Ind. An.*, Jan. 1912, p. 15.

² *Vāsavadattā*, Srīraṅgam Ed., 1906, Comm., pp. 1-16.

³ 'Sarasvatīdattavaraprasādaḥ...' (Ed. HALL, p. 9).

⁴ The number of Kṛṣṇa Legends referred to by SUBANDHU in his VD., though greater than those of Śiva, may not be a sufficient index, but his definition of SAT-PURUṢA as one resorting to the feet of Viṣṇu, lends support to that theory. For instances, see :—(i) Satpuruṣeṇa viṣṇupadāvalambinā, p. 297. (ii) Saranmegha ivāvadātahṛdayo viṣṇupadāvalambī ca, pp. 32-33. (iii) sādhumivācyutasthitirama-nīyam, p. 93, etc.

⁵ "Gurur brahmā gurur viṣṇuḥ gurur devo maheśvaraḥ. Gurur sākṣāt para-brahma tasmai śrīgurave namaḥ."

⁶ AUFRECHT has referred to several poets of that name, viz., Dāmodaradeva, Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, Dāmodaragupta, Kapila-Dāmodara, etc. The title *deva* shows that it is a name of the king and a king of that name has been recorded to be an opponent of the Kākatīyas, (see, *Ancient Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 287). Dāmodaragupta, the author of the *Kuṭṣanīmatam*, is already known to us as later than Subandhu. But

Kaṭhinataradāmaveṣṭanalekhāsandehadāyino yasya |
Rājanti valivibhangāḥ sa pātu damodaro bhavataḥ ||

The words 'sa pātu ...' shows what an amount of respect he has for the person and for want of any definite information on the point, it may be suggested that this Dāmodara might be Bhaṭṭa DĀMODARA *alias* KAPILA DĀMODARA. He has also been referred to as Śrīkapilasvāmin. The word *svāmin* is generally applied to a *Samyāsīn* and, if it is a fact, then the respect shown by our author is his due, both as regards his learning as well as *Āśrama*. The verses ascribed to KAPILA DĀMODARA, in some anthologies,⁷ have got all the distinguishing characteristics mentioned in the verse, namely, that they are the verses the exact meaning of which is difficult to make out on account of their being shrouded in rather difficult stringed rhymes and which are shining with graceful turnings. It will not therefore be out of place here to quote at length of his typical verses⁸ :—

Ehi tatra cinuvaḥ sukausuma
Kausamañju sumanstaruśriyam |
Ekikāmiti tatāna mānini
Māniniyakapaṭādrahaḥkṣaṇam ||

Jānudaghnakamupekṣya vāri tad
Vāritaprabalabhīḥ purogamāḥ |
Kāchanāśu sahasā nyavartatā
Vartatāmatha samikṣya bhīrukā ||

Dhurtakāmamabhivikṣya nīrato
Nīratottamanumāptabhīṣṭatāt |
Kācanāśvapasaśāra dūrato
Dūrato na hi na hīti bhāṣiṇi ||

Padmini sarasijānanādagān
Nādagānamukharālīmālikā |
Utthiteva khalu dhūmakālikā
Kālikāvayayitavairahānālāt ||

for the information that we have been fortunate enough to get, it would have been very difficult to choose our Dāmodara from among the rest, as no definite information of any kind is available about any of them.

⁷ Kvs. Introd. pp. 43-46 ; Sbhv., No. 2528 ; see also Introd., p. 44. So far, no poetical works of this Dāmodara are available. Aufrecht has mentioned a drama named *Kaṁsavadha* by a *Dāmodara* (C. C. I, p. 250), but he has been mentioned as the examiner of the poet Mañkha who was his younger contemporary and hence belonged to the twelfth century. (According to BÜHLER, his *Śrīkaṁṣhacaritam* was written between 1135 and 1145 A.D. See Kashmir Report, p. 50). There is also a poem named *Kīrticandrodaya* by a DĀMODARAPANḌITA about which however we know nothing.

⁸ Of the available verses of Kapila-DĀMODARA or DĀMODARABHAṬṬA, those that are not quoted above have a distinguishing peculiarity of rhyme-endings in *ab* and *cd*. See Kvs., pp. 43-46.

Piḍitaikakucamekikā vyutam
 Kāvvyutam kusumamaśu bibhratī |
 Ekabāhukṛtakapṭhalambanā
 Lambanāni parirabhya cāvarat ||

Maṇḍitam katipayaiśca bhānavair
 Bhānavairhariharinmakham karaiḥ |
 Kesarasya kila kaṇṇapūrakaiḥ
 Pūrakairiva manoramcchaveḥ ||

Puṣpadāmaparidhāpanāmiṣān
 Nāmiśadariṣu sacchritorapi |
 Drāksakhīpurata eva sasvaje
 Sasvaje vitanutaḥ kayācana ||

Diṇmukhotthaśarapāṇḍurabhāgā
 Pakvasasyaphalatodarabhāgā |
 Gurvinī tvamiva ramayatarāgād
 Bhuḥ śaratsamayasaṅgatarāgā ||

SUBANDHU'S love of Paronomasia can also be traced to the teachings of this poet DĀMODARA who gives a first place to *śleṣa* in his conception of poetry :

Nānāśleṣarasādhyaḥ sadbhāvēdrā guṇojjvalā saralā |
 Abhimatapātramalabdhvā sīdati kavita ca vanitā ca⁹ ||

Nothing is so far known of this DĀMODARA, but a guess may be hazarded with an approximate certainty that he might be the grand-father of the poet DĀMODARA of the Udaipur Stone Inscription of Aparājita,¹⁰ Vikrama Saṃvat 718 (i.e. 661 A.D.). The following couplet throws a flood of light on this point :

Dāmodarasya pautreṇa sūnūnā brahmacāriṇaḥ |
 Nāmnā Dāmodareṇaiva kṛtā kāvyaviḍambanā ||

The poet DĀMODARA here differentiates himself from his grand-father who was obviously a great poet and whom he had imitated.¹¹ This imitation can be seen in the following verses¹² of the inscription, especially in rhyme-endings and alliterations :

Tasya nāma dadhatī yaśomatī
 Gehinī praṇayinī yaśomatī |
 Cittamutpathagatam nirundhatī
 Sā babhūva vinayādarundhatī ||

⁹ Kva., p. 45.

¹⁰ Epigraphica Indica, Vol. IV, p. 29.

¹¹ Kṛtā Kāvya-vidambanā.

¹² Verses No. 6 and 10. It should also be noted that the verses invoke the protection of the God Viṣṇu under the names Hari and Śauri.

Yāvadbhanoh khurāgravraṇitajalamucastuṅgaraṅgāsturaṅgā |
 Yāvatkrāmanti prthvītalamatulajalā no samudrāḥ samudrāḥ ||
 Yāvanmeromameruprasavasurabhayo bhānti bhāgāḥ śubhāgāḥ ||
 Śaurerdhāmastu tāvatkṛtaniyamanamadviprasiddham prasiddham ||

This accords perfectly with this proposed date of our author.¹³ This Junior DĀMODARA seems to be very young when he wrote the verses of the Inscription and dared not call his attempts as poetry being over-awed by his grandfather's reputation as a poet.

NATIVE SUPPORTERS OF THE BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA.

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

While on a visit to Ahmedabad in September 1923, my attention was drawn to an article entitled 'The Part played by the Jains in the establishment of the English Raj' appearing in the Śravaṇa issue of the now defunct Gujarati magazine *Yuga-Dharama* of that year. Therein Mr. Dahyabhai Manordas PATEL, a member of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha had tried to emphasize the part played by the Jain community in the foundation of the British Dominion in India, on the strength of a number of certificates granted to a very ancient Jain family of bankers. As these certificates were said to have been granted by Clive, Lake, Jenkins and other historic personalities, I asked Mr. Preetamraya DESAI, the Secretary of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, to get me the copies of the original certificates. He kindly sent me the same and on the basis of that material, I contributed a paper in Marathi entitled 'Native Supporters of the Founders of the British Raj', to the *Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhak-Mandal Quarterly* which has appeared in the VIth volume of that Journal. Thus the Gujarati and Marathi knowing scholarly world was made aware of this important material more than a decade ago. But the wide English knowing scholarly world, to my knowledge, has been kept in the dark until now as to its existence. I therefore here present the same from the copies which have remained with me unused for such a long time.

These certificates, styled Sunnuds in some cases, are thirteen in number, covering a period of hundred years. They were granted by various British officials to the members of a family of Jain bankers who were connected with and were partners of the famous Jagat-Setts of Murshidabad in Bengal, from generation to generation. These were printed as exhibits in a memorial to the Secretary of State. The Memorial is dated 16th July 1889 and was made by Akown Shree Sung Sett Saheb Kabalchand to the Right Honourable His

¹³ About 580 to 640 A.D.

Majesty's Secretary of State for India at the India Office, London, through H. E. the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India. On the volume of the printed Memorial, the number of the Memorial is given as G. No. 10. In connection with Memorial No. . . . Political dated 16th July 1889 from CL 88. The Memorial in question does not seem to be complete in this one volume which has been discovered. There ought to be other volumes as well, but as these are not forthcoming we do not know the exact aim of the Memorial. The recovered part of the Memorial was secured, I was informed, from an old Jain banking house of Ahmedabad, Messrs. Āṇantji Kalyānji. The Memorial seems to have been in connection with the Trusteeship and management of the well-known Jain temples on Mount Abu built by Vimal Shah, who, we know from the certificates, was an ancestor of the memorialist Sett Kabalchand. The full title of the family is Mukutbund Chutterputty, Maharaja Dheeraj Sree Sungjee Sultan Kuchbasha Gupta Seekunder Bahadoor. The family traces its descent from Emperor Chandra Gupta of antiquity who according to them was a Jain. From the time of Vimal Shah in the 11th century the family seems to have been shroffs. During the Islamic times it kept its position as a foremost firm of bankers whose banking houses were spread not only all over India but in the border countries as well. To their original Hindu title of Mukutbund Chutterputty they added Islamic titles like Sultan Kuchbasha Seekunder Bahadoor, presumably secured from Muslim rulers. To judge from the certificates, their only concern in the world seems to be to acquire wealth by banking and spend it on their religious edifices. What they are concerned most about is the safety of their business, their religious establishments and their sect. They try to be on good terms with powers that be, and gain their ends without a thought for the rest of the Indian world, which they seem to think as different from their tiny sect.

Comments on the contents of the certificates apart, the question most important to the history students is of their authenticity. The source of their acquisition mentioned above, the nature of their contents as well as the manner, tone and language of the certificates go a great way to prove their genuineness, though unfortunately we have no originals before us to test and to judge. But one internal evidence has convinced us most. The dates, wherever given, on these certificates are very significant indeed. The dates copied from Clive's two certificates are such that, had these been by one day prior, they would have meant forgery, for Clive would then not be on land to grant these certificates to these Setts. On the 2nd of January 1757¹ Clive, coming from Madras, landed in Calcutta to hatch his plot to win Plassey. Similarly on the 3rd May 1765², the date of the second certificate, he landed in Calcutta after a long voyage from England, to get Diwani charter from the fugitive Emperor Shah Alam at the end of that year. Now we cannot take a forger of such very general non-committal certificates to know such dates so accurately. On the other hand these dates prove the position of the Setts who got these certificates. They were thought to be so important and treated with

such confidence, that they had interviews with high British Officials on the very day of their arrival, just as men of high station go to receive a Governor or a Viceroy in these days.

Other testimonials also were taken in the very midst of war, from persons who were actors themselves in the great drama of Indian history, just in the nick of time. Thus Ellenborough's certificate was obtained just after the battle of Maharajpur on 28th December 1843 and before the treaty of Gwalior on 13th January 1844³; Lake's when he was just before Bharatpore to lay a siege to it;⁴ Ochterloney's when commencing the famous siege of Malaun in the Nepal war;⁵ Jenkins' at the battle of Sitabaldi;⁶ Monson's after his disastrous retreat to Agra in August 1804, just when his sense of gratitude for having escaped alive from the clutches of Yashawantrao Holkar was at its height;⁷ Sir Thomas Hislop's after his success at Mahidpur gained by seducing Ameerkhan and Gafoorkhan from the Holkar's army.⁸ The certificates from Alexander Burnes, Captains Drummond and Lawrence, and Macnaghten were obtained when those persons were all of them working in the danger zone of Afghanistan⁹.

The language of these documents seems to be loose and inaccurate in many places. But that is to be explained by the lawyer's copyist's inability to decipher the handwriting in the old English style as well as the comparative inability of the original writers to express themselves, who had not received regular education. In some cases the language can be corrected by ordinary guess-work. It is also possible that the original certificates were written by clerks who did not know correct English, and only signed by the persons concerned. Thus there seems to be no valid ground to doubt their authenticity.

These testimonials are of great importance to students of history as they throw a flood of light on many episodes in Indian history and explain some moot points. Thus we now know how Captain Popham was able to enter and capture the fort of Gwalior 'with little trouble and no loss!'¹⁰ on 3rd August 1780. We can now understand why Clive returned the wealth of merchants seized at Arcot to the tune of five Lacs.¹¹ We can now account for the fury displayed by Mir Kasim in the massacre of Patna and especially his exposing of the corpses of the two Jagat-Setts Mehatabroy and Sarupchand, to birds of prey and wild animals,¹² as well as Clive shedding tears over the fate of these men.¹³ Historians need not now bother their heads over the question of how the English secured their sinews of war, when we know from these certificates that men of high position in the affairs of the Indian Courts were vying with each other to help the foreigner in every possible way, with their money, men, energy and influence, without their conscience biting them in any way.

REFERENCES :

1. *Life of Lord Clive* by Sir George FORREST 1918. Vol. I., p. 314.
2. *Ibid* Vol. II, p. 259.
3. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1922. Vol. XI, p. 666.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 414.

5. *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 799.
6. *Oxford History of India* by V. A. SMITH 1923, p. 630.
7. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1922, Vol. XIII, p. 650-651.
8. V. A. SMITH. p. 630.
9. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, p. 390 ; Vol. XI, p. 696 ; Vol. XII, p. 686.
10. THORNTON—*History of the British Empire in India* 1842. Vol. II, p. 190.
11. *Life of Lord Clive* by Sir George FORREST. Vol. I. p. 140.
12. *Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 241.
13. *Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 259. .

Appendix—The Thirteen Certificates.

APPENDIX

No. I

SUNNUD FROM LORD CLIVE.

TO MOGUTBUND SREE SUNGJEE ETC.

This Sunnud is given to Mogutbund Chutterputti Sree Sungjee, Sooltan Kuchbasha for the great and meritorious services rendered by him to me, as representative in India of the British Government, at a time when we were placed in great straits ; and had it not been for his good services, a great many valuable lives would have been lost, and we could not have extended our dominion in Southern India. He, and the several persons who, by his directions and order, have rendered such valuable services to us that they could not be fully stated here ; but all what I wish to state is that we owe much to him ; and that so long as the English Nation remains as the Paramount Power of Southern India, all officers must bear in mind that had it not been for Sree Sungjee's ardent desire to assist us in extending the English Dominion in Southern India, it would have been more difficult for us to achieve that object. I therefore give this Sunnud to him with a view that from this time and hereafter, the English Nation should not at any time lose sight of him, his family, and friends, many of whom suffered great loss for their active sympathies with the representatives of the English dominion in India. The information he and his family and his friends gave to me when required, were given at much risk ; that he wishes and desires that the English Government should at all time protect his religion and of those belonging to his sect, and I promised to do so on behalf of the English Government so long as their Government in India shall exist.

He belongs to the most respectable family of Mogutbund Bamulshah whose Pirs and religious instructions are still in existence in several places in India, and these were built at very great cost, and being beautiful, are worthy of being highly thought of and properly preserved.

2nd January, 1757,

(Signed), CLIVE.
Colonel.

No. II

SUNNUD FROM LORD CLIVE.

TO,

MOOGUTHBUND CHUTTERPUTTY, MAHARAJA DHEERAJ SREE SUNGJEE
SOLTAN KUCHBASHA GOMAN SAYE SEEKUNDER BAHADOOR
RAMKISSEN PEERTHEERAJ-SREEMUN TAUTROJOY.

This certificate is granted to you for the following reasons :—

In granting this certificate, I consider it my duty, in the first instance, to express the regret which I have felt in the loss of two valuable lives who were my best friends and advisers, viz. Cowajee Voora Kuchbasha and Deoraj Nush. You will be pleased to tell his family, that I have shared in their sorrow equally as they did in their loss. You have pledged yourselves to look after his family and children, for which I thank you ; and I say, that it shall also be my duty to look after them, when required. I also, at the same time, have to express my regret for the loss of those two persons in Bengal by the Nawaba of Moorshedabad, viz. Juggut Sett Matab Roy, and Surrupchund, your partners in the business and other connections, and I wish to express my sympathy for their respective families also.

I am extremely glad to hear your proposal that you will spend a sum of about Sicca Rs. 50 Lacs, to be raised from amongst your bankers, traders and others, in erecting houses and buildings in several parts of the countries in India, and from those places you will give all informations and particulars regarding the English possessions in the East. Such a noble proposal I very much wished for, and from those places you have undertaken to appoint your messengers to bring and carry all news of importance.

That as to your proposal to bring all Sirdars, Rahees and Riots to our submission and Rule, and that you should also lay out all monies which shall be required for that purpose, for which I also wished for.

That as to your proposal that you will extend your Kootees or businesses of bankers and traders in all the several places under British possessions in the East, and in foreign rulers Rajes, and that by several branches of professions, trades and disguise, you will render all and every information and secret news of all foreign aggressions, mischief or spoil.

That as to your further proposal that whenever and wherever the English Government should require your service and that of your partners, colleagues, friends, agents, Gomastas, attendants and servants, you and they shall be present, and undertake and perform all such work as the English Government should require at any time. As also your heirs and representatives.

I say that I agree to all the several proposals made by you with much favour and esteem.

And as to your prayer that I shall, for all these acts of your and your partners, colleagues, friends, agents, etc. undertake to preserve and protect you personally and that of your estates and possessions ; such prayer I grant to you by this Sunnud.

That I also accept your prayer to preserve all and every of your businesses, professions and callings in all the British possessions, and I shall render all assistance as shall be required.

That as to your prayer, that if you or your partners, etc be attacked by enemies, the English Government shall give their Sepoys and soldiers to protect you and your respective estates ; I grant the prayer, and further, promise to render all other assistance, as occasion may require,

As to your prayer, that should any of your servants, partners and agents at any time be treacherous to you, the English Government should apprehend and punish them and recover the monies due from them, I grant this prayer also.

As to your prayer that the English Government should not interfere with your religion, I frankly say that I hope they will never do such a thing.

In conclusion I beg to state that I shall never forget all the services rendered by you and yours, from time to time, especially in Arcot.

3rd May, 1765.

(Signed) CLIVE.

No. III

SUNNUD FROM LORD LAKE.

To,

Mukutbund Chutterputti, Moharaja Dheraj, Kesree Coonwarjee Sobhai Sree Sunjee of Rajgiri Tunk has greatly helped us in our wars in the Punjab with Holkar, Bhurutpur, and all important wars in the North-West. Our supremacy in several parts of Northern India owes much to his ready help. He was instrumental in saving very many precious lives from being destroyed. His prudent Commissariat arrangements in times of war will ever be remembered with thanks and gratitude. He assisted us in times of our extreme emergency, and collected with patience and labour any information for the welfare of the British Government that might be of any use to it. There is hardly anything that can adequately remunerate him for the significant and conspicuous services which he was never slow to render to the State. The concern he showed for the British affairs in India will ever remain fresh in our memory, and in raising him and his family to honours and rank in society should be the duty of all high British Officers.

3rd January, 1805.

(Signed) LAKE.

No. IV

The fortress of Gwalior was well nigh impregnable, surrounded on all sides by high and massive walls, and built on the top of an almost inaccessible mountain. The capture of the same could by no means have been effected, had we not the helping hand of Moharaj Dheraj Sowani Secunder Surup Chand Gupta, who heartily assisted us in our enterprise. There was one secret passage leading up to the fortress in the hill top and he managed to learn of this, and informed us, and so we easily attained our object. His service on this, as on all other occasions, was actuated by loyalty and devotion to the British. We should always keep in view the prosperity of his religion, the state of his country and the claims of his family.

1782.

POPHAM.

No. V

Mukutbund Chutterputti Moharaja Deeraj Deoraj Bahadoor Raj Hamir Kuoarjee Gupta has always been prompt to further the British cause in their wars with Indian potentates. He played a conspicuous part in our war with the Mahratta, JASWANT RAO. He assisted us in fording the Chumbul, against KOTA, at the

cost of the lives of his own men. His remarkable success in the attempt to save the lives of the British Soldiery in the mountainous fastnesses of the Mukundura, and in the dank and dry wilds, surpasses description. Our sense of gratitude—that crown of all virtue—require us to watch over their interests—religious, political and social—with great care and solicitude.

(Signed) MONSON.

1804.

No. VI

Certificate of Sir David Ochterloney granted on 14th April 1815.

To,

Moogutbund Chutterputty Moharaja Dheeraja Mundesha Surroopchand and Kasana Corwasee Balashaher Sobramul.

That I have great pleasure in granting this certificate to you. That I consider it an honour for me to address you firstly that as one of the most ancient Chiefs in India, there is no one whom I could find your equal. Your ancestors were the most respected friends of several of the Mohomedan Kings who ruled in India from time to time; and your ancestors were once the mightiest Chiefs in India and possessed of wealth to such an extent that it is impossible to enumerate it in numbers and their sacred institutions in different parts of India are considered known as wonders and your friendship towards the English Government is indescribable. The great assistance rendered by you to them, from time to time, will ever be remembered by that Government. The good services rendered by you to me in the Nepal War, are too numerous to describe, and I say that if there are any friends of the English in India, there is no one your equal.

No. VII

Certificate of Jenkins granted on the 27th November, 1817.

To,

Moogutbund Chutterputty Gunaram Sreesungjee Kuchlashansha.

I am extremely glad in being able to record in these few lines the high estimate with which I honour you. You were born of an ancient Chief's family in India. Your predecessors were great friends to the British Government, and following their footsteps you have rendered such friendly assistance to the English Government in the late war at Poona, and gave such timely and valuable information, that their victory would otherwise have been attended with great delay and trouble. I as one of the high officers of the English Government will be glad to help you in the same manner should it be required.

No. VIII

Mukut Bund Moharaja Deeraj Sunk Joraor Sultan Surdhurshun Chawgun Gupta has greatly helped us in our Indian wars. It was through his instrumentality that Mirkhan and Gafir Khan were won over to the British cause at the Mehidpore war. It will be our great care to look after the prosperity of his religious order, and

the peace of his society in all the future. He and his posterity will always be kept in honour and emoluments.

(*Sir Thomas Hislop*) Name illegible,

(Signed) Commander-in-chief of Madras, 1818.

No. IX.

Mukut Bund Chutterputti Moharaja Mundushi Surup Chand Gupta of Salivarmah Kuchbasha takes great pains in watching over the movements of the various Asiatic peoples, namely, those of Cabul, Candahar, Samarkand, Herat, and of other places, and carefully communicates the results of his investigation to the British Officers, that it may thereby be benefited. The Government is much indebted to him on account of such beneficent services, for it had to depend on him for information in respect of all wars, treaties and arrangements of military affairs in the country. He is thus greatly faithful and loyal to the British cause. His reports were always true, and were of such a nature as could fairly be depended on.

As a fit reward for his services, it will be the duty of the Government in future to watch over his religion and the honour of his family.

1837.

(Signed) Alexander Burnes.

No. X

The British Government in India is greatly indebted to Mukut Bund Chutterputty Moharaja Dheeraj Mundushi Surup Chand Gupat Kuchbasha for the important and valuable services he rendered in connection with the expedition to Cabul. The lives of several of our soldiers were saved from destruction in wilds and mountain fastnesses through his ingenious plans and devices, and our numbers were continually increased by his own followers. It was owing to him, also, that we were put to no trouble as to our commissariate arrangements. It will be our duty in future to be careful in preserving the wealth, honour and religion of his posterity from loss and corruption.

4th November, 1840.

(Signed) Drummond,
Captain.

No. XI

Mukutbund Chutterputti Moharaja Dheeraj Gagoo Shaha Bamulsha Sultan Kuchboshah, has largely assisted us in the expedition to Cabul, and taken great care for all possible convenient arrangements for the supply of food amongst our soldiery at times of emergency. Our numbers were largely increased by an addition of his followers and dependants at that country, to those of ours. His service was also useful in fording rivers and passing the several wilds and mountain fastnesses. It can fairly be expected that his posterity, in imitation of such a predecessor, will always remain faithful adherents of the British cause without swerving in the least; and it would be a sign of ingratitude on the part of the British Government in India, on the other hand, not to take care of, in its own turn, of the prosperity of their religious sect and their society, which have of late been corrupted, by divers foreign enemies.

1841.

(Signed) Lawrence, Captain.

No. XII

Mukut Bund Chutterputty Mohanraj Koor Joy Sung Gupta Vikram has been of great use in our wars at Cabul. Not only did he patiently and carefully collect divers useful news for us from various quarters in order to keep ourselves on our guard, but it was through his endeavours that we found various new advantageous passes and stations for protection from danger and the enemy. Those natives of Cabul, and of the adjacent places who were his own dependants, were won over to our side to add to the number of our soldiers. But for this his valuable assistance, we could have hardly been able to advance, what little we could, in Afghanistan. It should be the great object of the British Government in India to protect the religion of his sect and his society from corruption, and to designate his family 'as honourable in the future.

1840.

(Signed) Macnaughten.

No. XIII

Certificate granted by Lord Ellenborough, on the 5th January, 1844.

To,

Moogutbund Chutterputty Moharaja Dheeraj Nuthmul Sreesungjee ;

This certificate is required to be given to you by me, and in granting this certificate I have firstly to state, that the several certificates which you and your predecessors have by them, respecting meritorious services received from time of the Mogul Kings down to the present time of English reign in India are in themselves enough to trace out that virtually your family were the kings of wealth in India, their high dignity consequently were therefore always respected. I have found that your banking business is in almost all parts in India, spread to such an extent, that there are but very few Banks in all parts of the world that can be compared with any one of them. Your ancestors spent so immense fortunes for sacred institutions in several parts in India, that these are wonders. I find in you a friend indeed ; a very valuable friend, and not only to me but to the Government.

THE PRAKRIT STANZAS IN THE KAVINDRA-CANDRODĀYA

By

R. D. LADDU

Mahādevabhaṭṭa Paṭṭavardhana is the only author to contribute to the *Kavindra-Candrodayā*¹ in Marathi and *Prakrit* as well as in *Sanskrit*.² Scholars who have handled this important commemorative anthology have noted his Marathi verses, but appear to have failed to do so in the case of his *Prakrit* verses. That a composition in *Prakrit* should come from the pen of a Brahmanical scholar of as late a date as the 17th cent. A.D.³ is enough to attract one's

¹ Ed. Dr. H. D. SHARMA and Mr. M. M. PATKAR—Poona Oriental Series No. 60, 1939. References in this article are to the pages of this edition.

² Out of his 60 stanzas (No. 138-155, 227-268), 11 are in Marathi, (No. 153, 251-259, 261) and 5 in *Prakrit* (No. 148-152).

³ Being a contemporary of Kavindrācārya (1627-1650 A.D.).

attention to the *K-Candrodaya*. It is intended here to make a note of these five Prakrit verses.

At the outset, we reproduce below the text of the stanzas in question with proper corrections and emendations in that printed in the edition of the *K-Candrodaya*.

- (1) पदुवीभलएकचक्रवत्ती
णिअकिती धवलीकिदायमुत्ती ।
सदाखिलसाहुलोअवत्ती
तुह वव्वत्ति⁵ स कोवि पक्खवत्ती ॥ १४८ ॥

Metre :—*Aupacchandāsika*

[The allusion here is obviously to the Emperor (*cakkavatti*) Shah Jehan who upheld (*pakkhavattī*) the brief of Kavindrācārya in regard to the abolition of the pilgrim tax levied on the pilgrims visiting the holy places like Allahabad and Benares. It is easily seen that the expressions *cakka*, *dhavattī-kida* and *pakkha* are *śliṣṭa* and as such, refer as well to the moon].

- (2) हत्थो दे पदुवीअले सुरवईसाही⁶ तथा संपदा
दिट्ठी कामदुघा सुधा⁷ पियवचो रंभामुहा⁸ कित्तिओ
संकप्पो किल कोत्थुभोत्ति हिअअं चंदो वि धण्णंतरी
फंसो होसि कविंद⁹ साहु सरसो रण्णाअरो¹⁰ तुमं ॥ १४९ ॥

Metre :—*Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¶ The poet here has before him, evidently, the puranic legend of the churning of the fourteen jewels out of the ocean. Cf. the popular stanza लक्ष्मीः कैस्तुभपारिजातकसुराः etc.]

- (3) अद्धगे जस्स गोरी परिलसइ तहा जस्स चंदस्स¹¹ लेहा
सीसे भालण्णदेसे तिलअदि णअणं जस्स हत्थे कवालं

⁴ Dr. SHARMA reads °दाज° for °दाय° which is shown by his MS. C. The latter, however, is clearer and better, its Sanskrit *chāyā* being निजकीर्तिधवलीकृतात्ममूर्तिः.

⁵ This is a *prakritisatio*n of *varvarti* a frequentative form of the √वृत्; the alternative forms for this are—*varvarttiti*, *vari(i)varti*—*vari(i)vartiti*.

⁶ Printed in the edition of the *K-Candrodaya* as सुरवई साही (p. 20).

⁷ सुधापियवचो (*loc. cit.* p. 20).

⁸ रंभामुहाकित्तियो (*loc. cit.* p. 20).

⁹ °कवीन्द (*loc. cit.*)

¹⁰ रण्णा अरोणं तुमं (*loc. cit.*). The variant रस्मा 'recorded by the editors (*loc. cit.*, p. 20, foot-note) from their MS A, little deserves to be recognized as a reading. It is only रण्णा (*raṇṇā*); or rather the Hindi *na* with a horizontal stroke through it which is the orthographic symbol for *ṇa* in many a MS.

¹¹ चंदस्स (*loc. cit.*)

सहूलं¹² जत्स चम्मं पियणिअवसणं भूसणं जत्स सप्पो
जत्स द्वाणं¹³ मसाणं वरिसदु हरिसं तुज्झ देओ वसंको ॥ १५० ॥

Metre :—*Sragdharā*.

- (4) 'सच्च कासि तुमं मिअंकवअणे ?' 'गंधब्बराजत्स¹⁴ मं
णो जाणासि वहुं ?' 'कुदो सहचरं उज्झीअ एआइणी
सिग्घं जासि ?' 'कइंदणामपहुक्कि सक्कित्तिवारंगणा—
रूवे छुद्धमणोरहो मम वई देसंतरे हिंडई' ॥ १५१ ॥

Metre :—*Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- (5) जोण्हा¹⁵ चंदणअंगराअसुहअं चंदं ललटंतरे
हारं तारकसंघमोत्तिघडिअं घेत्तण वासं गहो
कित्ती दे पडुवीअले पसुवइद्वाणं¹⁶ गिरीसं करे
कादुं कंदुअगोलअं णिअबलप्पच्चारदो¹⁷ खेलदि ॥ १५२ ॥

Metre :—*Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

The language of these stanzas is in general *Māhārāṣṭrī* which is essentially a lyrical dialect in which Prakrit epics like *Gaiḍavaho* are written and which is the conventional vehicle of lyrics and songs in the case of *Saurasenī* speaking ladies in dramatic literature.¹⁸ Here and there, however, is discernible the *Saurasenī* tendency of softening intervocalic *-t-* and *-th-* respectively to *-d-* and *-dh-*.¹⁹ The phonetic law of the loss of intervocalic *-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*, *-t-*, *-d-*, *-p-*, *-y-* and *-v-*²⁰ appears to be observed in a majority of cases.²¹ The phenomenon of the reduction of *-kh-*, *-gh-*, *-th-*, *-dh-* etc., between vowels to *-h-*²² is seen likewise observed generally with only a few cases wherein again some of these are retained.²³ N on the treatment of which Prakrit grammarians

¹² साहूलं (*loc. cit.*).

¹³ द्वाणं (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁴ गंधब्बराजत्स (*loc. cit.*), सिग्घं (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁵ जोक्का^o (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁶ पसुवई द्वाणं (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁷ णिअबलं पच्चारदो (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁸ Cf. R. V. JAHAGIRDAR : *An Introduction to the Comparative Philology of Indo-Aryan Languages* (p. 26).

¹⁹ As per Lakṣmidhara (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* : BSS No. 71, 1916) : III. 2.1, 4 (pp. 247 f) 11 Hemacandra, IV. 260, 267. Cf. *dhavalikida*, *samida*, *sammadā*, *tilaadi*, *varisadu*, *-ghaḍidam*, *pabbhārado*, *kheladi*, *tadhā*.

²⁰ Cf. Lakṣmidhara (*op. cit.*, p. 14) I. 3-8 || Hemacandra I. 177.

²¹ Cases of retention are : *tāraka*, *dhavalikida*, *piyavaco*, *gandhabbarājassa*, *bhālappodese*, *kāmadughā*, etc.

²² Cf. Lakṣmidhara (*op. cit.* p. 18) I. 3.20 || Hemacandra I. 187.

²³ E.g. *akhila*, *kāmadughā*, *sudhā*, etc.

differ²⁴ is seen here uniformly changed to *ṇ*, whether initially, medially, singly or in conjuncts.²⁵ Features other than these are too evident to need a special mention. Thus the modification of *ṛ* to *a* and *i* is noticed in words like *pahuvī*, *vasaṅko*, and *mīaṅka*, *hīa* respectively. *Harisa* and *varisadu* show anpaptixis (*svarabhakti*). *S* represents all the sibilants as in *sāhu* < *sādhū*, *sāhī* < *sākhin*, and *vasaṅko*, *vṛṣaṅkaḥ* etc. Cases of assimilation also are too obvious to be noted separately.

We now discuss the formations like *pahuvī* and *raṇṇāaro* which require more than a passing attention :

(1) *pahuvī* no doubt < Sk. *pṛthvī*. None of the Jain Grammarians seems to recognise this formation as a substitute either for *pṛthvī* or *pṛthivī*. Hemacandra gives at best *puhuvī* for *pṛthvī* and *puhāi* for *pṛthivī*.²⁶ PISCHEL notes only the vocables *pahavī*, *puhavī* and *puhāi* and not *pahuvī* or for the matter of that *pahuī*.²⁷

Lakṣmīdhara alone seems to stand out in allowing the vocable *pahuī* which is the same as *pahuvī* of these verses. He explains it in his gloss on the sūtra : *tanvyābhe* : as follows :

*Ukārantāt nīpratyayāntaḥ tanvyābhāḥ teṣa saṃyuktasyāntahalaḥ prāg'utvam | tanvī, tanvī | . . . pṛthvī, pahuī | atrā'pi ṛtor'atvam | thasya hatvam ityādy'ñhanīyam*²⁸ | The *Prākṛta-śabda-mahārṇava*²⁹ records this entry, but on the sole authority of Lakṣmīdhara who also sanctions *puhāi* < *pṛthvī*.³⁰ Thus there are three substitutes in Prakrit for *pṛthvī*, viz., *pahuī*(*vī*), *puhāi*(*vī*) (according to Lakṣmīdhara) and *puhuvī* (according to Hemacandra). It is open for us to regard *pahuī*(*vī*) as a case of vocalic metathesis of *puhāi*(*vī*) or as alternating with *puhuvī* due to vocalic dissimilation.

(2) *raṇṇāaro* is no doubt Sk. *ratnākaraḥ*. It is a strange formation, the normal one being *raa*(*ya*)*ṇāaro*. No grammarian allows *raṇṇa* for *raa*(*ya*)*ṇa*. It appears Mahādevabhaṭṭa has taken here a liberty *metri causā* to contract

²⁴ E.g. the non-Jain school of Prakrit grammar insists on its change to *ṇa* always and everywhere (cf. Vararuci, II. 43 : 'no *ṇaḥ sarvatra*'. The Jain grammarians like Hemacandra on the other hand allow an option in this regard under certain conditions. (Cf. Dr. P. L. VAIDYA : *A Manual of Ardhamāgadhi Grammar* (1933) § 18, p. 21).

²⁵ E.g. (i) *singly* (a) *initially* : *no*, *ṇia*, etc. (b) *medially* : *jāṇāsī*, *naṇam*, etc. (ii) *in conjuncts* : *dhaṇṇantari*, and *raṇṇāaro*.

²⁶ Cf. Hemacandra (BSS No. 60, 1936) : I. 88 and II. 113. A variant *pahuvī* for *puhuvī* however is preserved in MS A of the BSS ed. (*op. cit.*, p. 488, foot-note).

²⁷ Cf. *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* : §§ 51, 115 and 139 (pp. 50, 94 and 108 respectively).

²⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 107. Simharāja is silent over this formation in his scanty gloss on the same sūtra (cf. *Prākṛtarūpavātāra* ed. E. HULTZSCH : p. 23 : V. 12).

²⁹ P. 718. On p. 719 is recorded the entry *pahuvī* from the *mālatimādhava*.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 105.

raama into *raṇṇa*. We have already corrected the faulty printing of this word in the ed. of the *K-Candrodaya*.³¹

Mahādevabhaṭṭa Paṭṭavardhana is not the only Brahmin scholar to write in Prakrit. We know, for instance that Lakṣmīdhara has written three stanzas in *Māhārāṣṭrī* in the course of the preface to his *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*.³² In all probability he derived his Prakrit knowledge from some Brahmanical authority on Prakrit grammar such as Lakṣmīdhara, Śeṣakṛṣṇa whose treatise on Prakrit grammar—*Prākṛta-Candrikā*³³—is well known to us. The suspicion re. his indebtedness to *Lakṣmīdhara* gets stronger in view of his use of the vocable *pahuvī* (thrice in the course of five stanzas) which is recognized and sanctioned by the latter *alone*³⁴ as against the rest of the Prakrit grammarians. On the other hand it is not improbable that Mahādevabhaṭṭa who was a contemporary of Śeṣakṛṣṇa³⁵—may be junior to him—had his acquaintance with Prakrit with the help of the latter's *Prākṛtacandrikā*.

ADDENDUM TO 'THE DRAVIDIAN (TAMIL) ATTA- AND ANNAL- IN HITTITE.'

By

C. R. SANKARAN

With reference to the Muṇḍā words *āpā* and *ābā*, it must be noted that they are used identically in the same sense (i.e. 'father') in the Marāṭha country also. (Cf. Prof. Irawati KARVÉ's article in this journal). In this connection, the following Semitic words for 'father' are also interesting :

ARABIC :—

'*Abun* 'father.' (Nominative) 'Abū

'*Aban*=accusative.

'*Abī* Genitive.

'*Abā* (Acc. Voc.).

³¹ See stanza 2 ; foot-note (10) *supra*.

³² *Viz.* stanzas Nos. 2, 3 and 4 (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*, p. 1, BSS No. 71, 1916).

³³ The writer of this article is engaged in preparing a critical edition of this work.

³⁴ Cf. BSS No. 71, 1916—p. 107.

³⁵ Śeṣakṛṣṇa (1966 A.D.), the guru of *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita* (1630 A.D.), the grand-guru of Jagannātha Pandit (1650 A.D.), Shah Jehan's court poet [*vide* Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR'S *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, §§ 30, 31, pp. 45-48], easily becomes a contemporary of Kavindrācārya, whose literary career is placed by Dr. H. D. GHARMA and Mr. M. M. PATKAR between 1627 and 1650 A.D. [*vide* their ed. of the *K-Candrodaya*, intro, p. x], and consequently that of Mahādevabhaṭṭa. It is also not difficult to imagine that Mahādevabhaṭṭa, a constant visitor to Allahabad and Benares, if not actually a resident there, must have been in close contact with Śeṣakṛṣṇa—a resident of the *Duāb* formed by the Ganges and the Jumna [cf. Dr. BELVALKAR : *Systems of Sk. Gr.* p. 45]—and all his his works.

Urdu :—

'Abbā (Nom. Acc. Gen.).

It is curious that the word 'āpā means 'elder sister' in Urdu. I am indebted to Prof. C. H. SHAIKH for the above information.

These words for 'father' in the various languages are clearly of the *mama*-type which, just at the stage when articulate speech begins in infants, appear, with all their emotional significance. (cf. B. MALINOWSKI, Supplement I to OGDEN and RICHARDS *The Meaning of Meaning*, pp. 319-320.)

REVIEWS

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July 1938. By Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT., Director of Archæology, Baroda State, Baroda State Press, 1939. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

The Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Archæology of the Baroda State deals as usual with Conservation of Monuments, Exploration and History of Monuments.

Considerable attention seems to have been devoted towards the conservation of monuments. And it is a welcome news that the Department has at last cleared the area around the Kālikā temple near the Hirā Gate at Dabhoi. For when the present writer visited the site in 1936 it was so dirty and full of stenching smell that it was impossible to remain there and study this beautiful monument for long.

The discovery and preservation of the so-called Rāma temple at Bardā near Dwarka (Dvārakā) is again important to archæologists. Its architecture and sculptural decoration resemble that of a Caulukyan temple of the 12th century. Hence one should like to know whether it is a Rāma temple as popularly believed or a temple of some other deity. This could have been ascertained by examining the cult-image (if there was one left), the image on the door-lintel, the sculptures on the walls of the *garbhagṛha* and those on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*. It is a misfortune that all the exterior images are badly disfigured. The inquiry suggested above is pertinent to the antiquity of the Rāma-cult in Gujarāt and elsewhere in India. So far no old temple of Rāma has been known, though sculptures depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* have come down to us from the 5th century A.D. In Gujarāt, so far as the writer knows, the earliest Rāmāyaṇa scenes are those carved on the panels above the columns of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Sun temple at Modhera¹.

Exploration in the Mehsana district revealed a number of Hindu temples of which the most important certainly is the Hingloji-Mātā temple at Khanḍoran. It is dated (V.S. 1207) and gives us the name of the deity which the temple enshrined, viz. Sarvamangalā, who is identified by Dr. SASTRI with the goddess Durgā. It is a pity that details (already mentioned by the writer) for an important monument like this are not given in the *Report*, for it is these which are necessary for reconstructing the cultural history of a province.

¹ These he recognized but could not study for want of time and necessary facilities. Owing to these sculptures perhaps that the Kuṇḍa in front of the temple is popularly called Rāmakuṇḍa.

The conjecture put forward by Dr. SASTRI for the existence of the amorous figures on this and other mediæval figures in India, namely, that such temples were connected with *Śakti* worship and the *Bhairavi-cakra* cannot, we are afraid, be maintained for a moment. For, let alone the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples which might have secretly sheltered devotees who were *pracchanna Śāktas*, even Jaina temples have such sculptures.

The only explanation seems to be that these sculptures represent a further, in a sense extreme and a deteriorated, stage of the development of the practice of carving nude figures, *mithunas* and other figures found on the gateways of *stupas* at Mathura and elsewhere. The Gupta temples present an intermediary stage. Some of them do exhibit such sculptures, but they are not obscene.

Doubtful again is Dr. SASTRI'S identification of the metal (not specified which) figures (Plates IV, V (a), (b) and VI (a)) from the compound of the Koṭyarka temple at Mahuḍī, on the right bank of the Sabarmati in the Vijapur taluk. Dr. SASTRI considers them to be Buddhist, but they are Jaina as has been shown by the writer elsewhere in this *Journal*.

The Trailokyamohana variety of Viṣṇu from Mahuḍī is an addition to our knowledge of similar sculptures recently published by the writer from North Gujarāt¹, showing that Gujarāt had perhaps specialized in this type of Viṣṇu images.

Gujarāt has few sculptures to offer of the type discovered by Dr. SASTRI from Mahuḍī (Pl. VIII (a)) where a child is seated on the shoulder of a standing figure and being sucked or given something by a woman. For its vivid portrayal of emotion and composition, it may well be compared with some of the Maurya or Śuṅga figures.

Tāraṅgā was long since known to have a few Buddhist figures, but owing to the remoteness of the place it was not well explored. Now Dr. SASTRI has published the image of Tārā from there, which has an inscription on its base, (a fact which the *Report* has not noticed).

Two inscriptions found during the year deserve notice. One is a short inscription on a piece of pottery found from the site of Śaṅkholiā, near Dwārka. It seems to be the earliest inscription of this type, and second to be found inscribed on this material, the first being a similar piece of pottery from Valā, bearing a short inscription of Guhasena².

The Ass-inscription and sculpture from the Mahuḍī Gate at Dabhoi should be noted for studying the origin and prevalence of such curses and abuses which are now common in vulgar parlance. A few such sculptures have been noted by the writer from *Konkan*³, and though BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI said that he had found such sculptures in Gujarāt⁴, no specific case was mentioned by him.

¹ *Journal of the Bombay University*.

² *IA.*, XIV, p. 75.

³ *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 270.

⁴ See *ibid* for reference.

Further excavation at the Gohilwad Tīmbo in Amreli brought to light a clay die of Śrī Śilāditya, while at Patan the actual form of the Sahasralinga *talao* is beginning to take shape.

The Department's attention is drawn not a little too early towards preserving the remains of mediæval wood-carving in Gujarāt. Since Burgess' time the Baniyas and Bohras have sold a number of such artistic pieces to foreigners, a practice which is even now continued, but could only be stopped by state legislation.

H. D. SANKALIA.

Some Moral Tales in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by Prof. H. R. KARNIK, Reprinted from 'The Journal of the University of Bombay', Vol. VIII, Part 2, September 1939.

In his *History of Indian Literature* (English translation published by the University of Calcutta, 1927), Dr. WINTERNITZ makes the following observations regarding the contents of the Brāhmaṇas :—

"Here and there, these barren explanations gain a little interest through the fact that they throw some light upon the *moral* views and social conditions of the period to which the Brāhmaṇas belong" (p. 205). . . . "This, by the way, is one of the *few* places in the Brāhmaṇas, where morality is thought of. It is only very occasionally that we come across moral reflections. . . . Generally speaking, however, it is very characteristic of these texts that there is hardly any mention of morality in them at all. The Brāhmaṇas are a splendid proof of the fact that an enormous amount of religion can be connected with infinitely little morality" (pp. 207-208). In view of these remarks, it is refreshing to find the writer of the article under review proposing "to survey the legends in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and attempt to show how far some of them at least, if not all, can be regarded as moral or didactic tales even like the stories in the 'Pañcatantra' and other Indian Narrative Works" (p. 12). The motives that prompted the writer are better described in his own words :—"The reason for giving preference to the didactic element setting aside all the other considerations which are equally deserving of one's earnest and careful attention is my belief that in the Brāhmaṇas, the predominant sacerdotal speculations have been welded with practical ethics" (p. 13). The author observes with commendable moderation "...It would be foolish of course to say that all legends in the Brāhmaṇas have an origin in didacticism or all of them pursue a moral purpose. Yet some of them at least owe a part of their structure to purely didactic considerations or are full of motives which are didactic in nature". After this introduction, the writer proceeds to take up for consideration some twenty legends from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the introductory and concluding notes to each legend, exhaustively discusses all the important questions raised by the legend [such as

e.g. the significance of the *Puruṣamedha* (p. 15)] and points out its moral. This part of the article (p. 14 to the end) putting forth a new point of view is a performance that does credit to the author and to Prof. H. D. VELANKAR who has been his inspiration as he himself tells us (p. 2). The Introductory section (pp. 2 to 9) however, where the author takes "a kaleidoscopic survey of these different theories propounded by eminent European *Folklorists*" (italics mine), does not fit in quite well with the main thesis of the article as it creates the impression that the author looks upon the *Brāhmaṇas* as a store house of folklore rather than priestlore, it being one thing to trace some elements of folklore in the *Brāhmaṇa* tales and another to look upon them as folk-tales. But the author himself is aware of this disparity. When written to about the point, he confessed that the two disparate parts happen to be thrown in together because they are parts of a larger thesis of his, in which the importance of a study of Brahmanic lore is urged on the analogy of the very fruitful study of Folk-lore.

Even this welding together of disparate sections though unfortunate, cannot diminish the value of the scholarly contribution the author has made to our study of the didactic element in the *Brāhmaṇa* legends.

V. M. APTE.

Founders of Vijayanagara by, S. SRIKANTAYA, Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City, 1938. Pages 174. Price Rs. 5.

•In this volume are printed the five lectures delivered by the author in 1930 at the Annāmalai University. While retaining the original form, the author has endeavoured to embody and incorporate, as far as possible, the additional materials and criticisms since made available. The lectures bespeak much learning and close study, but there is little that is original except emphasis on some aspects of the main problem, like the contribution of the Śringeri Maṭha and Vidyāranya's part in the Foundation of the Empire. But that does not help the student to decide, with conclusive evidence, the origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. When these lectures were first delivered almost a decade ago, there was probably much in them that was new to the student-audience. Then again, the scholars had not divided themselves into two warring camps on the question of the Telugu or the Kanerese origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. But now it has unfortunately become a question of national and racial pride and to that extent has suffered an academic setback. Even the latest attempts have not taken us much further in deciding the question of origin. Evidently we have to await more and convincing evidence. The first forty pages have been taken up in summarizing the earlier history which seems to be unnecessary when it has been thoroughly worked out. The rest of the book develops in a rather sketchy manner the main arguments in support of the Kanerese origin of the founders of Vijayanagara.

Where the author criticizes and refers to others' views, his acquaintance with them seems to be second-hand from the manner of giving references. Thus he refers to the views of Dr. Venkata RAMANNAYYA on particular points, but never quotes chapters and verse from his work. Similarly in the Index, pages 104, 142, 143, 145, 146 have been given against the name of Dr. V. RAMANNAYYA, but when we open those pages, we find the views of Dr. A VENKATASUBBAIYA referred to therein, which means confusion in the mind of the writer as to the two Doctors' views. Here again on page 104, Dr. VENKATASUBBAIYA'S article on Rajaguru Kriyāsakti in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* is referred to by name, but the footnote giving the reference refers to E. C. VII p. 157 Intro. We do not know whether the attempts to incorporate new material have resulted in this confusion.

For the rest it is unnecessary to dilate on the main Thesis. The writer never expresses his views in an extreme manner, which is a point to his credit. All along his language is temperate and chaste.

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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